(Anti-)Social Stockholm

Understanding interrelations of socio-spatial segregation

Planning Complex Cities Studio
Graduate thesis - Urbanism, TU Delft
25 June 2020

Mark Scholten
4346548

"Det får inte finnas vi och de, det finns bara vi.
Solidaritet är och måste vara odelbar."

''There exists no 'they and we', only 'us'.
Solidarity is and has to be indivisible.''

–

Olof Palme

former prime minister of Sweden (1927-1986)

Author - Mark Scholten
Student number - 4346548
Studio - Planning Complex Cities
Date - 25 June 2020
First mentor - Marcin Dabrowski
Second mentor - Birgit Hausleitner

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Front page image - Image by author, base map data from OpenData Stockholm (2018)

TU Delft University of Technology
Msc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment

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Complex Cities

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Abstract

Abstract

Under the influence of globalisation and neoliberal planning paradigms, socio-spatial segregation in Stockholm, Sweden has significantly risen. Its society has become more heterogeneous, with migrants often ending up in socially vulnerable suburbs in the periphery of metropolitan areas where a spiral of social exclusion and decline is kickstarted. This has caused social disorganisation, perpetual poverty and increased crime and vandalism, leading to stigmatisation and polarization. This is endangering effective decision-making to help improve socio-spatial integration, as migrants are depending on municipalities to respond to their needs. Past and current policy approaches have until now proved ineffective to reduce segregation or to mitigate its negative externalities.

The project aims to adress the gap of knowledge as to how governance, social and spatial constructs interrelate with regards to segregation processes and its effects on society. It explores possibilities to create a shift towards a more comprehensive way of planning that incorporates a better understanding of these processes, through a multi-scalar, complementary approach of strategic policy and design interventions. These interventions are tested in the Järva area in North-West Stockholm to investigate the potential for more socially sustainable development.

A multi-dimensional lens is proposed to grasp the interrelations in segregation processes and to better account for its implications in future development; viewing segregation as a historic process through a wider socio-cultural lens, forming a complementary dynamic and static perspective.

Keywords

Segregation, integration, migration, multi-level governance, social sustainability, spatial justice, inclusivity, Sweden

Fig. 0.0 - Housing estate in Västra Skogen - Source: Image by author

Preface

Acknowledgements

Preface

This document comprises the final report of my master thesis within the track Urbanism at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft, the Netherlands. The work has been performed within the Planning Complex Cities studio for the full duration of the academic year 2019-2020.

This academic year in hindsight has probably been the most outstanding experience of my student career. Foremost for the opportunity to conduct a research project with complete freedom to pursue my personal interests in the field of urbanism, but not in the least because it conincided with one of the biggest crises in modern history.

The Covid-19 pandemic has drastrically changed the conditions under which this work was produced, namely from quarantaine at home and with digital tutoring sessions. Thankfully the fieldwork was conducted before restrictions would have made any travels impossible. The final phase was far from ideal and may have affected the work to some degree. Nevertheless I have attempted to complete the project in the best way possible, trying to make the most out of this unprecedented situation.

Despite the tough conditions, the pandemic also sheds a new perspective on the questions addressed in this project and proves its timeless relevance. The project case site of Järva has been the most heavily affected and infected areas of Sweden where general health of the population and access to information were already of growing concern to begin with. Ironically the Covid-19 pandemic has shown once again that in times of crisis, the most vulnerable groups in society are hit hardest. It emphasizes that achieving spatial justice and equality in cities are the growing challenges of our time, and I hope that this work can serve as the start of my contribution to solving these complex questions.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this work would have not been possible without the support and contribution of a large set of people.

First of all the biggest of thanks goes out to my amazing supervisors. My first mentor Marcin Dabrowski for your continuous guidance every week, your balance between stressing the positive of my work and critical feedback has kept me motivated and pushed me further throughout the project.
My second mentor Birgit Hausleitner for your expertise and enthousiasm, your passion for urbanism is contagious and your supply of literature has brought me loads of inspiration. I really enjoyed working with both of you.

Furthermore I would like to thank Maarten van Ham for helping me get acquainted with the topic of segregation. I thank Gianna Stavroulaki and her collegues from the PST Spatial Morphology Group at Chalmers University, KTH School of Architecture and Spacescape AB for providing me with spatial datasets to help deepen my analysis. Thanks also goes to Christoffer Carlander of Stockholm municipality and Sofia Karlsson Sandin of Svenska Bostader AB for answering questions through e-mail.

I express my sincere gratitude to the Eesteren-Fluck & Van Lohuizen Stichting (EFL) for providing me with travel subsidies to help fund my fieldwork trip to Stockholm. This experience was not only of vital importance to the project but also of great value for my personal development.

Major appreciation goes out to my twelve interviewees, most of whom I have met in person during my fieldtrip in Stockholm and a few who allowed me to speak with them through conference call. It has been very heartening to be so kindly welcomed by all of you. Thank you for your invaluable input, inspirational stories and precious time.

I am grateful for the support from my friends from both in and outside the Urbanism studio. Please know I value our time together so incredibly much, I do not take it for granted. Lastly I say thanks to my family, my parents Paula and Jan and my brothers Koen and Thom. Finishing the work in the last months was a lot more enjoyable with you around to get me through quarantaine. I love you!

I hope you enjoy the read!

Yours sincerely,
Mark Scholten

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Fig. 0.1 - Akalla playground
Source: Image by author

Road Map

Motivation

Introduction

1. Introduction

Identifying circumstances

Site specificity

Context

Fig. 1.0 - Östermalm waterfront
Source: Image by author

1.Introduction

Introductory chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the methdological aspect of the research regarding this project. The chapter will comprise:

1. Personal interest and motivation why to select these issues as the main topic of research;
2. An introduction to the key issues at stake;
3. Initial research on the site specificity, in this case Stockholm metropolitan area;
4. Contextual description of the main- and subsystems in place;

Fig 1.1 - Source: Image by author

1.1 Motivation

Personal interest

1.1 Motivation

What drives my interest and motivation for this project is the fact that I visited Stockholm a few times recently when my brother lived there the past two years and never really saw any of these processes described in the abstract. Sweden has an image of an impeccable society where inequality is low and everyone is taken care off. It surprised me a lot to find out that in fact such a country can be home to such pressing social issues and such levels of segregation.

This interface where urban planning & design and human psychology meet is what has driven me to become an urbanist. The way humans behave and the way they do what they do is already interesting enough in itself. For me it becomes even more interesting to see how they behave in regards to their environment. How does it confine them, or free them? What type of environment makes people happy? How do people live together? In the end, this is in my opinion what we should aim to achieve in urbanism. It is also the reason why I also attended a mini minor program on quality of life & happiness economics related sciences. Because I feel that it is important to know what makes people happy in order to be a good urban planner or designer. This is different for everyone of course, and is for me what drives me to keep learning how we can keep our environment liveable in the face of phenomena like rapid urbanization and polarization in societies. All the above motivates me to make a contribution to research fields regarding segregation, urban sociology and urban planning - linking the governance, social and spatial dimension.

1.2 Introduction

A polarizing world

1.2.1 Introduction

Many western countries have been faced with the worldwide trends of globalisation, industrialisation and increased global conflicts. The world is becoming smaller and smaller, economies are becoming more competitive and individuals are becoming increasingly more mobile. This state of liberty can be deemed as the pinnacle of capitalist ideology, where everyone can and should benefit from economy growth.

However, it seems that only a select group of people are benefitting from these trends. Research among 13 European capitals shows that cities are becoming increasingly more injust, with increased income inequality and increased socio-economic segregation (Tammaru et al, 2015). Neoliberal planning is gaining momentum and as a result is creating insiders and outsiders of cities (Franzén, 2001 as cited in Legeby, 2013). Housing resources are being catered primarily to the rich to maximize profit whilst vulnerable low-income groups are excluded and marginalized.

These phenomena would seem to be mostly seen in capitalist based countries like the United States or Western European countries and not so much in welfare states with strict government control of the market as is the case in the Scandinavian country of Sweden. Sweden is globally known for its egalitarian society and universal welfare support. It would seemingly not to be influenced by these trends through regulated authority over resources like housing, employment, education and healthcare.

Research by Andersson (2015, as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015) surprisingly shows that Sweden's capital Stockholm is in fact much more segregated than was expected and that the effects described above are prevalent across the greater Stockholm region.

Those who are systematically burdened by this shift in planning are the large group of migrants in Sweden, Most of them have fleed their country of origin in agony of dictatorial regimes or in escape of perpetual poverty. Social integration is poor as neoliberal planning has forced these migrants into cheap housing in the periphery of the largest metropolitan areas. Several factors are upholding a spiral of decline which includes identity crisis, territorial vandalism and, in fact once again, perpetual poverty. This is driving social polarization in a country which is so often viewed as an example of how a society of solidarity should be.

1.2.2 EU context

Many countries in an EU context have dealt with an enormous surge in migration towards their respective territories, most recently in 2015 when an assemblage of different global conditions lighted a huge movement of people from the global south to the global north. This in line with more general trends, but capacity systems in European countries were not build on this intensity of movement and required large scale operations to provide shelter to both political refugees but also economic migrants.

Fig.1.2 SD political gathering - Source: Sandberg (2018)

Fig. 1.3 Pro-immigration protest - Source: Zaya (2015)

Events like these and the subsequent events in media and politics have made ideas of solidarity become more brittle (Takle, 2017). This is a general trend across nations, but in the context of the Swedish case the particularities of segregation are extreme and have aggravated the crumbling of solidarity in the country.

As seen in the diagram below, the influx of migrants to Sweden has been substantial, also due to its own policy and views on migration. However, the size of new population in relation to the existing population is increasingly large compared to nations like Germany. Its welfare state system and large degree of development have allowed Sweden to be able to provide humanitarian support to many. However, a set of three layer circumstances in governance, social constructs and spatial constructs are causing social issues in the form of vulnerable areas and high levels of segregation. Ideas of solidarity are retrenching in the context of the welfare state, which is causing cracks in the society's ideological foundation. As a result societal harmony is jeopardized.

This project aims to deepen the understanding as to how these processes have come about, but more importantly aims to put forward policy and design proposals that will systematically reduce segregation and benefit migrants, helping them find their way in their new home country. Not only will this benefit migrants but it will benefit native Swedes and authorities whom have become scared through the polarization of politics and mass media to create and establish a safe and collective living environment for all where everyone has a right to the city.

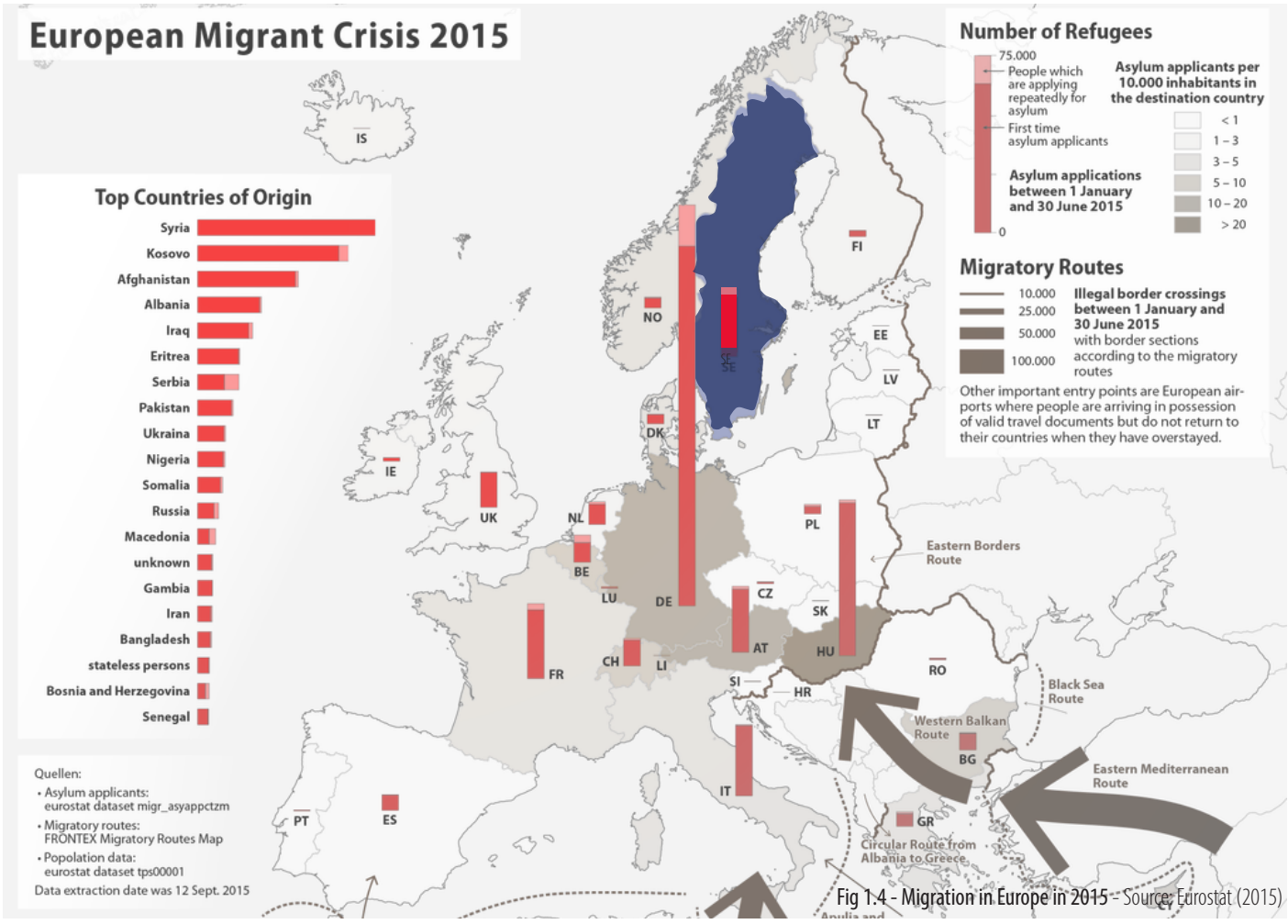


Fig 1.4 - Migration in Europe in 2015 - Source: Eurostat (2015)

1.2 Introduction

General structures

This paragraph aims to give a very brief and rough sketch of the context in order to get an initial understanding of structures in Swedish society.

1.2.3 Sweden - social constructs

Sweden is a country in the north of Europe with approximately 10.5 million inhabitants, of which almost 25% has a foreign background (Statistics Sweden, 2018). The country has a firmly rooted socio-democratic tradition, also apparant through the reign of the *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti* (Swedish Democratic Worker's Party) which has for large parts of the twentieth century constituted a minority government being the sole party in charge. In recent times the party has lost popularity and a stronger divide between left and right-wing parties is evident with several political blocks forming; the left-wing *Rödgröna* (Red-Greens), centre-right wing *Alliansen* (the Alliance) and the unaffiliated extreme-right *Sverigedemokraterna* (Swedish Democrats). Especially this last party has gained popularity in recent years in lign with the rise of populist parties in other European nations.

Historically, the country was a highly agrarian nation, living off its many natural resources. This set the base for the model of the socio-democratic welfare state model known worldwide (Esping-Anderssen, 1990). It is characterized by a high degree of social security, with high benefits for the unemployed, long maternity leave, free education and free healthcare. All of this is financed through a large variety of taxes which are relatively high compared to other countries. Both men and women are encouraged to participate on the labour market, in order to keep this model feasible.

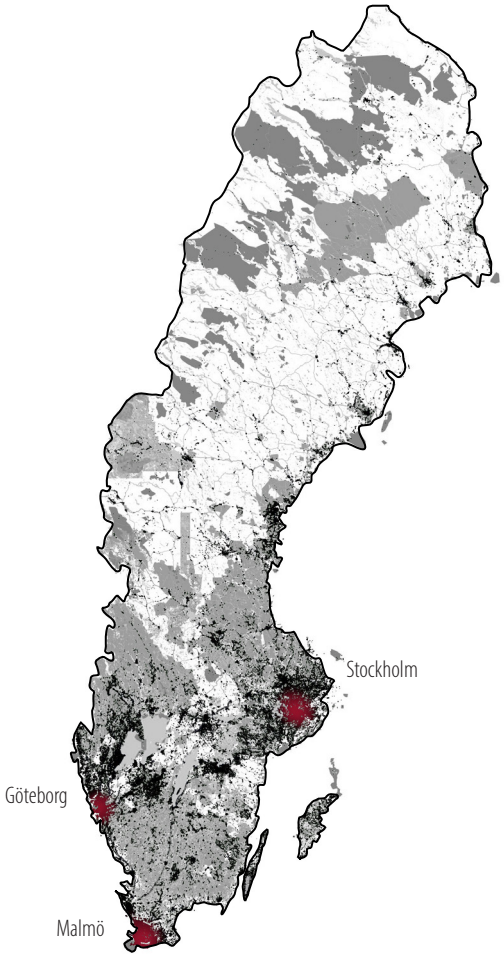


Fig. 1.5 - Sweden
Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik (2019)

1.2.4 Sweden - spatial constructs

The country has a surface area of 450.000 km^2 and a population density of only 22 inhabitants/km^2 placing it among the most sparsely populated countries in Europe. The country is known for its large forest and water areas, as well as its rocky and hilly topography. Due to its northern location, the large majority of the country lives in the south where the climate is more comfortable. Increased industrialisation in the twentieth century has seen a rapid trend of urbanization, with currently over one third of the population living in the three largest metropolitan areas, namely Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. The overall urbanization rate is 85%, marking a shift from its agrarian background to a highly industrialized nation.

One major event coming from industrialization that impacted the look of Swedish cities today is a programme from the 60s and 70s called the Millions programme (Grundström & Molina, 2016). This programme delivered a million homes solving housing shortage after the war and still composes a large part of the Swedish housing stock today (See section 1.3).

1.2.4 Sweden - governance

Swedish governance in planning consists of three levels. At the national level there is *Boverket*, The National Board of Housing, building and planning which provides legislation on building requirements through the Planning & Building Act steered by European regulations and an Environmental Code. At a regional level, regional plans exist among the 21 different regions in the country but these are non-legally binding and plays a minor role in planning. County administrative boards, as the regional institutions are called, are primarily responsible for health care provision and public transport. The hierarchy of power is characterized by a high level of decentralisation towards lower levels of government, in this case the municipal level. Municipalities have a 'planning monopoly', that is to say that they hold major decision-making power when it comes to land development (Blücher, 2013 as cited in Lundström, Frederiksson & Witzell, 2013). Municipalities are responsible for the creation of a comprehensive plan which is non-legally binding but aims to guide development among basic guidelines. After development proposals are initiated, the municipalities set up area regulations and detailed development plans that are legally binding and form the framework for development of the specific project.

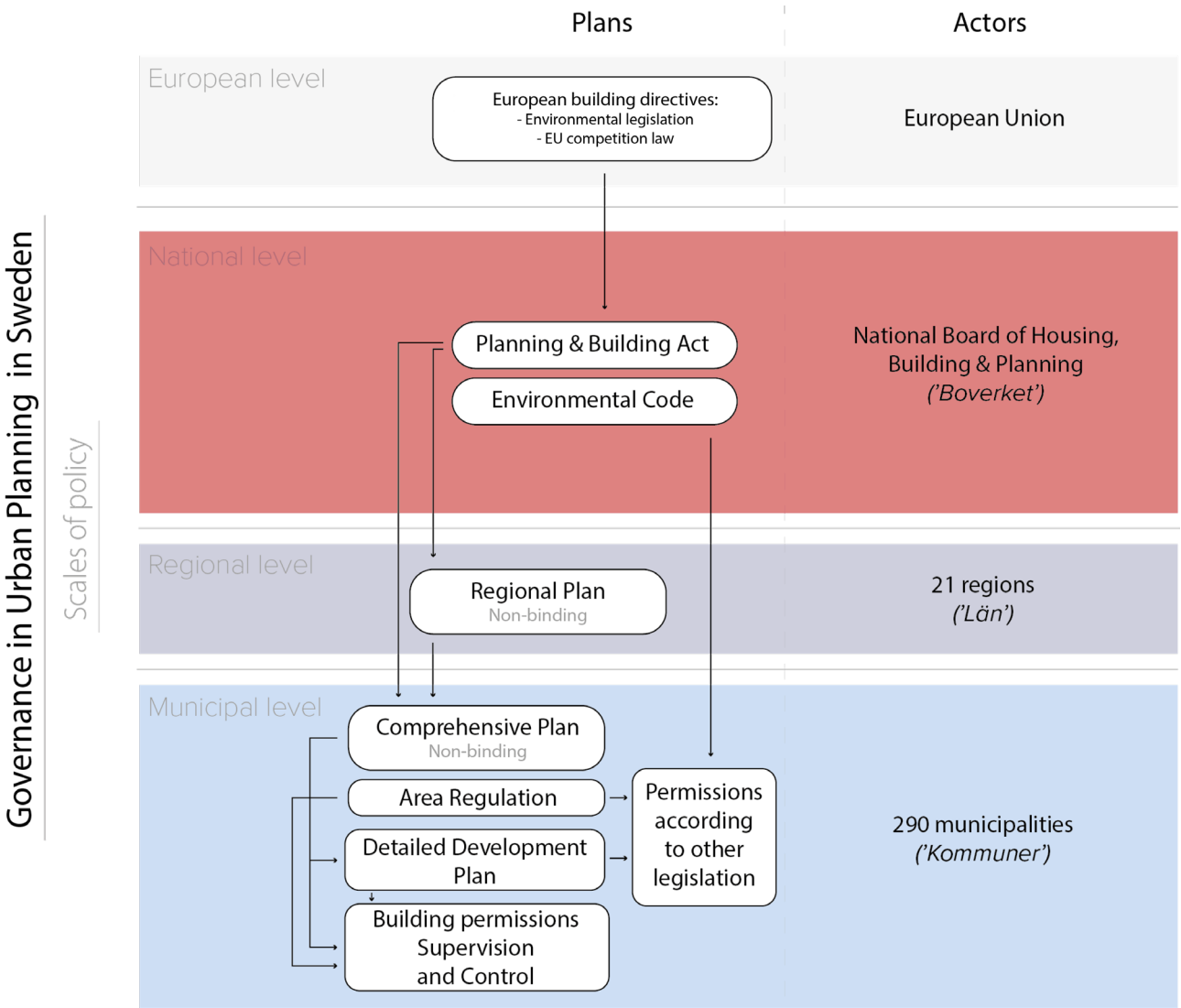


Fig. 1.6 - Swedish governance scheme
Source: MLIT (2014) - adapted by author

1.3 Site specificity

Stockholm metropolitan area

1.3.1 The case of Stockholm

Stockholm is the capital of Sweden and its metropolitan area holds approximately 2.2 million inhabitants, making it the largest city region in the country. The region is build on an archipelago of different islands and the presence of water has lead to it being nicknamed 'The Venice of the North'.

So why focus on Stockholm? - The phenomena described in the introduction are also occuring in the other biggest metropolitan areas of Sweden, Gothenburg and Malmö. However, what makes the Stockholm case more interesting but also more complex (and therefore urgent) is the fact that the governance is a lot more fragmented than in the other two regions. Stockholm is governed by its own *län* (county), which consists of 26 municipalities (see figure 1.7). In the case of the other two cities, these cities are part of counties which are much larger in size and therefore the cities territory is predominantly covered by its own municipality.

In Stockholm's case, a significant amount of these municipalities are connected in urban form to the built environment of metropolitan Stockholm and therefore hold a spatial relationship with each other. Examples of these municipalities include Solna, Sundbyberg, Nacka and Danderyd. There are also several other municipalities which are not connected in urban form, but act as 'sleep cities' where commuters live, which commute to the city for work and therefore also have a significant relationship with the city centre. Examples of these municipalities include Södertälje and Botkyrka.

This fragmented governance might be favourable to local development, but is complicating regional governance. Studies on the social condition of the region see the emergence of a set of vulnerable areas in the periphery of the region. Areas marked as vulnerable are widely spread across municipal boundaries (Polisen, 2019) (see figure 1.8).

They are divided into three categories according to local authorities:

Vulnerable areas: *(Utsatt område)*
- Low socio-economic status
- Crime is prevalent, detrimental effect on public institutions, drug dealing in public spaces
- Sense of security is weakened

Risk areas: *(Riskområde)*
- Area that qualifies as a vulnerable area but does not have the severity as an especially vulnerable area

Especially vulnerable areas: *(Särskilt utsatt område)*
- Parallel society structures practising an independent form of control
- Hotbed of extremism and jihadism recruitment
- High concentration of crime
- Prevalence of welfare fraud
- Unemployment is soaring, up to 50%
- Low education levels

Cross-municipal collaboration seems to be weak and many municipalities appear to be primarily concerned with their respective local agendas (Tammaru et al, 2015; Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010). Given the description by the authorities named above, situations in these neighbourhoods seem to be dire. These areas will be of central interest to the project.

"The OECD has criticized the Stockholm region for being a **regional mess**. There is a lot of potential, but the government is not doing well according to their criteria." - ***Interviewee #4***

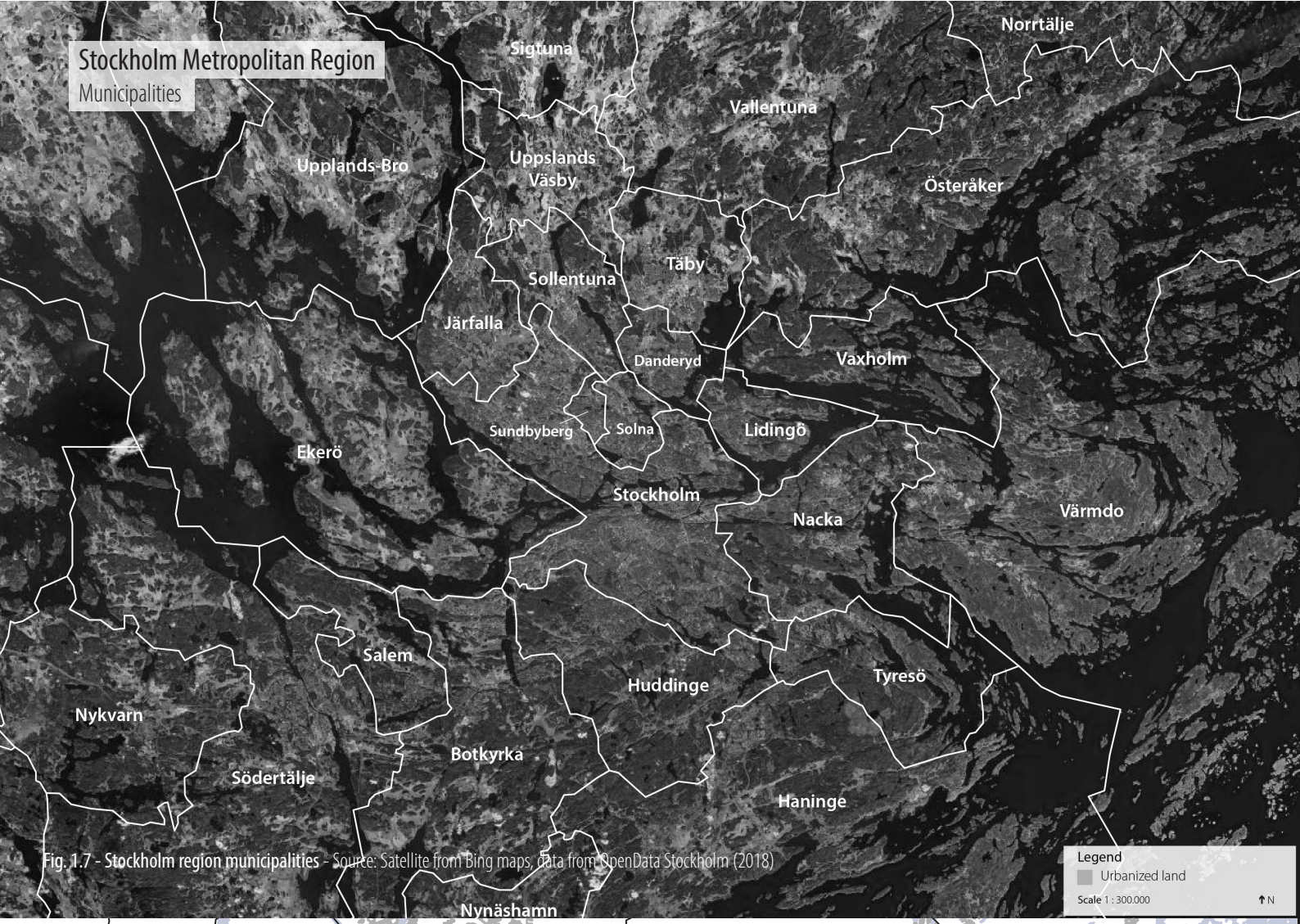


Fig. 1.7 - Stockholm region municipalities - Source: Satellite from Bing maps, data from OpenData Stockholm (2018)

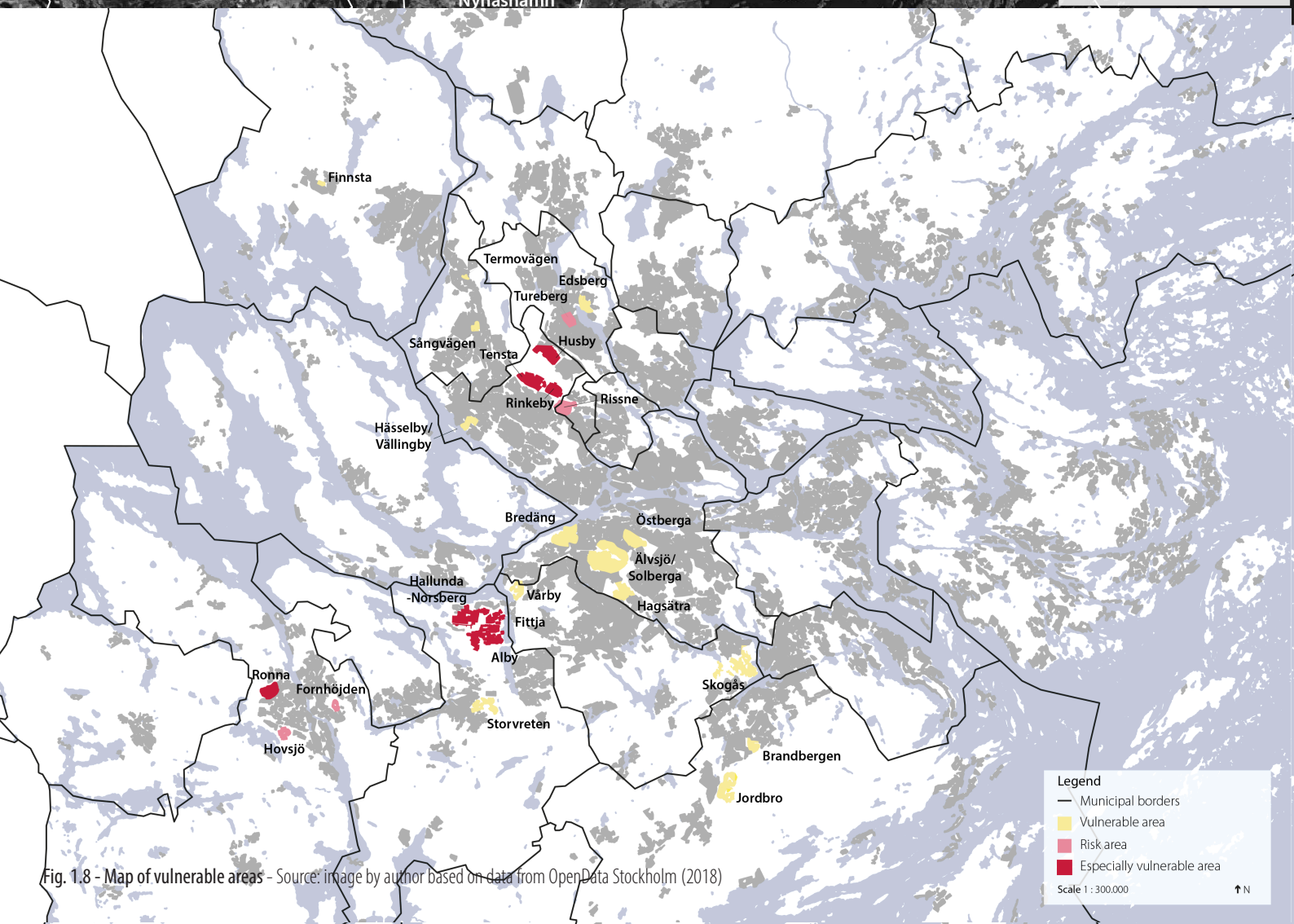


Fig. 1.8 - Map of vulnerable areas - Source: image by author based on data from OpenData Stockholm (2018)

1.3 Site specificity

Scanning spatial and social relationships

Typology locations

1.3.2 Typologies of Stockholm

When linking the spatial structures of neighbourhoods with different social status, initial patterns start to appear. People of upper social classes tend to live in low-density family homes or the urban centres, whilst most types of vulnerable areas show similar characteristics, with often outdated modernist apartments and poorly integrated street networks.

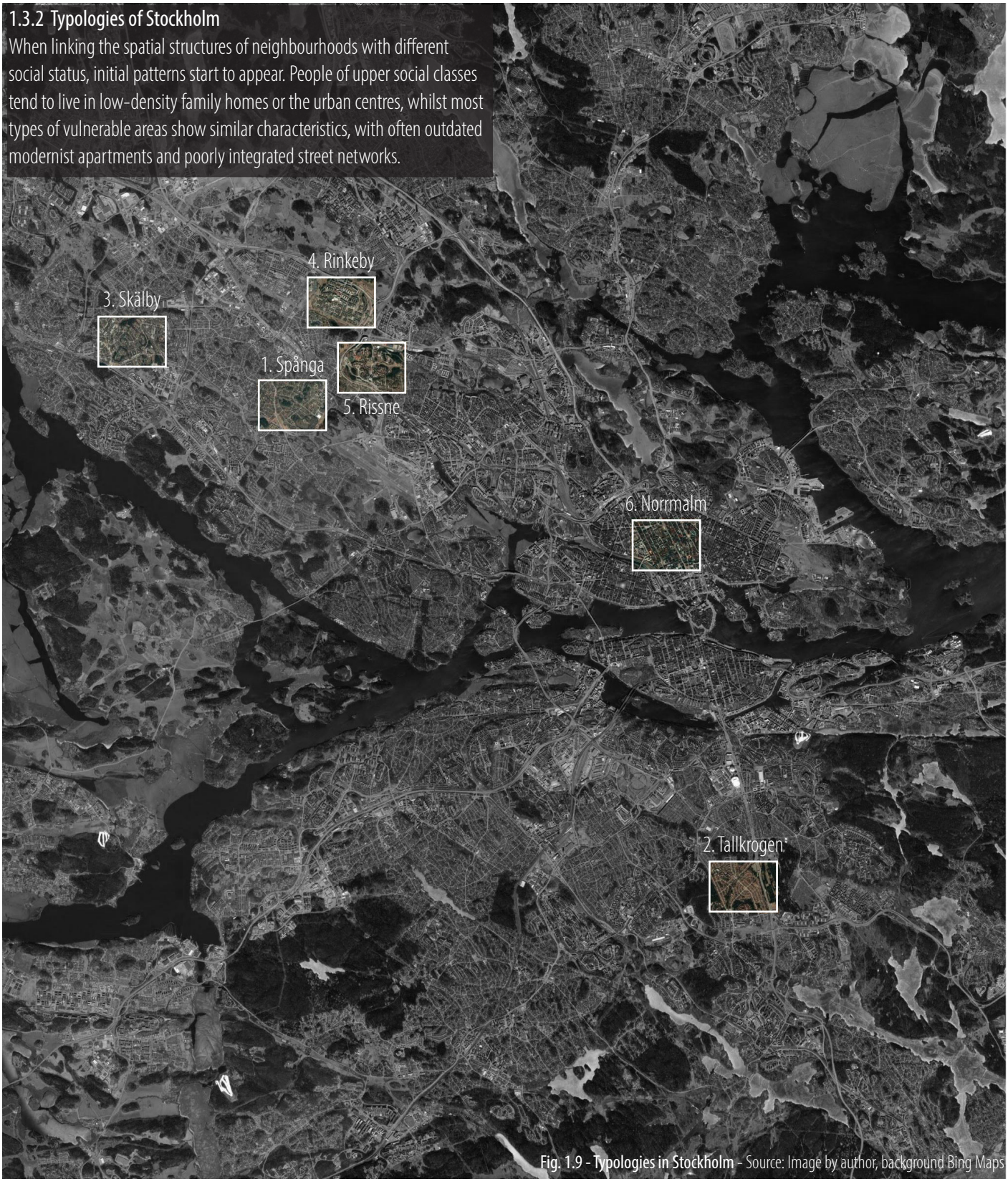


Fig. 1.9 - Typologies in Stockholm - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

Main Typologies

1. Spånga
Sprawling suburban single-family home typology with large plots and private gardens. Highly integrated street network with organic patterns. High percentage of high incomes and native Swedes.

2. Tallkrogen
Low density single-family homes in garden city style, medium sized plots with private gardens. Highly integrated street network with grid patterns. High percentage of high incomes, relatively even mix between groups.

3. Skälby
Low to medium density courtyard and row-house typology. Medium plots with private gardens. Medium integrated street network, some cul-de-sac streets. Middle class incomes, mixed composition of background.

Vulnerable areas

4. Rinkeby
High density modernist apartment typology. Small housing with small private outdoor space, sometimes none. Poorly integrated street network, many cul-de-sac streets. Lower incomes, high percentage of migrants.

5. Rissne
High density apartments in 'cul-de-sac' configuration. Small housing with small private outdoor space, sometimes none. Poorly integrated streetwork, clear hierarchy in street network. Lower incomes, high percentage of migrants.

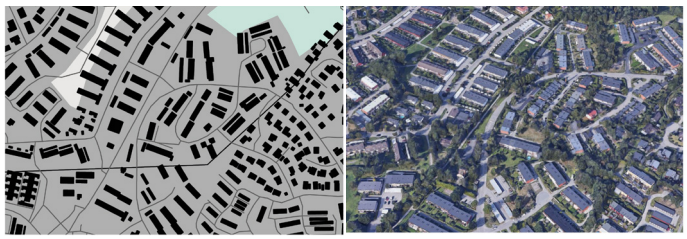
6. Norrmalm
High density eight-storey apartments in urban block form. Small plots, sometimes with private outdoor space on rooftops. Highly integrated street network in grid pattern. High percentage of high incomes and native Swedes.

Density: Low → High

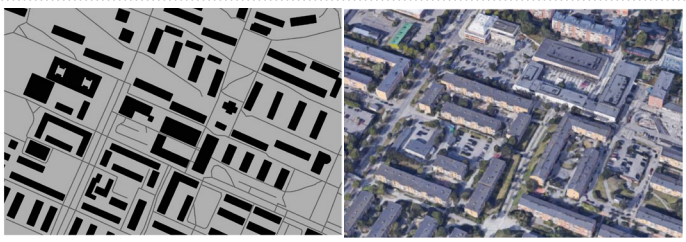
Social-economic status: High, Middle, Low, High

1. Suburban single family home typology

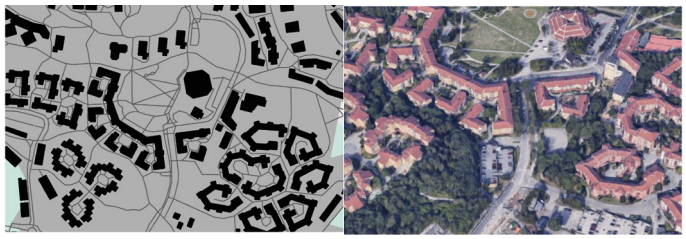
2. Garden city typology



3. Courtyard - Row house typology



4. 'Plattenbau' apartment typology



5. 'cul-de-sac' apartment typology

Fig. 1.10 - Source: Google Maps

6. Urban block typology

1.3 Site specificity

Scanning spatial and social relationships

3.7.1 Interrelation development patterns and deprived areas

In a quick initial scan, it was identified that most of the vulnerable areas in the Stockholm Metropolitan region consisted of poorly integrated neighbourhood units dominanted by multi-family dwelling blocks that consist mostly of public rental tenure. When we look the other areas, we can validate this claim, and also identify some more spatial similarities between these areas:

1. High density
2. Monofunctionality (local separation of functions)
3. Unapproriated public space
4. Poor local accessibility in the road network
5. Car-oriented road hierarchy

All areas are almost exclusively build during the same period in the 60s and 70s, during the time known in Swedish housing construction as the Million Programme era. What happened during this period and how does it contextualize the present day situation?

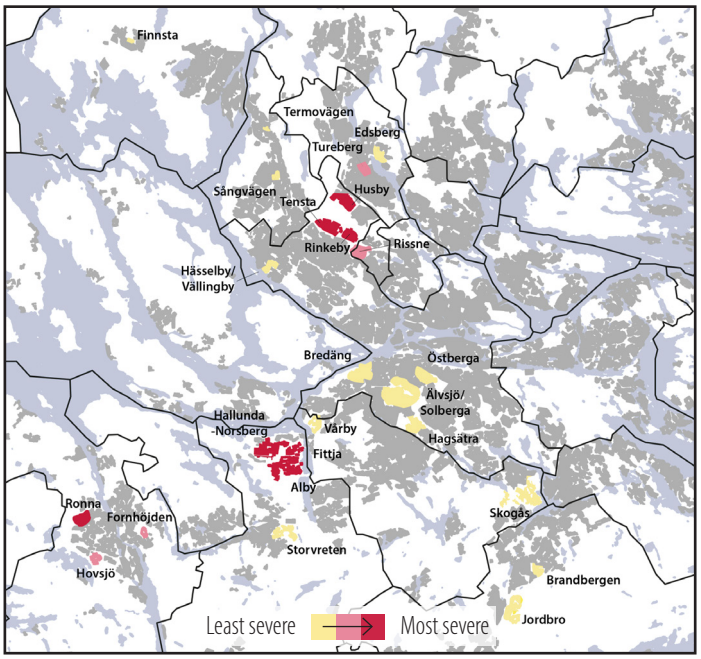


Fig. 1.10 - Source: image by author based on data from OpenData Stockholm (2018) & Polisen (2019)

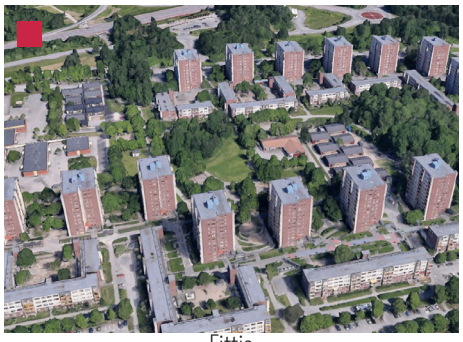
Tensta

Rinkeby

Husby

Hallunda-Norsberg

Alby


Fittja

Ronna

Rissne

Tureberg

Hovsjö

Fornhöjden

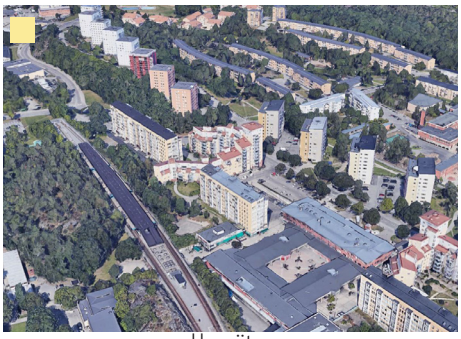
Edsberg

Sångvägen

Hässelby-Vällingby

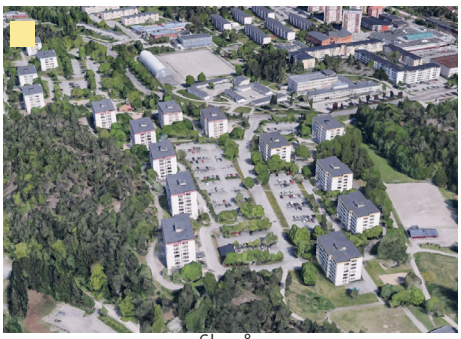
Ostberga

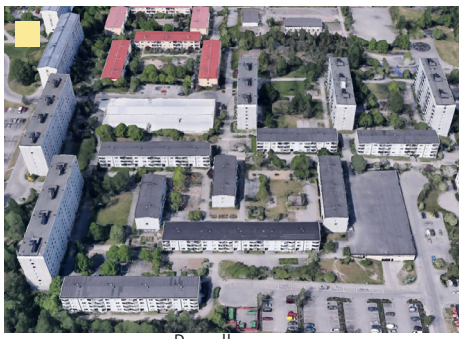
Älvsjö-Solberga


Hagsätra

Bredäng

Vårby


Skogås


Brandbergen

Jordbro

Storvreten

Termövägen

Fig. 1.11 - Source: All images from Google Maps

1.3 Site specificity

Million programme estates

1.3.3 One million new homes in 10 years

The areas lighting up in the initial scan are testimony of an era of unprecedented housing construction in the Swedish post-war period. Rapid urbanization lead to increased migration to the city, with large housing shortages as a result. This lead to decision from the Swedish government to the establish the construction of the Millions programme (Hall & Vidén, 2005).

This programme meant the construction of 1.006.000 dwelling units between the period of 1965 and 1974. This was done according to the dominant ideas about architecture of that time, in a post-modernist neighbourhood unit style with strict functional separation and traffic separation. Still 20-25% of current housing stock in Sweden is made up of these estates (Rokem & Vaughan, 2019).

It is important to recognise the Million programme estates a political construct. The housing shortage in the post-war era where Sweden had stayed neutral and did not suffer any hardships was viewed as an embarrassment to the ruling Social Democratic Party. During these years they formed an in-minority single party government and they had seemingly failed to supply their voters with one of the key resources on which the Swedish welfare state was built. (Hall & Vidén, 2005).

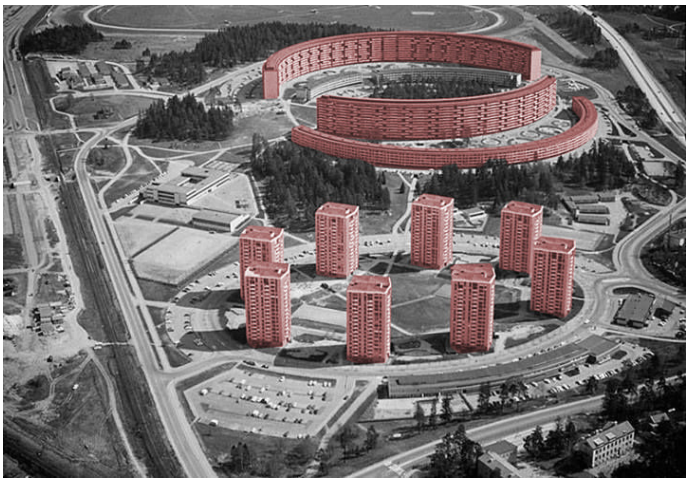
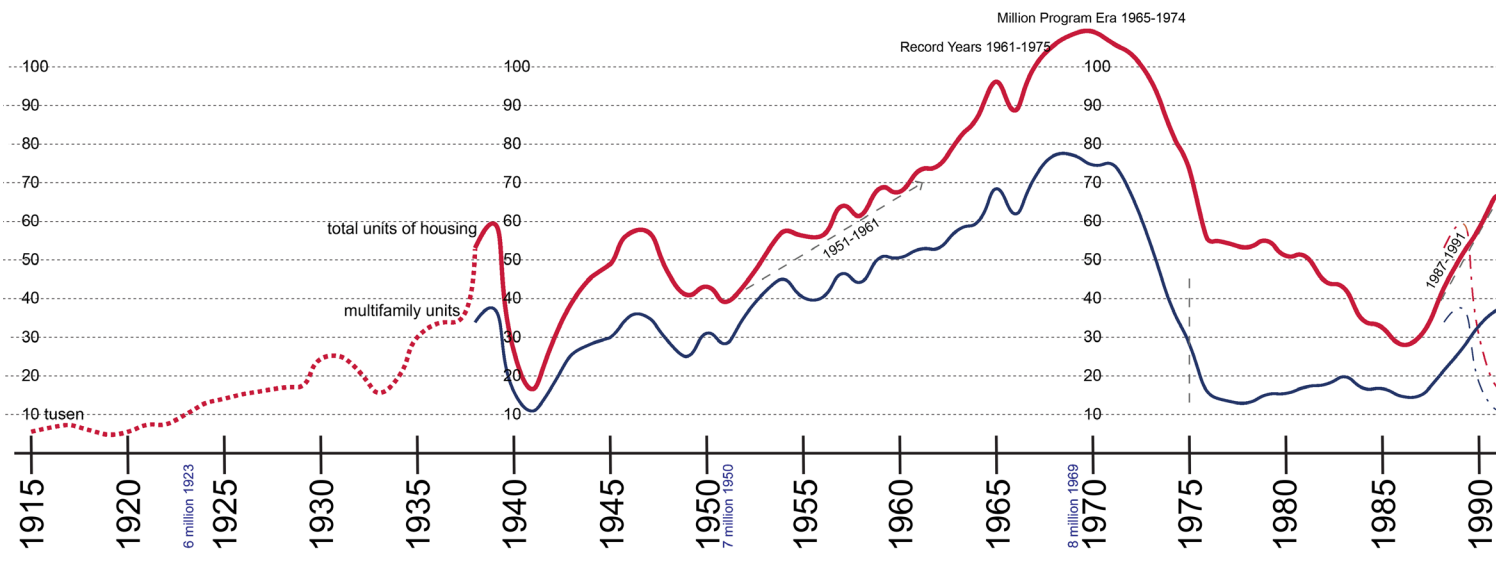


Fig. 1.12 - Grindtorp estate in Täby, Stockholm - Source: Masha (n.d.)

Fig. 1.13 - Akalla, Stockholm - Source: Notar (n.d.)



At the same time it is vital to understand the current state of the Million Programme estates as a product of a cultural-historic process (Interview #5). Contrary to the current residential situation, the areas were in fact originally catered towards Swedish middle class families. It reacted to the societal demands of that time, where an increase in welfare meant more and more people had access to cars and at the same time the automobile era brought along new questions of child safety, hence the development of child-friendly, traffic separated neighbourhoods.

In the first 20 years of their existence, Million Programme estates were not yet subject of conversation regarding segregation. By this time, this was not yet an issue (Billinghurst, 2015). Society was more homogeneous, and the long-term effects of the monotone building environments had not lead to any problems. It was home to people both with high and low socio-economic status. As all estates were constructed by the government they were all in the hands of municipal housing corporations. Due to the public housing system still all layers of society were fairly even represented.

However soon after segregation processes started to become eminent, underlying spatial constructs provided detrimental to the situation in these estates. The spatial disconnect in combination

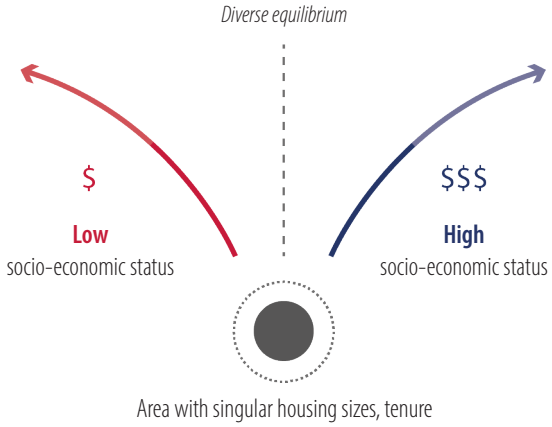


Fig. 1.14 - Flipping mechanism - Source: Image by author

with the singular housing supply meant that these areas became prone to 'flipping'. That is to say, that a disconnected singular area will most likely attract one single group of people making them prone to new segregation patterns (Interview #3).

Despite some of their innate qualities, the estates assumed a reputation that represented the failure of the welfare state and the integration debate. As problems started to arise in the estates, the country took on a new relationship with these areas which were ones expected to become the pinnacle of welfare society. Instead, a relationship of abandonment was established, which has been described as 'colonial' (Baeten, 2012). the areas became heavily stigmatised.

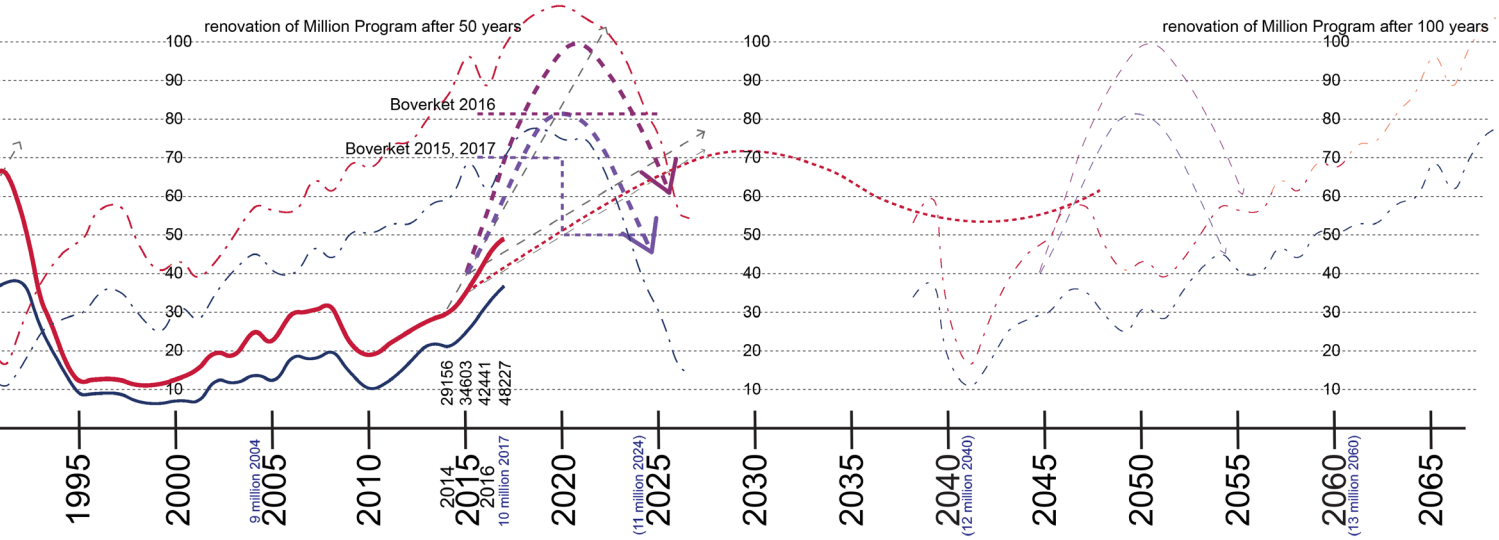


Figure 1.14 - Housing production in Sweden - Source: Stenberg (2018) - adapted by author

1.3 Site specifity

Polarizing housing market

1.3.2 Tenure types

Furthermore its important to understand how the housing market works in relation to these estates. Overall tenures can roughly be divided into two main categories, the first being owner-occupied properties. This category consists of two main tenure types:

1. Home ownership - Residents buy a property from a third party and own all of the land (or the complete apartment). They do not deal with any other managerial parties.
2. Tenant ownership - In this case, a househunter buys a property which is owned by a tenant-association. Usually this is the case in multi-family building blocks where the building is managed by this association which is usually connected to a larger cooperative housing company.

The second category consists of rental properties, which consists of three types:

1. Cooperative tenancy - The property is owned by a tenant-association and the tenant pays rent directly to the association but does not have ownership rights.

2. Private rental - In this case the property is owned by a private landlord, either in the form of an individual or a developer, and the tenant pays rent directly to the owner.

3. Public rental - Public rental is housing owned and constructed by a municipal housing company (MHC), which as the name says is owned and indirectly managed by a municipality. They act also as the landlord. MHCs are members of Public Housing Sweden (PHS) which is a collective of MHCs on a national level.

For people in rental properties there is the Swedish Union of Tenants (SUT) which they can become a member of. They will represent the tenants during negotiations with the landlords.

When it comes to housing types, 86% of Stockholm's dwellings are apartments, 9% are houses and 5% are specialist housing units. There is a big shortage of units in Stockholm as one in five dwellers live in overcrowded housing (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016). Family houses in the metropolitan regions are scarce and as a result are highly sought after (Interview #6).

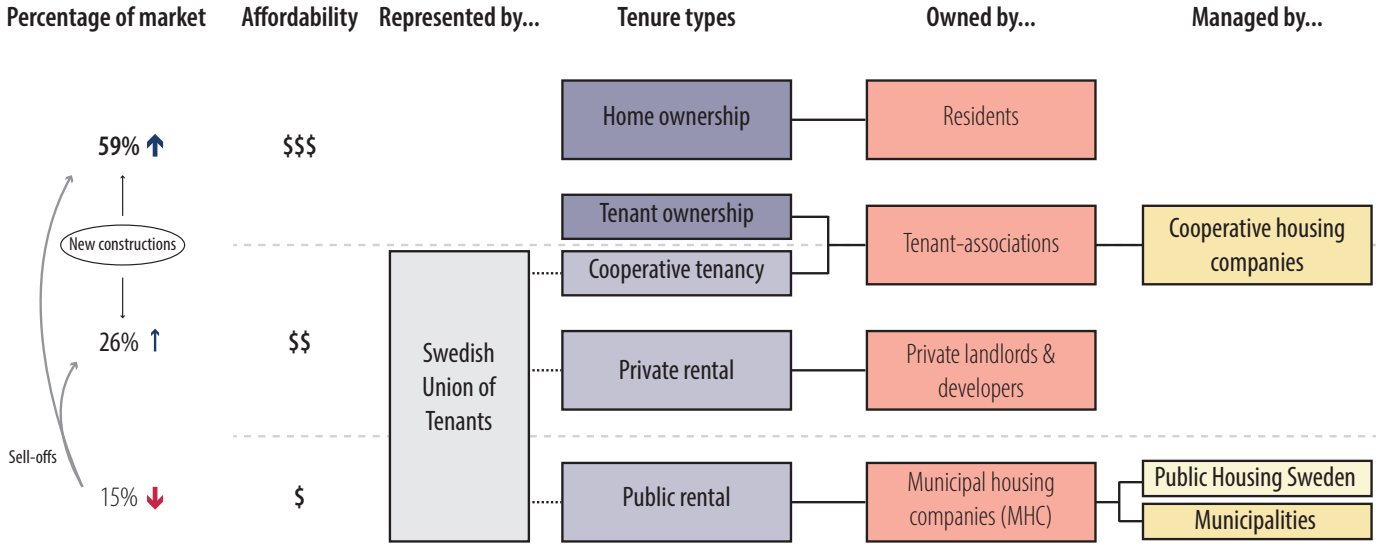


Fig. 1.15 - Tenure types and housing market organisation (specialist housing excluded)
Source: image by author, info based on Hedin et al (2012) & Municipality of Stockholm (2016)

1.3.3 Changes in the Stockholm market

In the past decades there have been quite large changes happening on the housing market, mostly as a result of neoliberal paradigms becoming dominant. At first, the rents of public housing were cost-rent based, subsidized by the government. This allowed rents to be very affordable (Lundström et al, 2013).

However, in the 1990s Sweden was hit by a crisis and the government decided to cut subsidies on housing. In 2011, this took further momentum as MHC's were forced to start functioning under business principles and had to start competing with private developers. As a result they sold large shares of their stock to cooperatives and private parties, particularly in the inner city centre as this generated the most profit. Svenska Bostader, one of Stockholm's municipal companies sold 35% of its entire portfolio (Svenska Bostader, n.d.a.). As a result, public housing is now extremely limited in the inner city which has lead to public housing often only being available in the outer suburbs.

At the same time, more and more housing units are home owned in some way or another. In the last fifteen years the balance in tenure types has been swinging increasingly in the direction of home ownership, see graph below (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016).

now, 59% of the houses in Stockholm is home-owned, 26% is cooperative and 15% is public housing. The difference in these tenure types is getting increasingly larger, which is problematic since many low-income groups cannot afford to buy a house. Those who can, have profitted from tax benefits that have promoted home ownership through regressive tax reforms for the most affluent buyers (Hedin et al, 2012).

1.3.4 Sub-conclusion

As is clear, the housing market has become increasingly polarized and this has lead to an affordability crisis which is especially apparant in Stockholm. Segregation has risen as a result. In a welfare state like Sweden, it can be called remarkable that there is no history of social housing. The effects of neoliberal planning have turned housing from a social good into a market commodity, to the detriment of lower-income groups like vulnerable migrants.

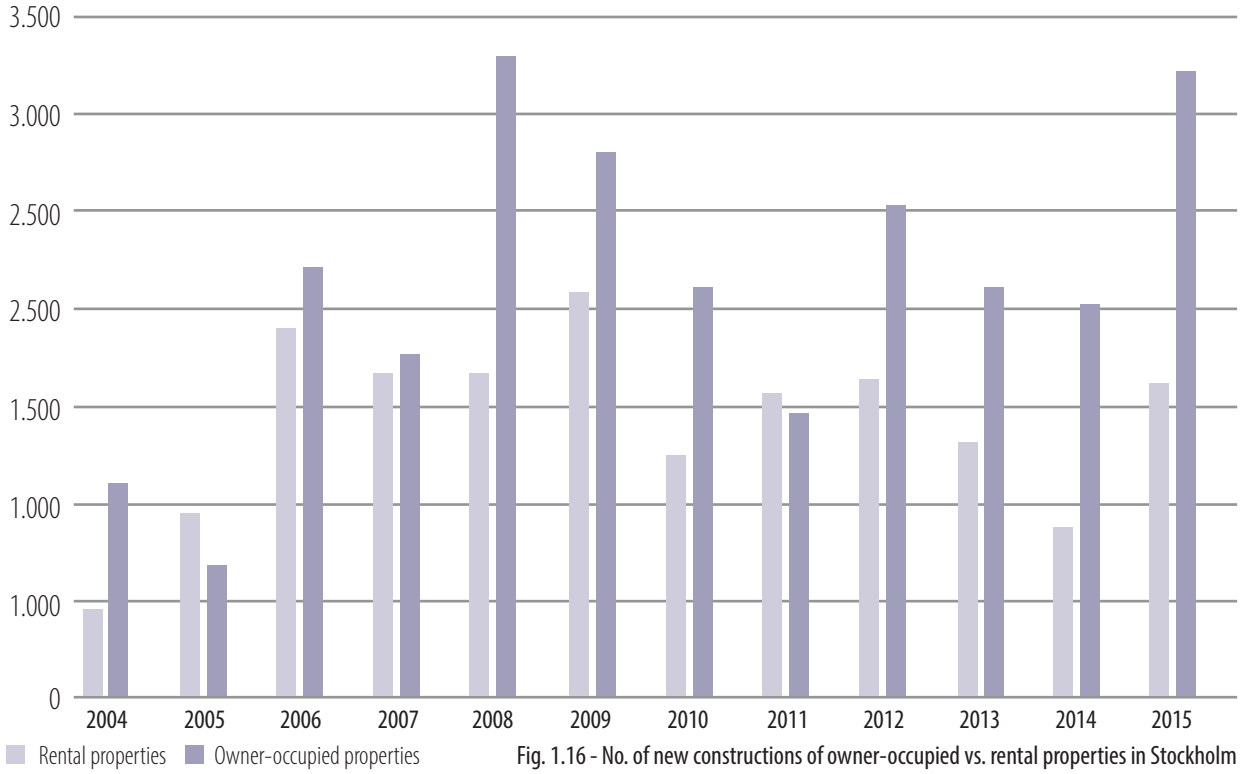


Fig. 1.16 - No. of new constructions of owner-occupied vs. rental properties in Stockholm
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2016) - adapted by author

1.3 Site specificity

Spatial polarization in Stockholm

1.3.5 Polarization in space

So how does this spatial polarization take shape? Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg (2012) investigated how development with regards to gentrification and filtering are happening across the city. Here supergentrification means the undergoing of rising status and perpetual investment in areas.

Low-income filtering is the opposite, where status is declining and investment is lagging behind. The map below shows these patterns in the region during the end of the twentieth century and have intensified over the preceding decades. Filtering was happening twice as much in low-income neighbourhoods in the

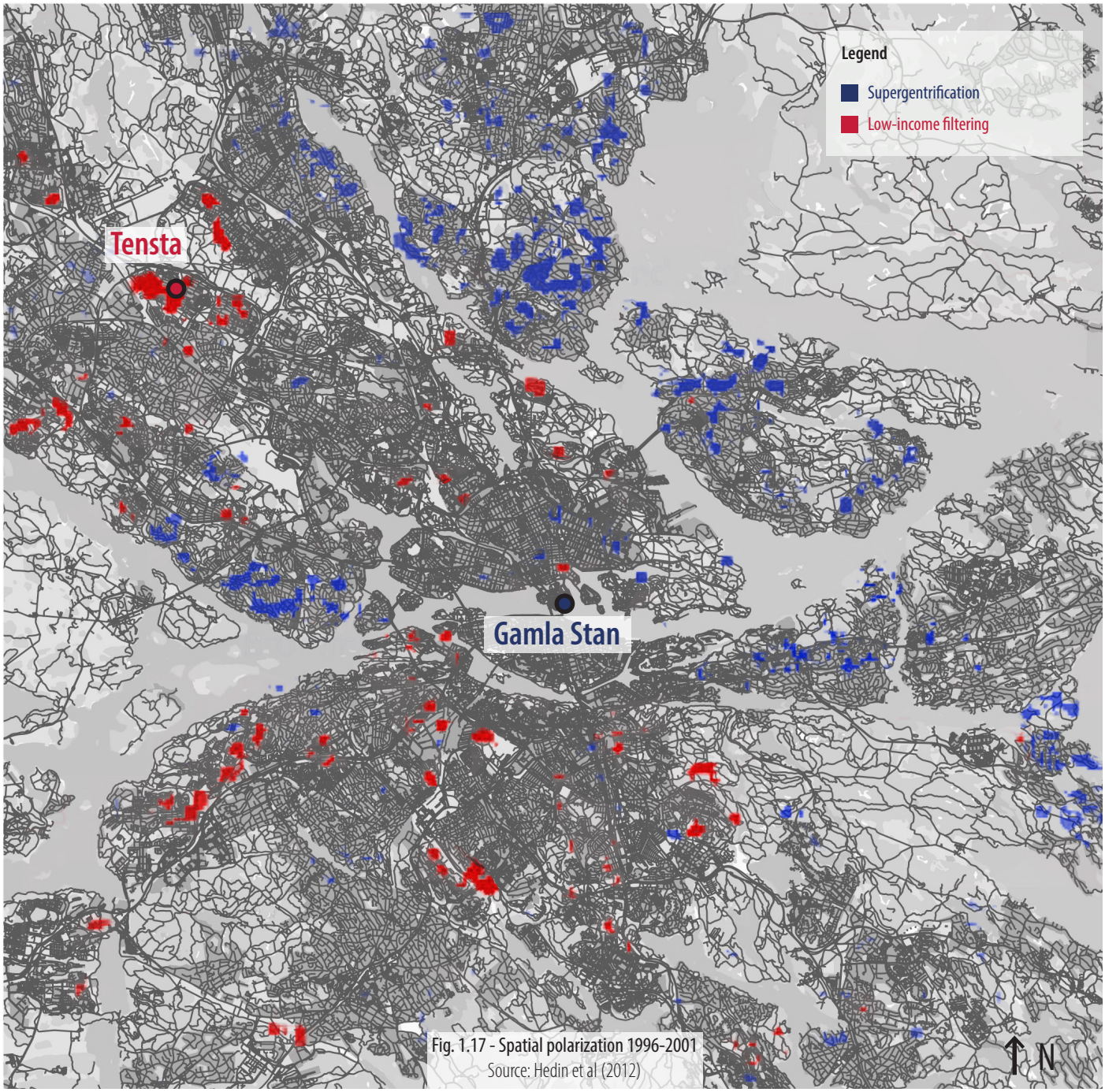


Fig. 1.17 - Spatial polarization 1996-2001
Source: Hedin et al (2012)

north-west and south and vice versa for gentrification in high-income neighbourhoods in the north-east and directly west of the city center. All in all it becomes clear that there is an increasing divide in income and capital investment between neighbourhoods. As supergentrification and income filtering increases, socio-economic polarization also rises. Other sources have also mentioned the growing income gap associated with assymetric development (Legeby, 2013). At the same time, income polarization through for example housing policy has also fueled spatial inequality (Andersson 2015, as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015). The next page aims to provide an initial understanding of the relation between build form and socio-economic status of the neighbourhood.

Fig 1.18 -Source: Damkier (n.d.)

$ Investment

Fig 1.19 - Source: Defend Europa (2018)

Fig. 1.20 - Source: Dado (2016)

Fig. 1.21 - Source: Mostphotos (2016)

$ Disinvestment

Andersson (2015, as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015) also points at the relation between socio-economic and ethnic segregation that it is a 'persistent feature' of the most vulnerable area that they are immigrant-dense in the metropolitan region. This feature is also what is most prominently used in the debate of politics. His research points at the fact that both components play an important role.

	1990	2000	2010
Low-income Swedes vs high-income Swedes	.22	.24	.29
Low-income Swedes vs low-income non-western migrants	.50	.49	.46
Low-income Swedes vs low-income western migrants	.22	.18	.16
High-income Swedes vs high-income non-western migrants	.46	.41	.34

Fig. 1.22 - Dissimilarity indices
Source: Andersson (2015, as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015)

His data shows several important findings:

1. Socio-economic segregation is increasing among native Swedes.

2. Low-income groups of different backgrounds live largely apart.

3. Western migrants show stronger integration patterns with native Swedes.

4. Non-western migrants with improved socio-economic status show stronger residential integration with native Swedes.

1.4 Context

Discourse on the migrant

1.4.1 Discourse of the migrant in Sweden

Shortly after the end of World War II, Sweden consisted of a very homogeneous society with very little change of composition of population groups until after the war the recruitment of guest workers started a change in societal composition. This process started in the 1960s and initially were primarily workers from other Nordic countries, as by 1970 the country held almost 200.000 immigrants from Finland (Skodo, 2018). This was made possible by the foundation of the Common Nordic Market, allowing for free migration. When the growth of the economy was outpaced by the influx of Nordic migrants, the Swedish government started to recruit workers from former Balkan states as well as countries like Turkey and Greece which performed labour in heavy industry (Migrationsverket, n.d.). In 1969 the national Immigration Board was formed which was later renamed to *Migrationsverket*, the Swedish Migration Agency.

Guestworkers long kept recieving welfare benefits just like any other regular Swedish citizen would. During these times, the migration policies have been described as random and haphazardous, probably because they lacked knowledge at that time about migration processes which were quite new to the country.The migrants were initially brought in with the idea that they would eventually leave and return home. By the end of the 1960s, the economy had reached its peak and work demand started to go down. The government stimulated the previously brought in workers to leave, but most of them did not. They stayed and this started a new era of immigration where guestworkers applied for resident permits and subsequently applied for family reunification visas. Family reunification is a part of the human right to family life as stated in the Decleration of Human Rights and therefore all UN member states are to a large degree legally obliged to facilitate it (Council of Europe, 2017). This increased the speed of foreign immigration to the country in the 1970s and 1980s. By this time, the country was also quite progressive to be one of the first to adopt a mulicultural policy that protects and fosters the preservation of foreign cultures.

The effects of globalisation made the world smaller and made the country more globally accessible, especially for those who are looking for a better life (Bornman, 2003). In the light of global conflicts and crises, this meant more influx of people during a set of distinct periods following the guest worker migration. Most recently during the European migrant crisis in 2015, Sweden

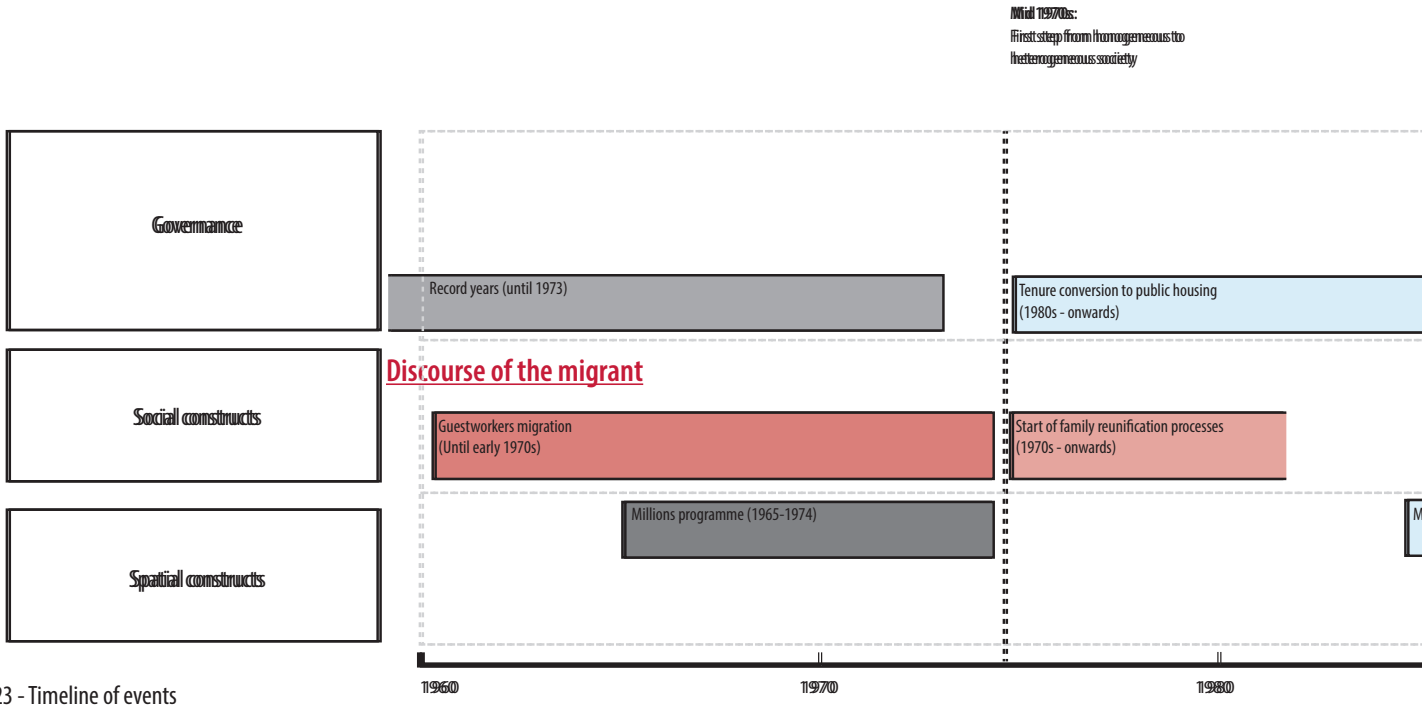


Fig. 1.23 - Timeline of events
Source: image by author

received the most migrants per capita in the world (Skodo, 2018). This has had a lasting impact on the way migration is viewed and also marked some clear shifts towards more restrictive legislation. This has been further fueled by the rise of extreme right parties like Swedish Democrats (SD) who have gained increasing support from anxious Swedish nationalists afraid to lose their culture.

An example of the new restrictive measures are the first border controls at the crossing with Denmark in over six decades. Furthermore since three years, residence permits are not given out as generously anymore as they were before. Firstly now temporary residence permits are given for three years which can be renewed, but permanent residence is now harder to acquire. At the same time restrictions have been placed on family reunification eligibility (Fratzke, 2017).

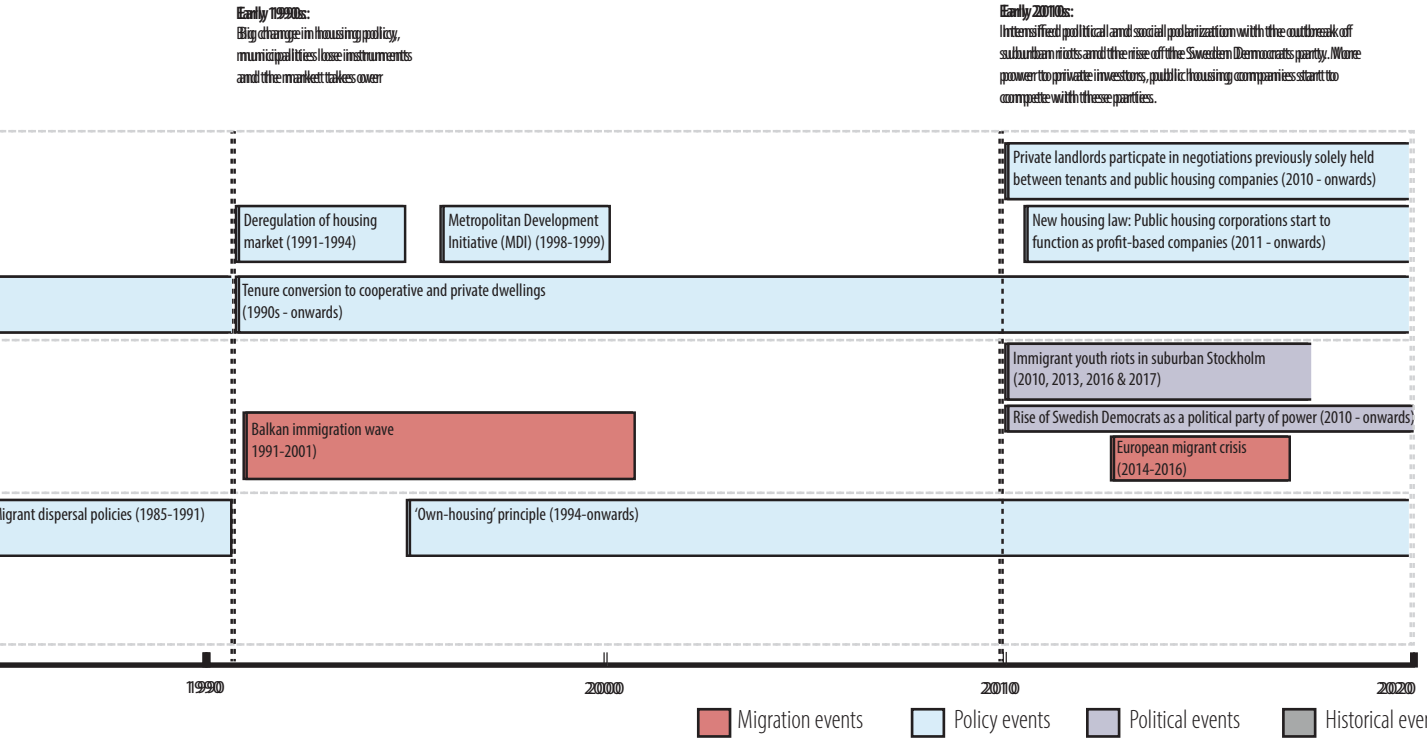
1.4.2 Different population groups

As a result of the Balkan war and recent migration crisis, Yugoslav and Syrian backgrounds form the biggest groups of foreign background in the country. On a whole as of 2018, the percentage of foreign born population is around 24 percent (Statistics Sweden, 2018).

Currently the build-up of the largest immigration groups is as follows (Statistics Sweden, 2018):

1. Former Yugoslavia (176.000)
2. Syria - (172.000)
3. Finland - (150.000)
4. Iraq - (144.000)
5. Poland -(93.000)
6. Iran - (77.000)
7. Somalia - (69.000)
8. Germany - (51.000)
9. Turkey - (50.000)
10. Afghanistan - (43.000)

Fig 1.24 - Source: Watson & Jones (2017)



1.4 Context

Discourse on the migrant

1.4.3 Obstacles

There are several obstacles migrants have faced throughout the course of time. The most obvious one being the change in culture, which can be rather large especially for migrants from non-European backgrounds. Many differences can be named, like the share of female workers, family size and relations, housing habits and religious beliefs.

The second one would be the language, which is essential for good integration and which has been part of previous policies implemented by Swedish authorities (Andersson & Bråmå, 2004). The government has a national program called SFI (Swedish for Immigrants) which provides free language education to newcomers. Even though most migrants take the SFI courses, it is not mandatory to do so nor is it a requirement to have sufficient language skills in Sweden to obtain citizenship (Migrationsverket, 2015).

The third is finding good accomodation. Since the 1990s, the Swedish housing market has been strongly deregulated and in 2011 municipal housing corporations started to function under business principles, leaving the supply of affordable housing largely insufficient, the 'own-housing' principle allowed migrants to arrange their own accomodation with relatives, which has been criticised, because it contributes to socio-spatial segregation (Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010). This will be discussed more in-depth later on.

The fourth is finding a job. In Sweden minimum wages are not decided by the government but are formed through negotiation between labour unions. This usually means minimum wages are quite high and this makes it tough for low skilled migrants to enter the labour market (Tammaru et al, 2015), especially in the light of professionalisation of the labour market. This is a more specific problem for migrants usually from non-western countries, where governments do not have proper means to set up education effectively. There is a national public employment agency that helps match offer and demand. Besides regular employment, there is also always an option to self-employment through entrepreneurship. Stimulating this creativity and entrepeneurial skills among migrants is often viewed as a good way to help migrants find a job and for their societal integration as well through interaction with clients and authorities. Different types of ethnicities are found to have different propensities towards entrepeneurship which are important to recognise (Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015) (see diagram below).

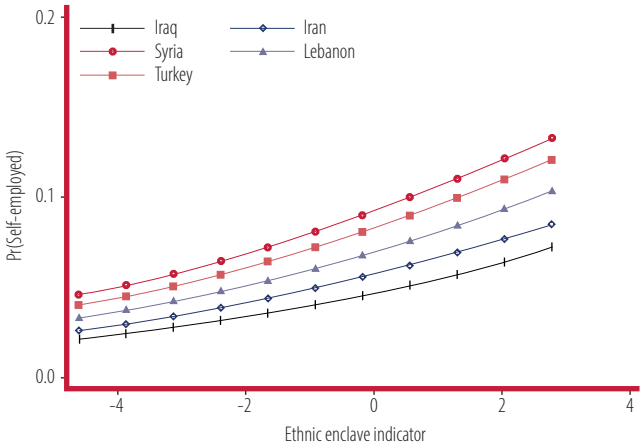


Fig. 1.25 - Propensity to entrepeneurship per population group
Source: Andersson & Hammarstedt (2015) - adapted by author

The fifth is societal acceptance. Even though Sweden has had a very humanitarian tradition concerning migration, recent development in politics has seen the rise of right-wing populist parties like Swedish Democrats (SD) that are strongly opposing immigration. Contrary to many other European countries, Sweden has not enforced the acquisition of certain integrational aspects as a prerequisite for citizenship. It is assumed that the admittance of citizenship validates integration in itself (Skodo, 2018).

All in all, these obstacles make migrants socially and economically vulnerable and it is the duty of planners to make sure that their needs and rights are included. Especially when it comes to the latter three obstacles, planners could potentially contribute. Through the realisation of improved social mobility, accessibility and subsequently the design of more inclusive space that could foster mutual understanding between people of different backgrounds. Migrants can thus be viewed as an asset to society instead of an issue.

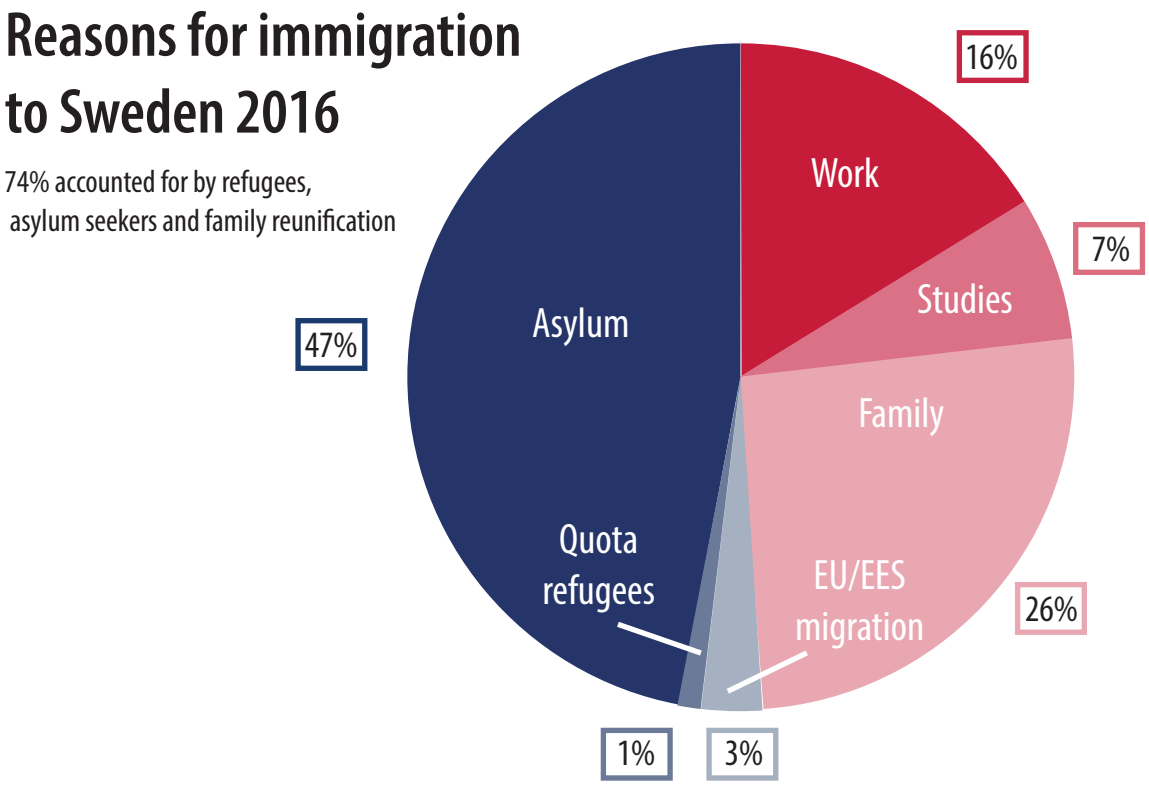


Fig. 1.26 - Reasons for immigration in 2016
Source: Migrationsverket (2016) - adapted by author

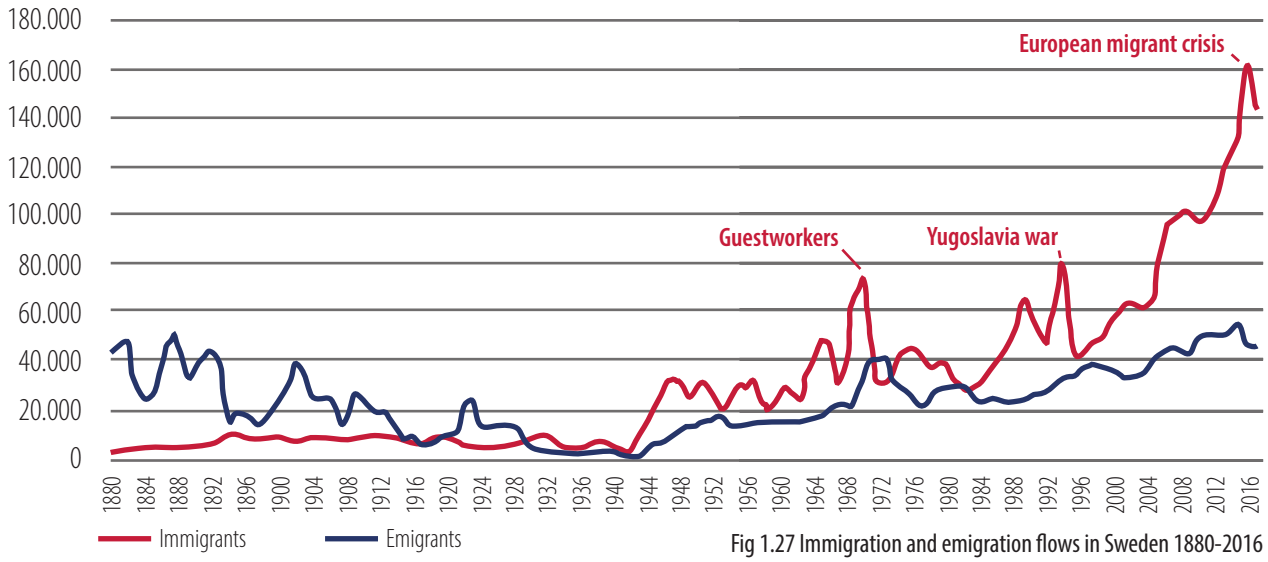


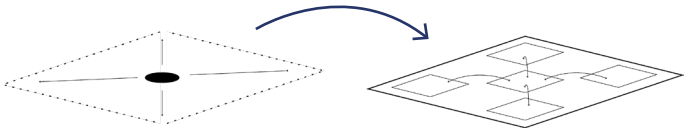
Fig 1.27 Immigration and emigration flows in Sweden 1880-2016
Source: Skodo (2018) - adapted by author

1.4 Context

Discourse on the urban planner

1.4.4 The idea of space and the role of planning

Sweden is a society shaped by its historical relationship with the construction of the welfare state and its strong socialistic foundation. For a long time the idealistic ideology encompassed in the welfare state took on enormous proportions to the extent that it was thought it could solve pretty much everything. As a result urban planners were assigned a role of 'social engineers' , that had future visions and could precisely determine the demands of future generations (Engström & Cars, 2013 as cited in Lundström, Frederiksson & Witzell, 2013). By this time, space was accounted for according to two central ideas. One was the conceptualisation of space of Galileo. Space was open and limitless (Shane, 2005). Sweden's geographical context fitted this description, given the large supply of land and low population density.



Space as a system of extention Space as a system of sites

Fig 1.28 - change of systems

Source: Images by author

This 'system of extension' later shifted to a 'system of sites', which made space an entity which consists of relationships between sites. The second idea was the idea of the City as a Machine by Kevin Lynch (Shane, 2005). After unprecedented urbanization, the city was reduced to the idea of an archipelago consisting of several functional districts, which were conceived on the basis of 'car-oriented development' (Engström & Cars, 2013 as cited in Lundström et al, 2013). The image on the right shows an example of the functional division of the sites in the neighbourhood of Skärholmen.

This image of the social engineer proved unrealistic. As crises hit the country, the urban planner fell from its pedestall and lost the position of leadership. The new experts became the economists. The public authority was seemingly incapable of solving issues in itself, and the forces of the global market could provide openings to certain issues and facilitate growth in development (Engström & Cars, 2013 as cited in Lundström et al, 2013).

Fig. 1.29 - System of sites in South-West Stockholm

Source: Image by author based on Bing Maps

As a result of ongoing deregulation and privitisation, the municipal constituent and the urban planner slowly but surely surrendered parts of its power to private market parties. As a result of the increased nature of negotiation in planning, the urban planner transitioned from a role of social engineering to a role of a collaborator in complex planning processes, sometimes much to the frustration of planners themselves (Koglin & Petterson, 2017). Planners, developers and other actors involved have become mutually dependent on one another for urban development.

Furthermore, the concept of housing has shifted from a perspective of it being viewed as a public good to a perspective regarding it as a commodity of economic value. Throughout the last two decades, neoliberalisation of the housing market has led to municipal housing corporations selling large shares of their property assets to developers or private owners. Since 2011, these companies are forced to function under business principles and are competing with private developers. These changes in the housing market have lead to increased segregation in metropolitan areas as offer - demand ratios have become unbalanced for public rental housing (Andersson & Kährik, 2013 as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015).
Government authorities have been criticized for allowing neoliberalization of the market to take place and for its

subsequent social issues (Baeten, 2012; Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg, 2012). However, municipalities and its planning departments have been criticized as well for taking a laid back, ad-hoc approach towards the new situation they have been facing. According to Hedström & Lundström (2013, as cited in Lundström et al, 2013) comprehensive plans in Sweden are often outdated, with one third of municipalities maintaining plans from the 1990s. Legislation states that municipalities should update the plans regularly, but it is up to themselves to make the decision to do so and not updating faces no consequences due to the strong decentralisation of power.

As of now, municipalities are reacting ad-hoc to the plans of developers, setting up legally-binding detailed development plans (DP) after an initiative comes in. Engström & Cars (2013, as cited in Lundström et al, 2013) advocate for a stronger function of the comprehensive plan and a more active rol of the urban planner in the collaborative nature of development structures.

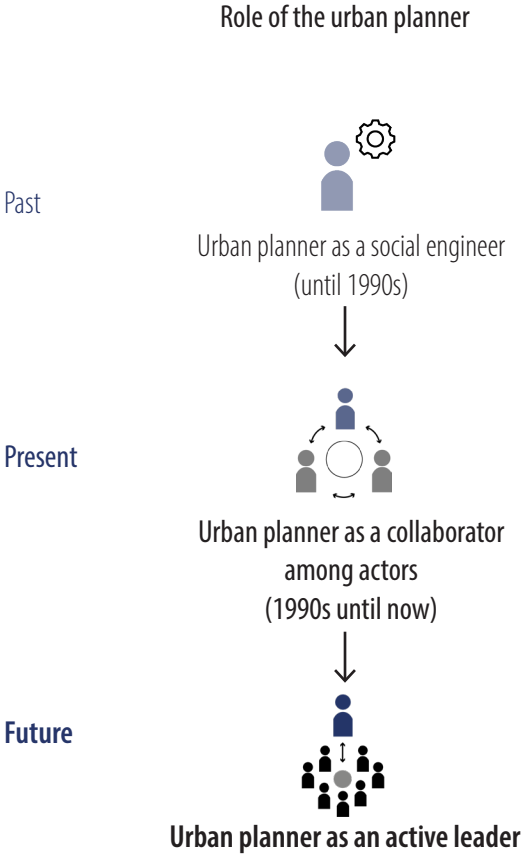


Fig 1.30 - Source: Images by author

Sub-conclusion

Assuming leadership in this complex arena of stakeholders might require a reconsideration of procedures and platforms, where authorities still have a power to adjust. Now that power has been partly outsourced to private parties, this seems the only option for urban planners to remain a strong factor of influence in the planning process and to create more socially sustainable cities. Government slowly changed into governance, but seemingly to the neglect of social concerns (Montin & Granberg, 2007).

The government would seemingly need to resume their involvement in the planning process. This would require a further reconsideration of the future role of the urban planner, whom need to find new ways to manouevre in market conditions. Arguably the key for this role lies in a more pro-active leadership role for planners and the role of parrhesia, where free speech and challenging truth claims by politicians seems to be critical (Lundström et al, 2013; Grange, 2017).

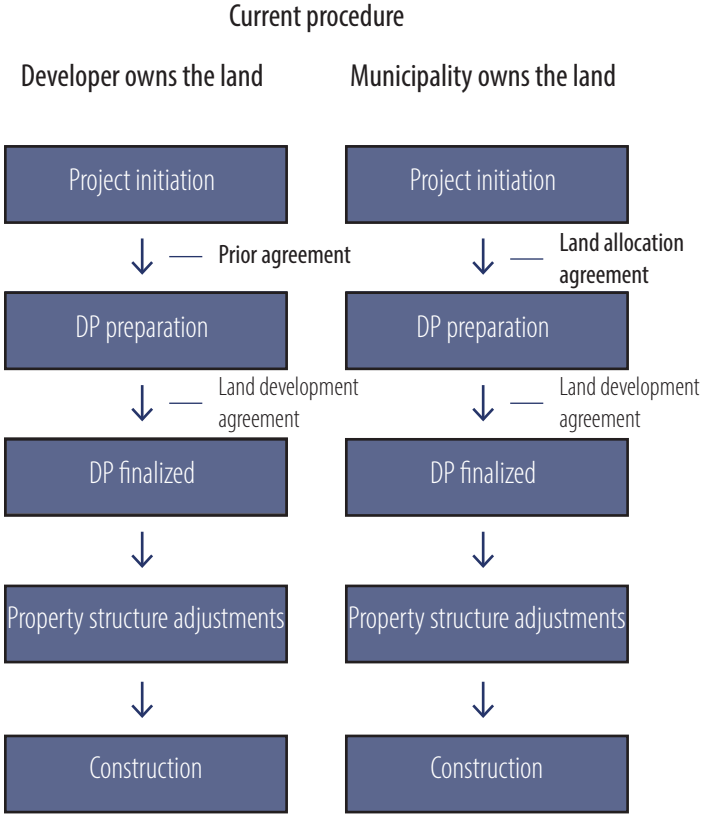


Fig. 1.31 - Source:
Diagrams based on Kalbro 2013, as cited in Lundström et al, 2013

1.4 Context

Policy strategies from the past and present

Throughout the course of time that migration has started in Sweden, many approaches have been tried by authorities to manage the new influx of people in the country and their subsequent integration. At the same time different ways of dealing with the housing system have been in place as well. (See section 1.3)

1.4.5 Housing market and policies in Sweden

The housing market was historically one viewed through a social lens. Through tradition, municipalities in fact own housing construction companies now known as *Allmännyttigt bostadsföretag,* which for the remainder will be referred to as Municipal Housing Companies (MHC). These companies provided public housing in different tenures under the political idea of tenure neutrality, conform the idea of universal access to welfare resources. Rents were based on the costs for construction and companies were non-profitable through government subsidies.
However, since the economic crisis of the 1990s, the Swedish housing market has been subject to many reforms, or perhaps it is fair to say a large withdrawal from the state in the housing market. The ministry of Housing was abolished and government subsidies for public housing were cut back. A multitude of other policies in recent times have led to increased socio-spatial segregation namely (Hedin et al, 2012):

1. Promotion of home ownership and subsequent tax profits;
2. Limitations to municipal sale of housing properties were lifted;
3. MHC were forced to function under profit-based principles;
4. Easier conversion of public housing to expensive cooperatives.

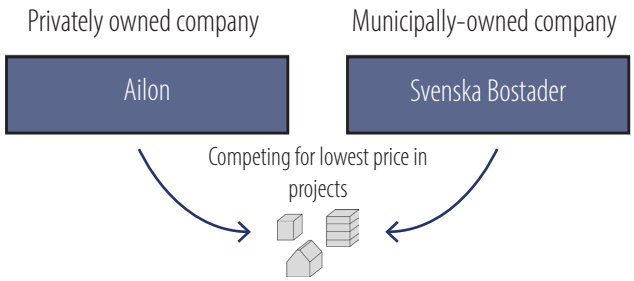


Fig. 1.32 - Example of intended process
Source: image by author

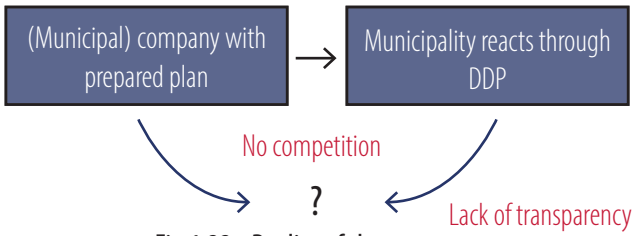


Fig 1.33 - Reality of the process
Source: image by author

Now, MHC's basically have the same structure as private developers. The idea is that both compete with each other for better projects and lower prices. In practice, it is often a one on one agreement between developer and municipality for specific projects, as municipalities only start reacting once a project is proposed. It is becoming increasingly non-transparent how developers are selected and in several cases there is little to no competition.

1.4.6 Types of policy strategies countering segregation

Previous research has tried to categorize and understand what kind of policies governments are resorting to when it comes to segregation. Smets & Salman (2008) identify two main aims of policies, namely (1)curative and (2)mitigating strategies. The former focussing on trying to 'remove' segregation in itself, whilst the latter aims to reduce negative externalities caused by segregation. Furthermore they recognise three types of strategies that are globally in swing:

(1) Mixing strategies; *(curative)*
(2) Escaping strategies; *('curative' - but actually aggravating)*
(3) De-informalisation strategies. *(mitigating)*

Mixing strategies aim to create a different variety of housing and tenure types in a neighbourhood, which aims to constitute a diverse population of different households and different incomes. This should allow people to have a property career within their own neighbourhood and that prevents accumulation of welfare problems, as segregation is defined by Halleröd & Larsson (2008).

Escaping strategies are aimed at setting up social dichotomies,

that is to say, people from higher social classes who settle away from deprived areas with social issues and then isolate themselves. An expression of this strategy is the emergence of the gated communities. This is a phenomena that does not exist to the degree that neighbourhoods are actually gated, but recent projects like Victoria Park and the development in Hyllie in Malmö have been criticised for catering to only those who are better off (Baeten, 2012). Furthermore, in the periphery of Swedish metropolitan areas consist of many homogeneous neighbourhoods with large single-family homes which strengthens this trend of isolation.

De-informalisation strategies are aimed at places where informal economy is dominant in peripheral areas. According to de Soto (2001, as cited in Smets & Salman, 2008), legalizing these informal practices could help both the government and the workers generate more capital and an upward direction in social mobility. This last strategy is less relevant in the Swedish context.

1.4.7 Countersegregative policies from the past

Then, which of these policies have been used in Sweden and what has been their effect? Andersson et al (2010) elaborates on the desegregative measures of Swedish government and identifies three main types: (see timeline on previous page)

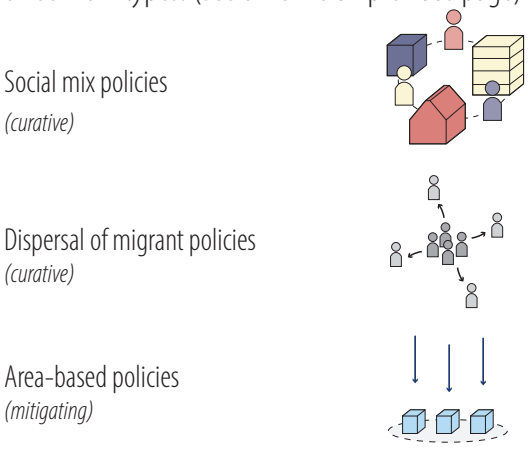


Fig. 1.34 - Source: Images by author

-> Social-mix policies of course are strongly linked with the aim of mixing strategies described before. Tenure conversion from private to cooperative housing is one way to effectuate this policy and has been happening since the beginning of the 1980s. This has mainly proven ineffective as this opportunity was mostly capitalized on by tenants living in areas where public housing stock was quite low already, thus not contributing to a better mix.

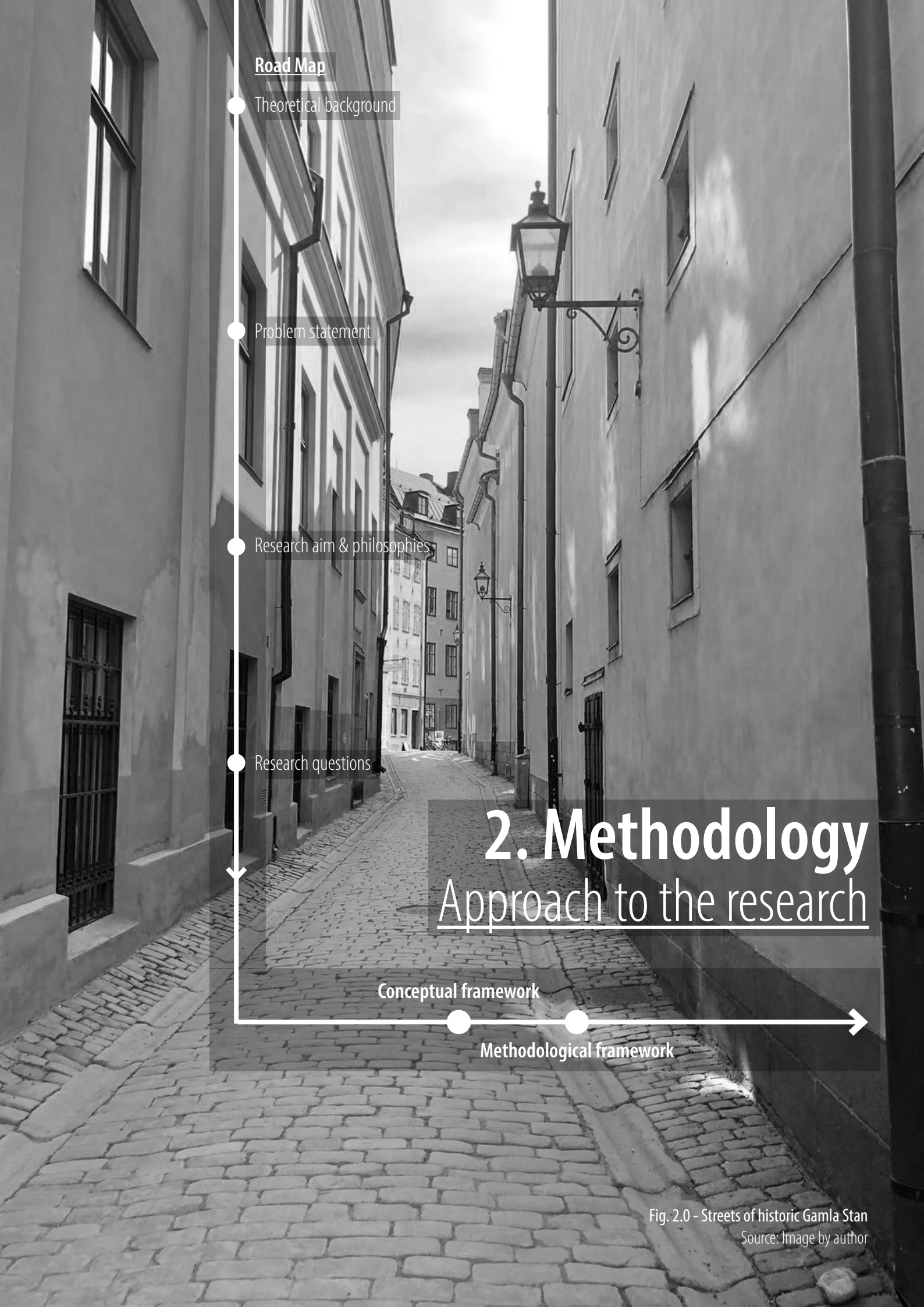
Dispersal of migrant policies attempted to disperse migrants more evenly, in order to lift the burden from municipalities with a large influx of migrants who did not have the resources to cater to the needs of these newcomers. Although this policy at first glance might seem quite logical, it still failed. The main reasons for this were that migrants were sent to municipalities which indeed had housing available, but the exact reason they had housing available was because they were most often rural municipalities facing depopulation and vacancy due to a lack of employment opportunities.

Furthermore, migrants usually did not end up staying in the area they were initially assigned to, moving to the metropolitan areas of the city anyway. Thirdly, their dispersal disconnected them from any social network they might have had among other migrants, which weakened their opportunities for employment and social interaction even further.

More recently during the end of the 1990s, the government resorted to more area-based policies, for example in the form of the Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI) (Andersson & Bråmå, 2004; Andersson et al, 2010). Its main concerns where increasing employment levels, reducing dependency on social benefits and improving the Swedish language skills amongst residents. Again, this approach was retrospectively criticized, in particular for the lack of consideration on the spatial structure of these neighbourhoods and its effect on the social structure.

1.4.8 Sub-conclusions

It becomes clear that housing and desegregation policies in Sweden are embedded in contradictions. On the one hand curative measures are used to counter segregation, to a large degree caused by aggravating housing policies itself. This emphasizes the lack of effectiveness in single-minded policies and seems to call for a more comprehensive approach, which reconsiders rigid structures of power and regulation.



2. Methodology
Approach to the research

Fig. 2.0 - Streets of historic Gamla Stan
Source: Image by author

2. Methodology

Methodology chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of the methdological aspect of the research regarding this project. It describes the research approach, The chapter will comprise:

1. Description of theoretical background relevant to the project;
2. A problem statement which captures the essence of the issues;
3. Clearly formulated aim of the research in terms of intended outcome in accordance with research philosophies;
4. Main research question with several subquestions;
5. Conceptual framework describing interrelations between concepts and phenomena;
6. Methodological framework comprising an overview of the working hypothesis and methods;

2.1 Theoretical background

Relevant concepts

2.1.1 Position within the work field

The main problem field concerning this project lies between the fields of urban design, urban planning and urban sociology with a specific focus on segregation processes. The world is becoming smaller and smaller through the influences of globalisation, which provides many opportunities for people in general but also poses some complex challenges. One of the phenomena associated with globalisation is increased income inequality and subsequent socio-spatial segregation (Tammaru et al, 2015). As people get the freedom to move around, social classes or certain groups of people either move to places of the same status or background or they leave areas where they feel insafe or unwanted, starting a process of segregation. The aim of this paragraph is to provide additional information as a background for the conceptual framework.

2.1.2 Defining segregation

The complexity of segregation has regularly defined through a lens of clustering and 'separateness' of residence of population groups, more often than not linked with cultural, ethnical or socio-economical characteristics (Smets & Salman 2008). More recent definitions are attributed to the lack of interaction opportunities in space between different groups (Legeby, 2013; Rokem & Vaughan, 2019). This can be either due to a deficit in the facilitation of unintended encounters in local design or a lack of mobility towards certain places. These push and pull factors of migration are causing an increasing divide in cities. An assymetry is formed between the social mobility of the rich who have the chance to settle everywhere and the lower social classes who are forced into cheap housing estates.

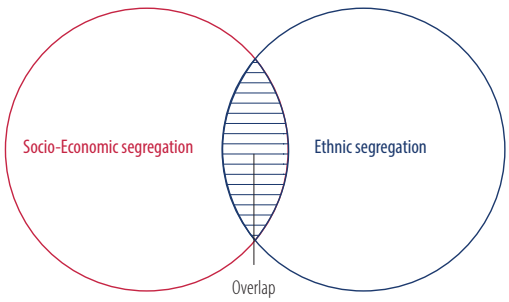


Fig. 2.1 Segregation 'types'
Source: image by author

Furthermore segregation can also consist of an ethnic dimension. Due to increased heterogeneity in societies, clustering of groups (and discrimination of groups) is becoming a more regular occurence. This in itself is not problematic, in fact ethnic networks also provide many benefits for migrants in foreign countries (Edin, 2003; Damm, 2009). However when socio-economic and ethnic factors overlap, and this is quite often the case in case of political or climate refugees because they leave everything behind and flee, the two can get mixed up. Problems and issues are narrow-mindedly attributed to ethnicities, whilst the core of most of the social issues related to segregation actually find their basis in an accumulation of welfare problems (Obucina, 2014). This overlap between the two types of segregation is largely at play in the Swedish context and the media also seems to play a big role here. It is important to recognise the divide between the two but also the role that the interrelation between the two in the complexity of segregation can play as it could entail a contradiction in policy for inclusive planning, for example when policies are exclusively dealing with just either of the two.

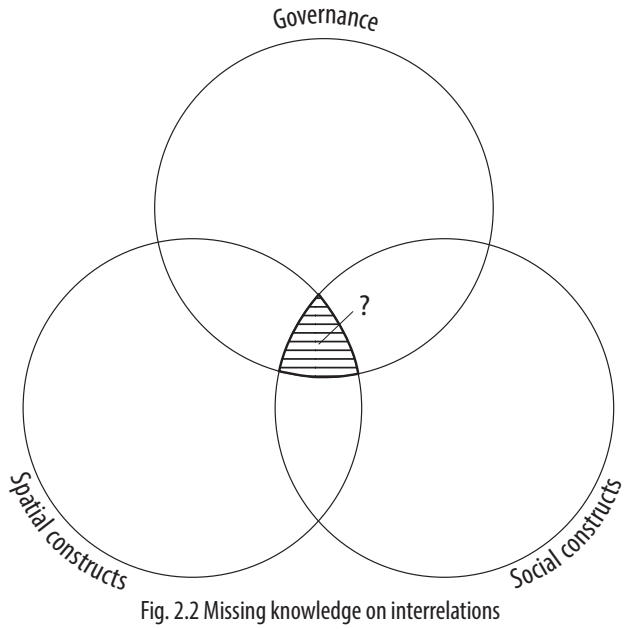


Fig. 2.2 Missing knowledge on interrelations
Source: image by author

Finally it is important to understand how these types of segregation are formed, and this is always due to a set of factors from different layers - governance, spatial constructs and social constructs. Governance referring to a planning system and the way authorities address a territory. Spatial constructs referring to the way the built environment is constituted, through different typologies, functions and physical connections. Social constructs referring to the way society and culture are build, the way people move and interact in space, but also how they act in relation to eachother. All this creates an enormous complexity, one that policy makers and urban designers can hardly grasp at times. Trying to understand these complex systems is at the core of dealing with segregation-related issues.

2.1.3 Multi-scalarity of segregation

It is important to recognise that segregation is a multi-scalar phenomenon, as it lingers on the idea of boundaries and internal divisions. Often it is measured alongst the axis of a dissimilarity index, which shows in a percentage how many people would have to move to achieve an equal mix

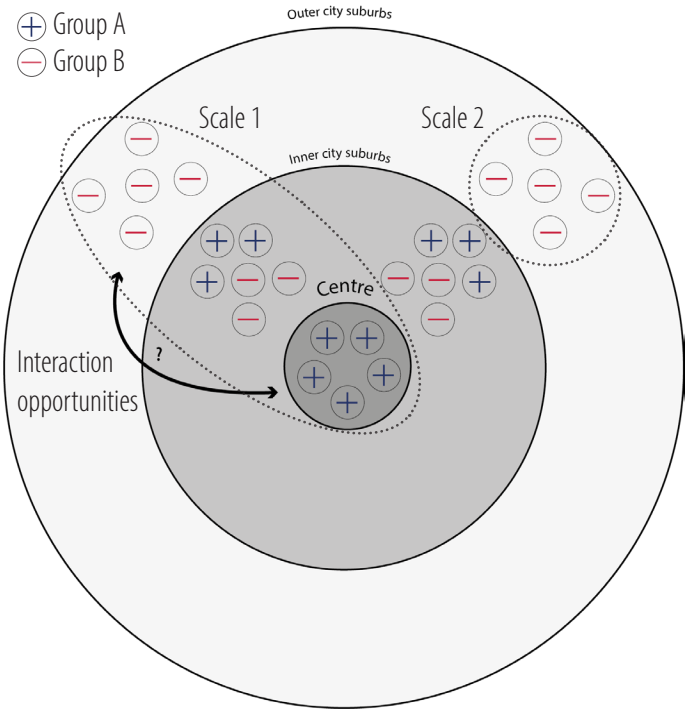


Fig. 2.3 - Segregation principles
Source: image by author

between group A and group B. in a specific area. However the size of the area is highly determinant for the outcome. In the diagram on the left, a city on scale 1 might on a whole seem quite mixed. However when zooming in, several sub-areas in fact are quite segregated. At the same time in scale 2, it might seem that segregation is a lot higher because the scope is so zoomed in that it dismisses the larger scale. Thus, when researching segregation it is important to understand the effect that the spatial scope of research has on the outcome.

2.1.5 Co-presence

In line with the new and more recent definition of segregation that says that it is more about a lack of interaction posibilities in the public realm, the concept of co-presence concerns the idea of people 'being' together in public space where unintended encounters can occur (Legeby, 2013). Within the application of this concept might lie a way to take away obstacles and misunderstandings between people. The facilitation of knowledge exchange can be beneficial to reduce fear and create mutual understanding between different population groups, especially when the co-presence of non-locals can be encouraged (Legeby & Marcus, 2011). This means a situation where people feel safe among strangers and where the presence of strangers safeguards this very perception of safety, contrary to being afraid in the presence of unknown people (Jacobs, 1961).
In the Swedish context it has been argued that, in alignment with what has been set before about the shift towards a system of sites (Shane, 2005), the mode of neighbourhood unit planning has not been able to facilitate this idea of co-presence. The primary reason for this according to Franzén (2003, as cited in Legeby 2013) is that Swedish cities are mostly shaped from an infrastructure point of view, incited by industrialization processes in the twentieth century. This has lead to a city configuration with quite extensive sprawl in suburbia and distinct separation of functionalities. The latter means there is little reason for non-locals to visit remote neighbourhoods without any public amenities pulling them towards there.

2.1.6 Neighbourhood effects

Another concept that is important to understand from a more general perspective is the concept of neighbourhood effects. This theory assumes that the way a neighbourhood is built up, both socially and spatially, influences the behaviour of its residence as well as their 'opportunity structure' (Bränströmm, 2004). These effects can both be positive and negative, and in the case of the vulnerable areas it might be the case that their socio-spatial structure inhibits upward mobility. This could stem from an internal order as well as from an outside perspective that determines a neighbourhoods reputation (Musterd & Andersson, 2006). Similar to segregation, it is important to recognise that neighbourhood effects and their cause consist of complex relations between different factors that are difficult to unilaterally attribute to one factor like for example housing or a high percentage of a specific population group living in the area. Policy-making needs to be informed from a multi-dimensional perspective.

2.1.7 Ethnic networks

When examining the clustering of groups, it is also understand the reasons behind it. Is it selective or forced migration? And if people have a choice, why do they choose to go to a specific neighbourhood? The ties between people with a similar background could provide an explanation for this, and it is exactly this relation that is grounded in the concept of ethnic networks. It implies that an established network between mutuals in the same areas also influences the opportunities of migrants, in that sense it could be seen as a neighbourhood effect in itself. It has been argued that these networks increase the likeliness of self-employment (with discrepancies between groups to be taken account of), as insiders of an ethnic community have more knowledge on the needs of their peers. At the same time it also can create obstacles as there naturally also is more competition among entrepeneurs when the target group is very specific (Andersson & Hammarstedt, 2015). Other research has argued that overall the existence of these networks provide opportunities for individual migrants when it comes to the conditions of the labour market (Edin et al, 2003). It is therefore important to recognise the potential value of community spaces in policy and design interventions.

2.1 Theoretical background

Relevant concepts

2.1.8 Spatial justice

The concept of spatial justice, as the name already implies, connects the spatial component to the idea of social justice. This connection is important to include according to Soja (2009), because it presents new ideas and opportunities to consider justice in a more extensive context as well as acknowledge the fact that space and justice shape eachother in substantial ways.

Spatial justice for the individual in the city can be defined as 'to feel same ownership and access over city spaces' (Borén, 2019). People in the peripheries should feel a sense of belonging with regards to the whole city, and experience a similar intimate connection with the cosmopolitan city centre and as well as with their own homely neighbourhood which might be in the outer suburbs. Everyone has an equal right to the city, an equal right to urban life (Lefebvre 1993, as cited in Dikec, 2001).

To identify whether there is an issue of exclusion within a city, it needs both the spatial component as well as the presence of a social dichotomy that creates insiders and outsiders (Dikec, 2001; Baeten, 2012). This means that when reversing the definition towards spatial injustice, that it embodies an idea of duality and that it emphasizes contradictions even more. Within the concept of spatial justice two types of contradictions show up that have been most prominently discussed in literature. Those two are:

Fig. 2.4 - Types of spatial justice
Source: image by author

2.1.9 Procedural justice - process

Procedural justice accomodates a notion of democracy, and concerns the inclusion of people at the decision-making table. This part refers to the process, where exclusion of certain groups can lead to an unfair distribution of resources. In the end, it is the procedural dynamics that lead to a certain spatial organisation.

2.1.10 Distributive justice - outcome

Distributive justice accomodates a notion of accessibility, and concerns the inclusion of people in modes of mobility, both physical and non-physical. It talks about whether or not people can move and settle freely within the city and access resources like housing, employment and public space.

According to Lefebvre (1993, as cited in Dikec, 2001), excluding groups from urban life is basically equivalent to excluding people from society, a form of discrimination which is less visible at the surface than perhaps other open, more direct forms of discrimination that are exerted through forms of media or politics. In the light of potential violence and crime (through recurring anger, dissatisfaction and uncertainty) it is in the interest of every city to take high account of spatial justice in the policy making and to consider the detrimental effects that neglect of social considerations might bring about.

All in all it is clear that reducing segregation and increasing spatial justice can be regarded as 'wicked problems', one where the issues can be explained and defined in different ways and their definition is what determines how a solution is approached. Despite the complexity of these problems, we must nevertheless not forgot to recognise the responsibility and professionality of the planner in this process to deal with these wicked problems in the best possible way. (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

2.1.12 Social sustainability

Social sustainability is a complex concept that can be defined in multiple ways, as it encompasses many notions that are possibly contradictory (Buser & Koch, 2014). It is defined by Righard, Johansson & Salonen (2015) as the capacity of a (sub)-society to tackle complex societal issues and its resilient ability to continuously function as a social system. They also argue that a socially sustainable city can only be achieved if it builds mutual trust through public spaces that allow for people to feel self-confident without fear and discrimination. It is a trade-off and equilibrium between the three values of justice, development and security, where a disbalance in any of the three disrupts social sustainability in a city (see Fig. 2.5).

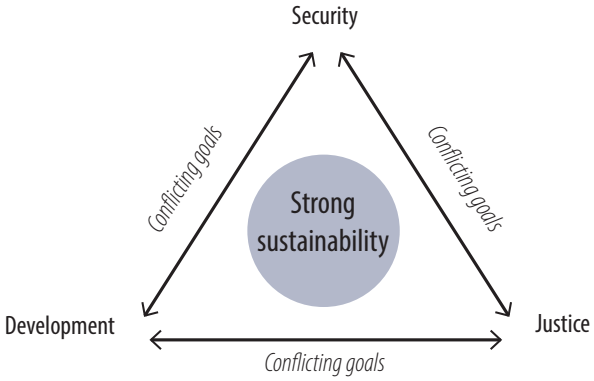


Fig. 2.5 - Social sustainability equilibrium
Source: image by Righard et al (2015)

Colantonio & Dixon (2011) say that the notion of social sustainability deals with the way that societal 'bodies' like communities or simply individuals

interact with eachother in their pursuit of reaching the goals of development models they have decided for themselves whilst account for the spatial barriers in place and the environment on earth in all its entirety. It is also stressed that social sustainability is not a static concept but rather a continous socio-historic process. In this process, notions of cultural diversity, identity and community attachment play a key role in the creation of a thriving neighbourhood as does the problem-solving ability of local authorities and communities (Boström 2012; Olsson, n.d.).

2.1.13 Social sustainability in deprived neighbourhoods in Stockholm

Social sustainability on a local scale is a headache for many deprived neighbourhoods from the Millions programme period. These areas are all built in similar style and architecture in similar geographic location, with little to distinguish them from each other. The lacking relation between buildings, unclear ownership result in a lack of pass-through opportunities for non-residents give these neighbourhoods an uncanny feeling of desolation.

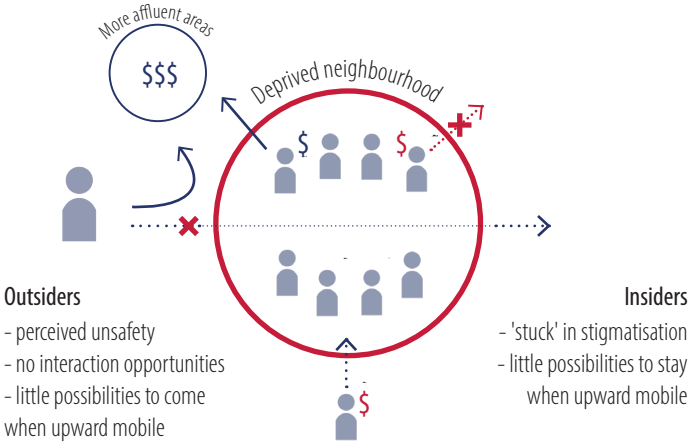


Fig. 2.6 -Deprived neighbourhood as a transitional location
Source: image by author

They do not provide possibilities to 'grow' within the neighbourhood, as tenure types and housing sizes are lacking diversity. People who experience an increase in welfare or an increase in family size have limited options to stay if they require more space. At the same time this limits outsiders to come to these areas, and a combination of stigmatisation from the media fueling perceptions of unsafety and a lack of opportunities to experience the neighbourhood itself means the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood is at a standstill. In 63% of the cases, migrants continue to reside in deprived neighbourhoods within a 9 year time span (Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2019). at the same time after nine years, only 12% of migrants have experienced an upward trajectory in residential situation, which is in line with findings that migrants have trouble escaping perpetual poverty (Van Ham, Hedman, Manley, Coulter & Östh, 2014; Obucina, 2014).

This group of people that leave these areas after experiencing individual socio-economic improvement paradoxically decreases the socio-economic status they leave. This idea has been conceptualised as the 'luck paradox' or *'Lyckoparadoxen'* (Municipality of Huddinge, 2016; Interview #7). They take with them the socio-economic resources they have attained, for example employment. Jane Jacobs (1961) has long described the potential for neighbourhoods to improve their socio-economic position through 'self-diversification', when residents with improved economic resources decide to stay.

2.1.14 Position

It is clear that a variety of the concepts described before are viewed in multiple ways. For me, the crux of segregation issues lies in its most detrimental effects on social groups, namely the exclusion mechanisms it facilitates. This stems from a lack of accessibility or a sense of exclusion from resources, which can be both spatial and non-spatial and at the same time can differ at different scales. Therefore the definition of spatial separateness 'per se' should be considered and incorporated, but is not compelling enough to overarch the non-spatial effects. I will strongly consider the wider definition that takes into account the interaction of people as described in the concept of co-presence. Accessibility to public resources will again be taken as a view point.

When it comes to spatial justice, it seems as if in the Stockholm case the procedural justice aspect is already a quite democratic process on a local scale, but nevertheless there is an uneven distribution of resources (or at least a lack of local mobility towards these resources). This seems to be the cause of the fragmentation of governance in the Stockholm region. The idea of spatial justice needs to be upscaled in accordance with the upscaling of funcionalities. This could help overcome fragmentation and establish new, more inclusive processes of decision-making.

Fig. 2.7 - Henriksdalringen, Nacka
Source: Image by author

2.2 Problem statement

Towards comprehensive planning

Problem statement

Sweden is globally known as the example of the **welfare state**. It has accepted many refugees and migrants over the course of the last two centuries. Their **humanitarian** efforts to help those in need can be seen as commendable.

However... under the influence of **globalisation** and subsequent **neoliberal planning** paradigms, minorities are systematically excluded from resources. Migrants are forced into the periphery of metropolitan areas where a **spiral of social exclusion** is kickstarted. This has caused social disorganisation, perpetual poverty and increased crime and vandalism, which has lead to **stigmatisation** and **polarization**. This is endangering effective decision-making to help improve **socio-spatial integration**, as migrants are depending on municipalities to respond to their needs.

There is a **gap of knowledge** as to how governance, social and spatial constructs **interrelate** with regards to segregation processes. A better understanding of these interrelations is needed to examine the possibility of a shift towards a more **comprehensive** and **inclusive** way of planning that establishes **spatial justice** and increased **social sustainability, maintaining the upward mobile groups** for vulnerable neighbourhoods in suburban Stockholm.

2.3 Research aim

Closing the knowledge gap

2.3.1 Research aim

The aim of the project is to better understand the interrelations between governance, social constructs and spatial constructs to close the gap of knowledge which currently is holding back any progress with regard to effective decision-making in segregation-related issues. Regarding the complexity of the segregation processes with the many factors that play a role in them, it is not illogical that authorities are encountering many contradictions. Housing policies for example might have the aim to reduce segregation, but may ignite other factors that are in fact increasing it. Current interventions seem to rely on a symptom model rather than showing an understanding of the cause-effect relationships at play.

> "Evaluations of previous work against segregation has shown that it has been too narrow. It has either focussed on school or on housing or on the labour market or on crime. That does not solve the problem. You need to look and work with all sectors, not one actor will solve it"
> ***- Interviewee #7***

Fig. 2.8 - Shift in planning
Source: Image by author

This knowledge gap calls for this project to put forward a policy and design proposal that considers a comprehensive, multifaceted and long-term approach. My goal is to provide a more clear perspective on the idea of how the phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation comes about, one that is more comprehensive and less unilateral than previous approaches.

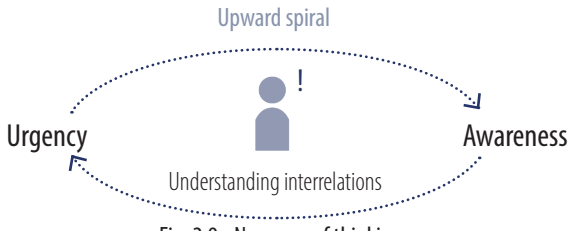


Fig. 2.9 - New way of thinking
Source: Image by author

I hope this will help establish an increased sense of urgency with regards to social issues and an increased awareness that the way many planning systems are heading might be of great danger to social inclusion in cities. I hope this awareness can create an expanded view on how we use planning and design as effective tools to improve living conditions for all, but especially for those who need it most.

2.3.2 Research philosophy

The topic of research is mostly of a phenomenological nature. Society sees a certain phenomenon occur, in this case segregation (and subsequently unrest), but the cause and therefore meaning attributed to it is viewed differently, adhering as said to a qualitative study as it is a matter of defining and interpreting the problem in a certain way.

Secondly, it is important to note that the language use of 'segregation' and 'enclaves' or 'vulnerable areas' already exhibits a pre-conceived notion that holds a certain view or perspective, that is significant to recognise. High concentration of one population group might not be an issue 'per se', but it is the issues that flow from the set of circumstances that these people are in that are the real problem like increased crime and increased societal polarization. The mixing-up of this cause-effect relationship is problematic, because it creates confusion to what is the exact problem, both for the general public as well as in political decision making. It is especially problematic as the cause-effect relationship in segregation is not a one-on-one relationship, but rather is a wicked problem.

This would align with the ontological philosophy, as it raises a question about the nature of reality. What is the reality in this case? Are migrants intrinsically the cause of the rise in crime, or are ineffective policy-making and deficient spatial structures the main contributors? Basically, how does it work? This topic is one that concerns the question of 'how' we see over 'what' we see. I hope my research can evoke an interpretation of the issue that will consider a solidary, humanist and cooperative approach as the best way forward for all different groups involved.

On the right page the main research question and subsequent sub-questions are displayed on the basis of the philosophy above.

2.4 Research question

Main research question

How can a **strategic policy and design framework** help establish coherent relations between governance, social and spatial constructs in decision-making regarding socially vulnerable areas in suburban Stockholm?

Subquestions

1. What are the **social** and **spatial characteristics** of vulnerable areas in Stockholm?
Themes - *Segregation, mobility and migration patterns, poverty dynamics, discourse strategies, crime*

2. What is the influence of **Swedish planning culture** on the establishment of vulnerable areas?
Themes - *Multi-level governance, neoliberal planning, housing policy, welfare state, segregation policy*

3. How can **planning instruments** be revised in order to promote cross-municipal collaboration for more comprehensive and inclusive planning?
Themes - *Mobility and migration patterns, employment & labour market, environmental psychology, identity*

4. How can **stakeholders** be engaged in the planning process to facilitate more socially sustainable urban development?
Themes - *Multi-level governance, co-presence in public space, interaction opportunities*

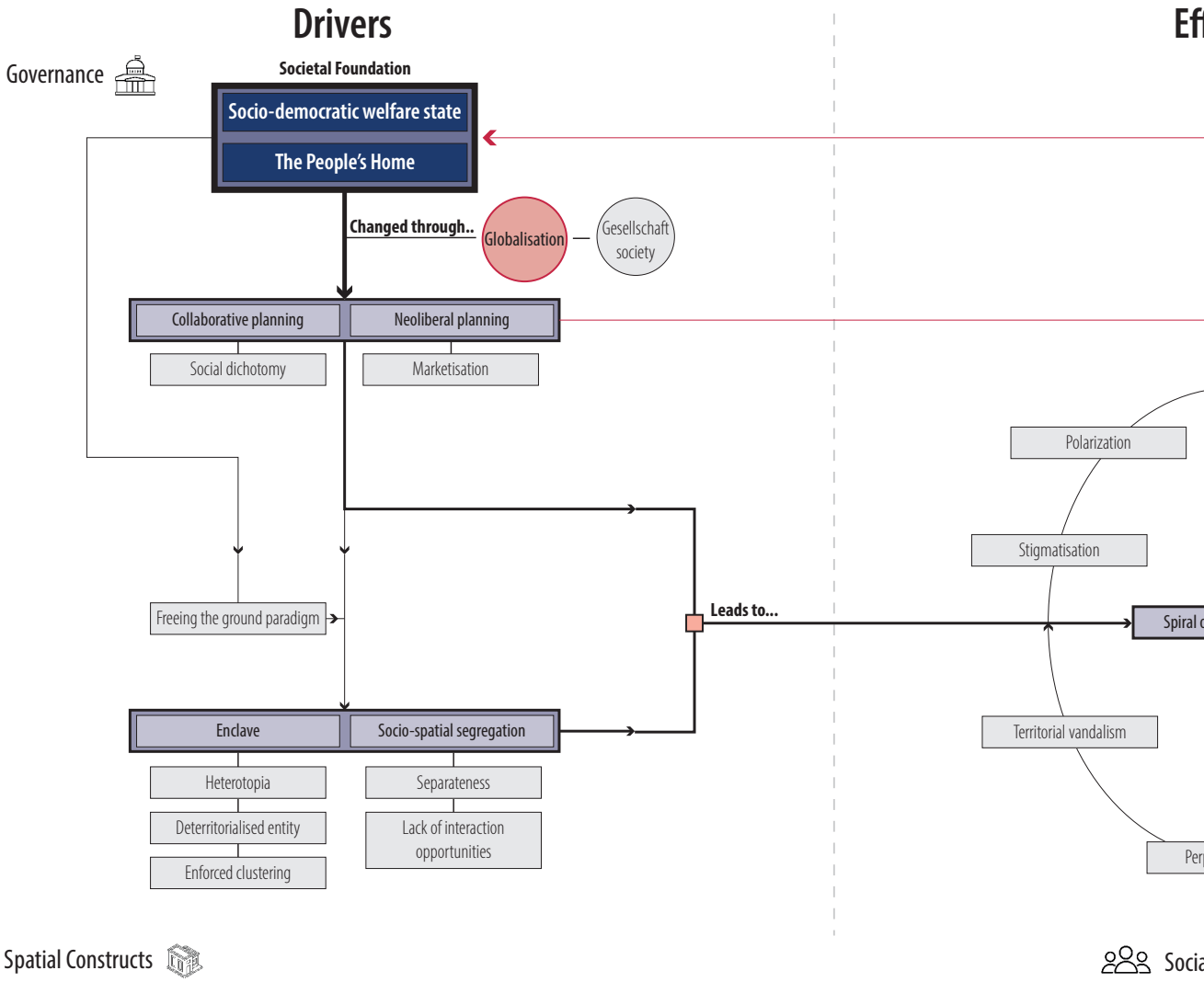
5. How can policy and spatial interventions improve **access to public resources** for migrants, while promoting local interaction and community life?
Themes - Multi-level governance, co-presence in public space, interaction opportunities, neoliberal planning, inclusivity

Literature theme clusters*

1. Spatial planning - multi-level governance, neoliberal planning, welfare state, housing policy, segregation policy
2. Sociology - segregation, mobility and migration patterns, social sustainability, labour market
3. Environmental psychology - discourse strategies, identity, crime, poverty dynamics
4. Urban design - co-presence in public space, interaction opportunities, inclusivity

*See bibliography.

2.5 Conceptual framework



2.5.1 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework consists of three layers, which will also be used as an umbrella for the methodological framework of the research. In accordance with these layers, namely the governance, social and spatial layers, the main concepts described in previous sections and their relationships will be discussed.

2.5.2 Governance constructs

2.5.3 the folkhemmet welfare state

Sweden is globally known as perhaps the prime example of the welfare state, in particular as the social-economic welfare state as recognised by Espen-Andersen (1990) typology of welfare states. This type is characterized by the encouragement of labour participation among both genders, high expenditure on social services and the highly regulatory function of the government in sectors like housing, education and health care without the influence of outside market parties. Grounded within this welfare state governance is the ideological concept of *folkhemmet* (The People's Home), which is firmly based on the socialist nature of Swedish culture (Grundström & Molina, 2016). It tried to bridge the concepts of capitalism and socialism, trying to attain the best of both worlds. Especially during the midst of the twentieth century when the social-democratic party was in power, the base of the folkhemmet model was set. Society was generally viewed as a family where everyone made a contribution and everyone is treated equally on the bases of solidarity. For the majority of the twentieth century, Swedish society was very homogeneous and there was little to no discussion whether everyone was entitled to this universal support from the government.

2.5.4 Globalisation, neoliberal planning and migration

After the Second World War and under the influence of the incented industrialisatial revolution and subsequent globalisation, the model of *folkhemmet* came under increasing pressure (Bornman, 2003). The change from an agrarian to a predominantly industrial nation caused a gradual shift in mindset from a more social-based thinking to a more globally-competitive, economic way of thinking in governance.

This retrenchment of the welfare state and increased economic-driven perspective has caused neoliberal planning to be institutionalised (Baeten, 2012). This came primarily through the economic crisis of the 1990s which saw politicians convinced to cut state budgets and deregulate government

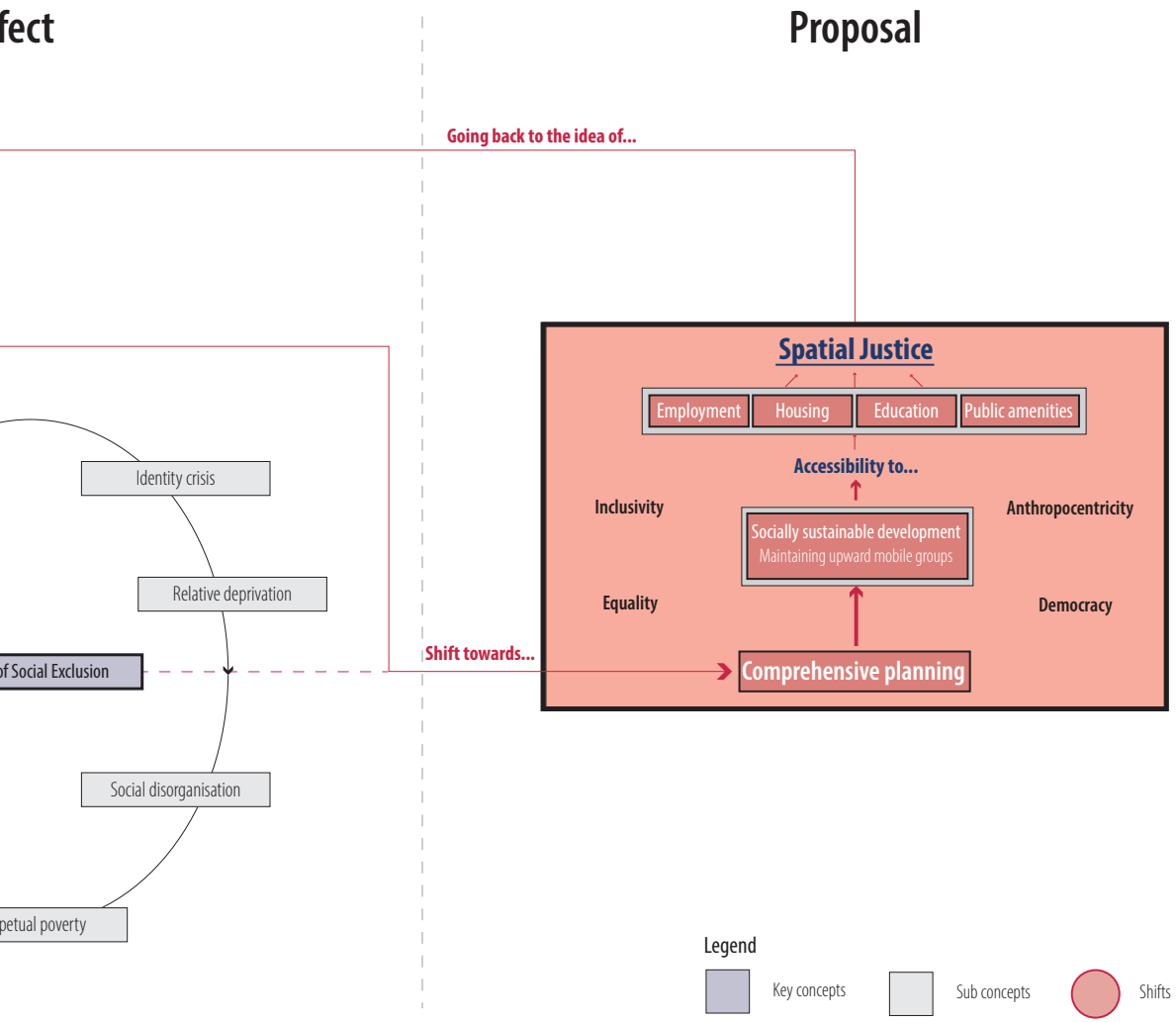


Fig. 2.10 Conceptual Framework - Source: image by author

authority, which lead to marketisation of the housing system. This new system has increasingly excluded the groups of lower-income, when housing construction companies previously concerned with social housing selling a large number of their properties to cooperatives. Furthermore these municipal housing companies known as Allmännyttan have started operating under business principles.

On top of that, entitlement to universal support has become more questionable due to the increased heterogeneity of society. During the 1960s, Swedish government started the process of arbetskraftinvandring, known as the guestworker migration. From this moment on, also under the influence of family reunification, Swedish society made a first step to become more heterogeneous in nature. This meant the step towards a society conform the concept of gesellschaft (Tönnies, 1887), a society based more so on secondary ties and on labour relations. This process was further intensified under the influence of global crises like the Yugoslavian war in the 1990s and the recent European migrant crisis in 2015, which saw a large influx of migrants coming to Sweden who has always positioned itself as a provider to the less fortunate given its social-democratic background. These migrants have largely been burdened with the negative effects of neoliberal planning.

2.5.5 Spatial constructs

2.5.6 Enclave formation

As a result of increased disparity in the housing market, migrants have been forced into cheap housing in the periphery of the city, mostly consisting of dwellings from a housing programme called Miljonprogrammet (Millions programme) (Gründstrom & Molina, 2016; Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010). The program had to solve the housing shortage of that time and aimed to provide affordable housing for all. This programme consisted of separate neighbourhood units which were build at the edge of the city influenced in building style according to the 'freeing the ground' paradigm as described by Levy (1999, as cited in Minoura, 2016).

This attribute of modernist planning saw the emergance of housing estates as solitary objects in the landscape, vanishing clear relations between buildings but also between neighbourhoods. This has lead these neighbourhoods which were already distant from any urban resources to become the epitomisation of enclave forming.

2.5 Conceptual framework

Relationships between governance, social and spatial concepts

2.5.7 Enclave characteristics

Enclaves can be recognised by a set of characteristics (Shane, 2005) such as but not limited too; (1)They harbor a particular internal order and coherence that makes it different from its direct environment; (2) They have distinct boundaries that confine the internal orders of the area; (3) They are spaces of stasis and inertia; (4) They are usually completely build up of one typology repeated across its territory; (5) they have particular entry points or gates that allow the exchange of insiders and outsiders.

The vulnerable estates build from the Millions programme and those areas that are listed as vulnerable by Swedish authorities are in accordance with these characteristics. They are characterized by a clear 'separateness' and inward orientation (Smets & Salman, 2008). They are governed by a sense of anonymity as very little of the open landscape is designed or appropriated for encounter. It constitutes a lack of interaction opportunities within the public realm, which is actually how Rokem & Vaughan (2019) redefine segregation. Part of this can have to do with the geographical context as well. Sweden is very sparsely populated so there is plenty of land to build on, allowing neighbourhoods to have a big set-up, expanding distances between buildings and creating a lot of open spaces without clear ownership. This relates back to the system of extension theory by Galileo (Shane, 2005). This leaves these neighbourhoods as deterritorialised entities, without a clear sense of belonging (Smets & Salman, 2008).

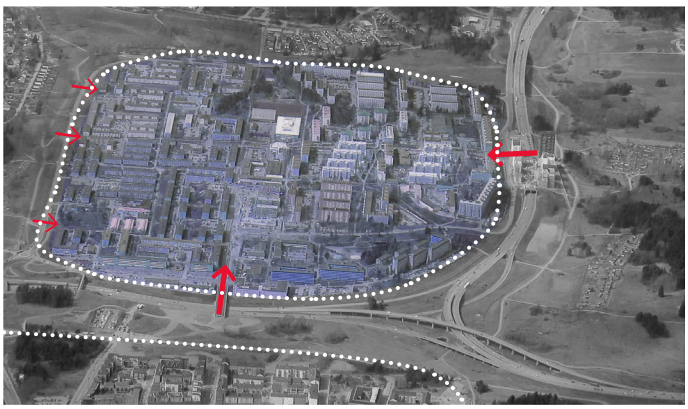


Fig. 2.11 - Rinkeby's entry points and boundaries
Source: Wikimedia (2019) - adapted by author

2.5.8 Social constructs

2.5.9 Spatial justice

This process of deterritorialisation is firstly happening from within, its inhabitants. After the large waves of migration to Sweden during different periods in the twentieth century, the cheap housing in Million Programme estates have been one of the few option for vulnerable migrants to find accomodation (Andersson et al, 2010). These areas lack employment and due

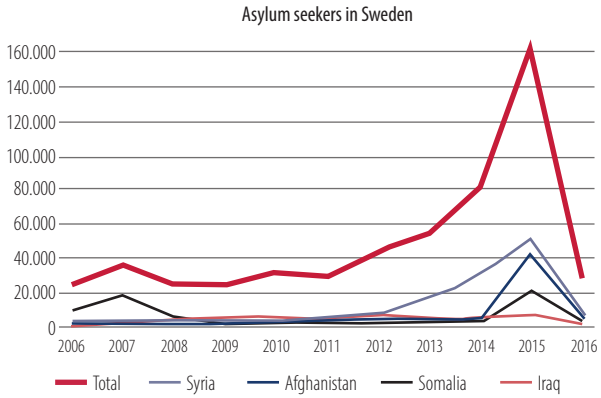


Fig. 2.12 - Recent influx of asylum seekers in Sweden
Source: Swedish Board of Migration (2017) - adapted by author

to their remote location they are very car-dependent, which most of these migrant groups can not afford due to their vulnerable socio-economic status. Furthermore it is argued that the public transport system is not sufficient in overcoming these limitations and that it in fact might be a contributory factor to segregation (Rokem & Vaughan, 2019).

This raises a question of spatial justice (Dikec, 2001) and a question of who has a right to the city (Lefebvre, 1993). With these patterns in place increasing degree the upper class of society are becoming the only ones with the ability to be part of urban life. The idea of *folkhemmet* crumbles, and the definition of what citizenship of a country is where, everyone is expected to contribute and everyone is expected to taken care of, becomes disturbed.

2.5.10 Social exclusion and the spiral of decline

These areas then, grounded in their spatial characteristics and internal governance, become the places where social exclusion flourishes, which kickstarts a vicious spiral of decline (Halleröd & Larsson, 2008; Andersson & Bråmå, 2004). This again relates to the concept of neighbourhood effects, where the environment people grow up in significantly influences their social behaviour. Migrants experience an identity crisis, as they are expected to conform to Swedish society and participate, at the same time they feel abandoned and excluded from resources (Eriksson, 1968).

Relative deprivation further intensifies this internal crisis (Smets & Salman, 2008). Precisely because Sweden has a very good reputation on humanitarian grounds, many migrants coming to the country also have high expectations of their new life. They expect to be helped, they expect to be treated fairly and they expect a better future. If this does not happen and people feel trapped within their own neighbourhoods, this dissatisfaction with government can result in social disorganisation (Bursik, 1988) of these neighbourhoods as

organisational patterns collapse. This further limits opportunities of migrants who become trapped in perpetual poverty and who have much more trouble than native Swedes to escape it (Obucina, 2014).

With little socio-economic resources and growing dissatisfaction, many of the migrant youth resort to crimes like burglary, sexual assault, drug dealing and territorial vandalism, with a spillover effect to other neighbourhoods (Ceccato & Haining, 2005). Bustos Castro & Lindbladh (2004) present four discourses adopted by enclave populations that can help explain this behaviour; (1)Identification with the neighbourhood and its internal relations among people; (2)Glorification; where youth gangs glorify their own actions and territorialise the neighbourhoods to set up a societal dichotomy of'we vs. them'; (3)Normalisation; issues are said to be occuring everywhere and are therefore to be considered normal. It makes something a problem of society contrary to a problem of the specific neighbourhood, it contains an element of rejection and denial; (4)Detachment; people detach themselves from the neighbourhood they live in due to its reputation, escapist strategy to deal with the problem.

The high crime rates in vulnerable areas and the proliferation of the discourses mentioned above in mass media subsequently feeds into more social exclusion and thus the spiral of decline is put into motion again. Migrants are facing discrimination on the labour market leaving them stuck where they are (Oresjö, 1997, as cited in Minoura, 2016).

Those who do manage to escape poverty leave the area, being replaced by new migrants with lower socio-economic status leaving enclaves deprived and secluded (Andersson & Bråmå, 2004) (see diagram). Native Swedes and politicians do not identify the problems in enclaves and try to detach themselves through deterritorialisation. Both 'sides' feel weakened in their sense of identity and fear starts becoming the main driver of socio-political polarization.

2.5.11 Conclusion

The spiral of decline and social exclusion is the result of a ongoing global trends, new national governance models and past planning paradigms. One could say that the scaling up of the notion of community through ideology of Folkhemmet has been detrimental to the idea of local belonging (Minoura, 2016). Both levels should be considered, but locally co-presence in public space between locals and non-locals could start to bridge the gaps between groups and create unintended encounter, fostering social interaction and perceptions of safety (Jacobs, 1961; Legeby, 2013).

An investigation on the possibility to reshape neoliberal planning into a different mode of planning that is more comprehensive and reconsiders the values of the People's Home and brings back the social perspective in planning. One where the social impact of development is deemed important and assessed accordingly, to reinstate more socially sustainable neighbourhoods where people with upward socio-economic mobility are maintained so that deprivation is not recurrent (Musterd & Andersson, 2006). An investigation to how vulnerable areas in Stockholm can be reconnected to the system from a governance, social and spatial perspective and how this can be formulated and tested in a method that is feasible to counter segregation is what this project aims to achieve.

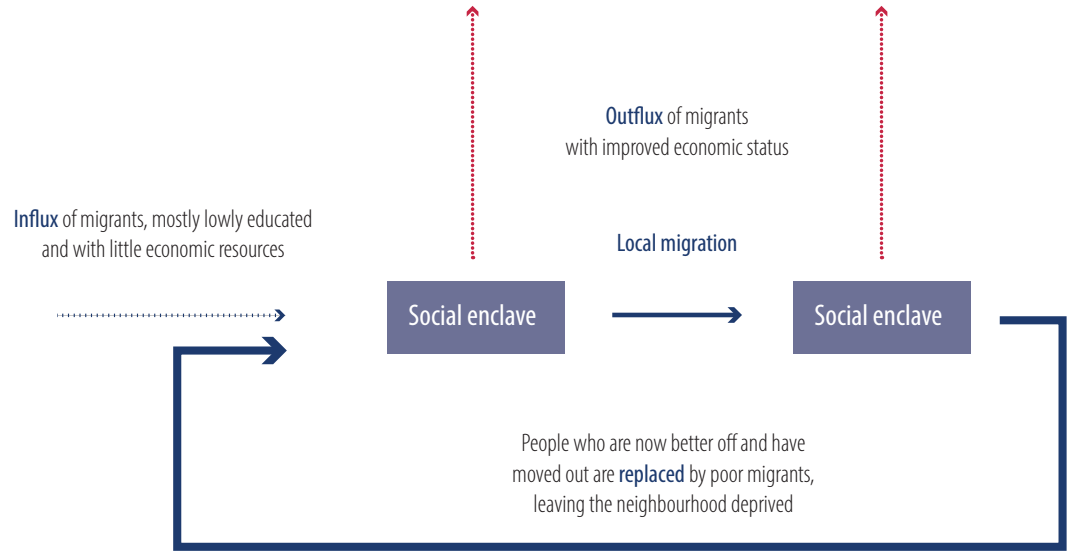
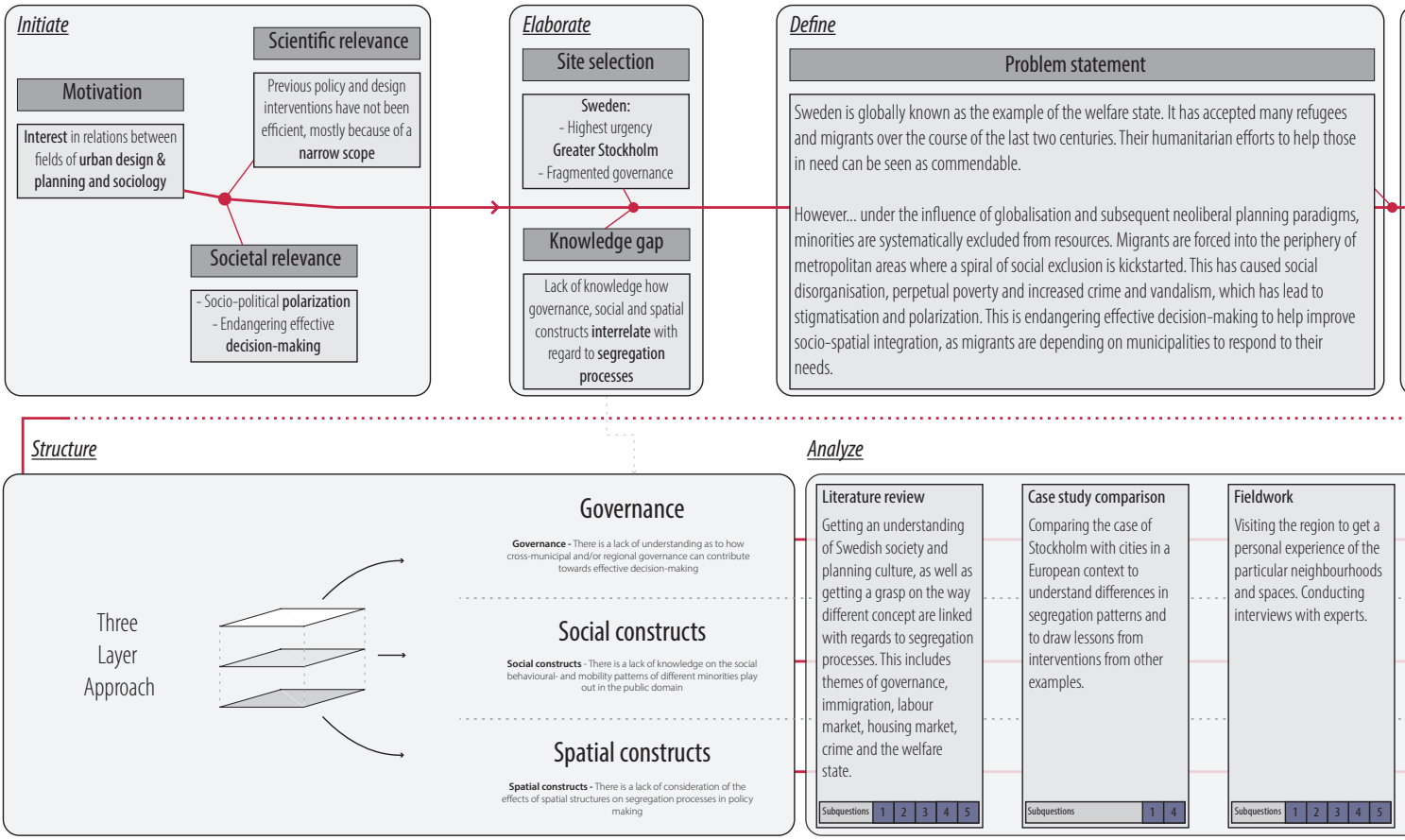


Fig. 2.13 - Enclave dynamics
Source: image by author

2.6 Methodology

Defining the research approach



2.6.1 Methodological framework

This section describes the build up the methodology used to answer the research questions. It is build up of three layers, a governance layer, a social layer and a spatial layer. These layers are integrated within the research questions and conceptual framework to make clearly linkages between what is analyzed and how it is analyzed. Here the methods used will be briefly discussed, the diagram shows how the methods are related to answering the subquestions and the different layers.

Governance layer - This layer concerns institutional, political and administrative systems in their multi-scalar context. It addresses the current planning process and the power and interests among different stakeholders.

Social layer - This layer concerns the demographics of the region, the socio-historic context in which they were formed as well as related themes that are of interest in this project like income inequalities, (un)employment, education levels and migration dynamics;

Spatial layer - This layer concerns the way planning takes shape in the urban context, understanding the implications of urban form for society, how they are shaped and what they mean for the present and future of the region.

2.6.2 Literature review

To form a solid knowledge base it is essential to get to know the context of the country, its society, its history and its planning and design culture. This means reading and watching news about the social issues to get a broad understanding of the processes in place. Then, reading research articles and books about the different aspects driving segregation can create more in-depth knowledge to move towards possible proposals. These publications will be concerned with themes like governance, immigration settlement patterns, employment of minorities, housing regulations and policies, crime dynamics in relation to space configurations and the background of the welfare state and its influence on the social and spatial context. Examples can be found in the bibliography.

2.6.3 Policy review

Besides getting to understand the processes behind segregation and social exclusion, it is also important to see policy documents and city development plans to grasp what the aim was of these measures and how they plan to tackle current issues in the future. Examples include regional visions, but also local comprehensive plans and general legislation.

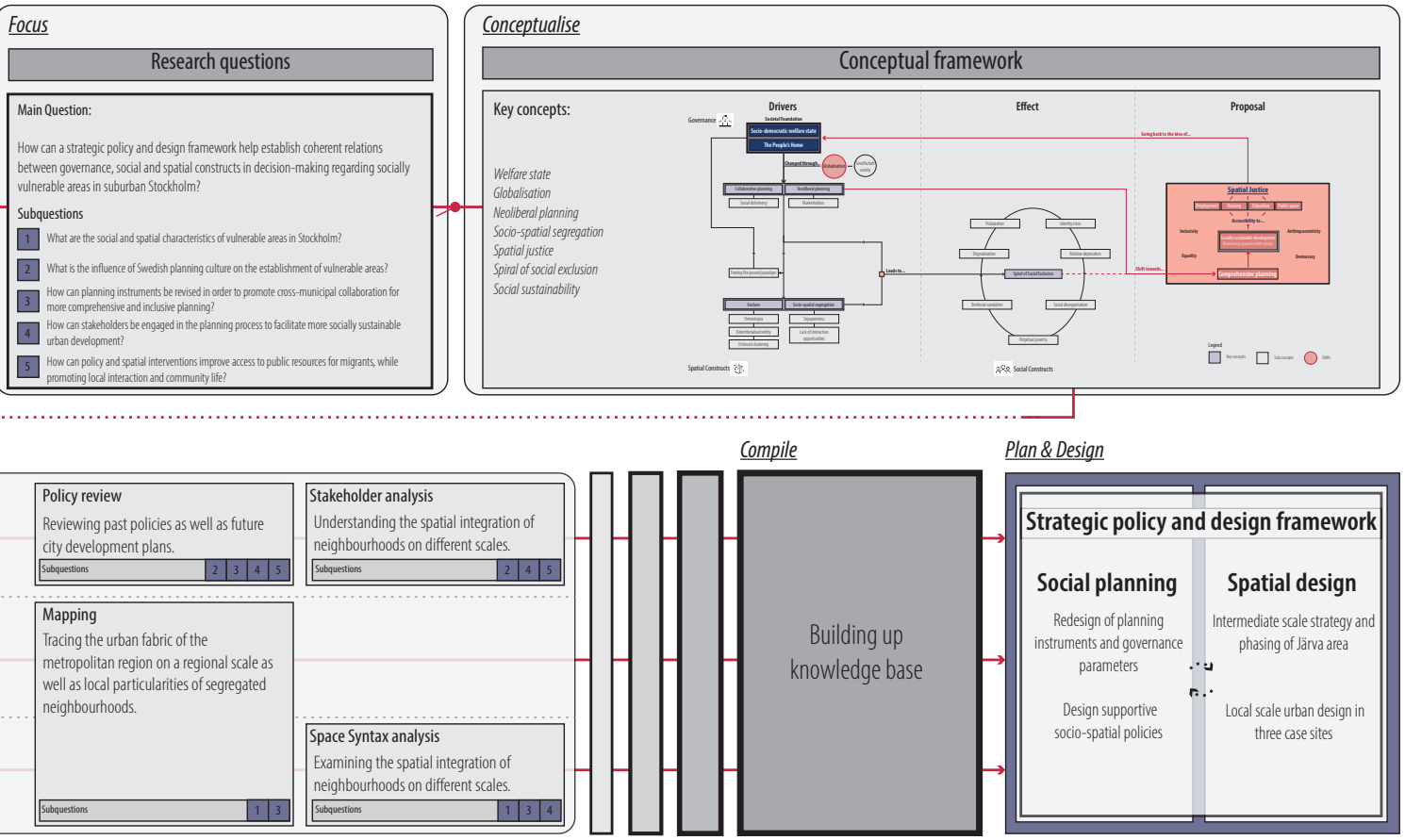


Fig. 2.14 - Methodology scheme
Source: image by author

2.6.4 Case study comparison

Segregation is happening across cities in Europe and is definitely not exclusive to Stockholm only. Therefore it can be of interest to compare the situation in Stockholm with similar best practices in Europe. When looking at plans or interventions done in other contexts, lessons could be drawn from this and see if they could be applicable in the Swedish context as well.

2.6.5 Fieldwork

Besides study the context from a distance it is also important to go there and experience the space yourself. From initial research, articles have called for the importance of experientialised study in research and design. This means going to see the difference in the variety of neighbourhoods and the way the urban fabric is built up and experiencing the shape itself. Furthermore conducting interviews with local stakeholders will be part of the fieldwork as well. This could include civil servants from the municipality, representatives of developers and housing companies as well as local researchers and designers. This can provide new input for the analysis as well as testing of different design proposals.

2.6.6 Mapping

Mapping is one of the most used methods and tools in urbanism and in this case again it is an important tool to be able to juxtapose social constructs and behaviour with the spatial configuration of the metropolitan region as well as the local urban fabric, stressing the importance of mapping through the scales.

2.6.7 Stakeholder analysis

To make any proposal happen, it is important to understand what stakeholders are involved through the different scales and sectors. This means not only simply identifying the players but also identifying the game they play, for example when it comes to negotiations in rental and housing constructions.

2.6.8 Space- & Place Syntax analysis (SS & PS)

Space syntax could be a useful tool to understand the relationship between social and spatial constructs of a deprived neighbourhood, especially with regards to aspects like overall connectivity and integration, but also for example crime dynamics. It can provide guidelines for the way the street network is disintegrating segregated neighbourhoods, possibly also delivering valuable input for proposals. Furthermore the Place Syntax tool will be used, this tool can help understand the proximity and accessibility to services.

2.6 Methodology

Defining the research approach

2.6.9 Methodology roadmap - interrelations between elements

The diagram below shows the connections between the different elements of research. It connects the subquestions to the methods that will be used to answer these questions. subsequently to the topics that will be discussed through the methods and how they relate to the build up of the proposal. The three layer approach is again put forward to structure the research, which finds its way through four steps:

1. Analysis of the current neoliberal mode of planning
2. Possibilities for a shift in governance schemes
3. Accessibility to public services
4. Social sustainability through case study comparison

First, **the current mode of planning** is examined through analysis of the current policy documents in place combined with a literature review from research articles that analyse the effects of these governance trends as well as their socio-spatial effects.Part of this has already been elaborated on in the contextual description as well.

Second, it is investigated how **a shift can be made towards a new mode of planning,** a mode of planning that is more comprehensive in nature reconsiders the role of the planner and its instruments in the process of urban development in such a way that social values become more central. Here, also a case study comparison will be made with other projects to see if their organisational structure and spatial interventions provide any lessons for the Stockholm case.

Third, it looks at **the accessibility of public services,** both physical and non-physical. This means understanding the spatial layout of these areas, their connectivity, their proximity to services or amenities and their position in relation to the housing market. Methods like space syntax analysis, as well as mapping (for example, areas of employment and public spaces as well as transport services) and a policy review on how current policies might lead to restrictions in non-physical accessibility.

Fourth, the notion of social sustainability is looked at through a **case study comparison** between different projects in Europe that concern the

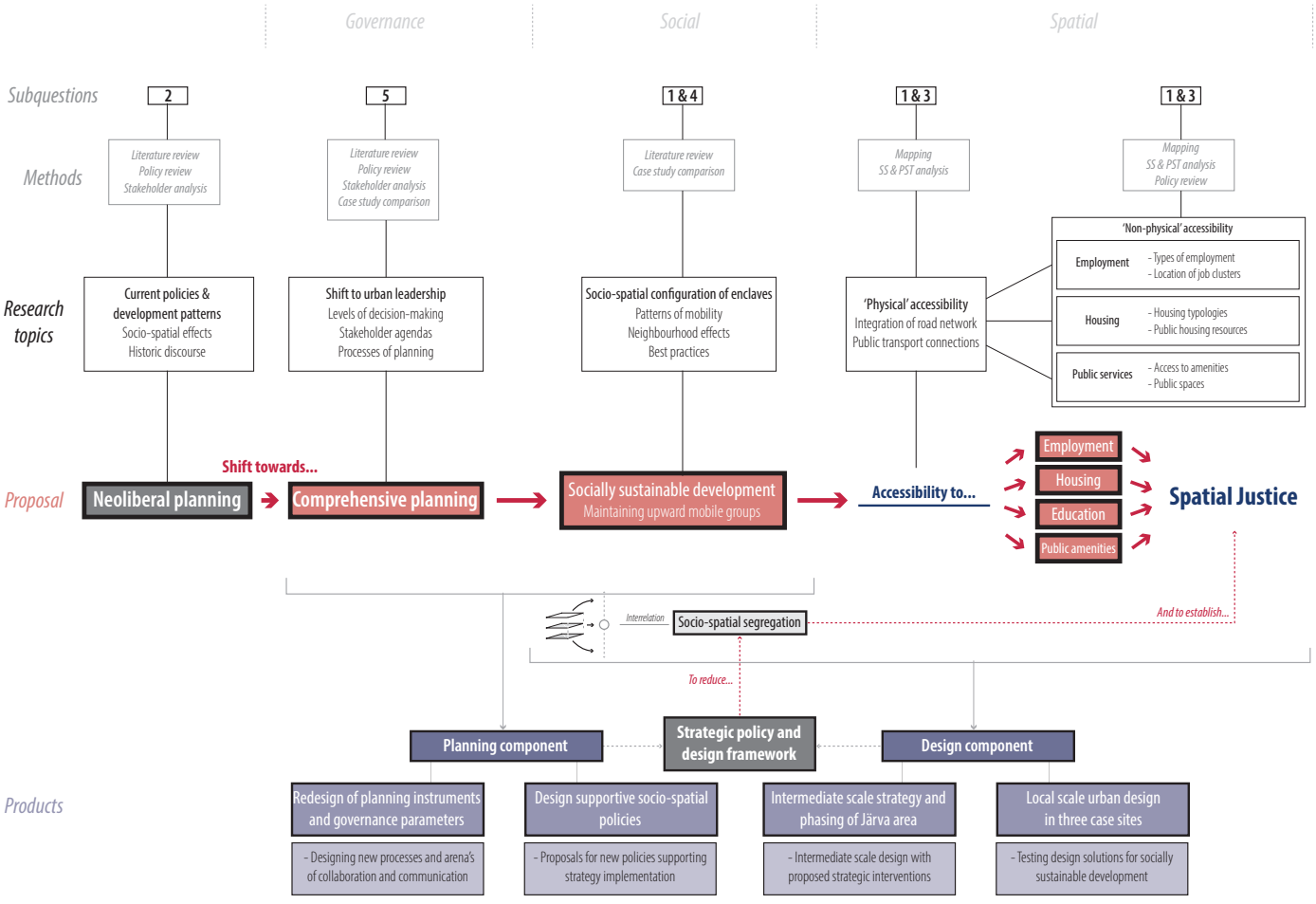


Fig. 2.15 - Roadmap of the methodology
Source: image by author

restructuring of vulnerable neighbourhoods. It aims to draw lessons and inspiration from these examples to inform a strategy for the case site area. These sites include:

1. Rinkebyterrassen, Stockholm, Sweden
2. Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam, Netherlands
3. Ca N'Anglada, Terrassa, Spain
4. Brøndby Strand, Copenhagen, Denmark

All steps will be additionally be informed and validated in **fieldwork**, by interviewing twelve experts from different backgrounds. These include academia from universities and private research institutions as well as planning officers from local and regional authorities. They will be asked general questions to get a diverse perspective on general issues, but also more specific questions to help fill knowledge gaps that otherwise might be superfically discussed.

2.6.10 Products

The output of the project will consist of two parts:

1. Planning component
- Redesign of planning instruments and governance parameters
- Design supportive socio-spatial policies

2. Design component
- Intermediate scale strategy and phasing of Järva area
- Local scale urban design in three case sites

2.6.11 Redesign of planning instruments and governance parameters

Proposing new use of current planning instruments to make socially sustainable development a more integrative part of the planning process. This implies a different use of comprehensive and detail plans, new regulations in the planning process and the reorganisation of municipal housing companies as a tool to stir development.

2.6.12 Design supportive socio-spatial policies

Set of policies reacting to the local case site design, meant to support their effectiveness and with the aim to strengthen access to resources and safety and interaction on the streets. The interrelations between policy and design on the different scales are elaborated.

2.6.13 Intermediate scale strategy and phasing of Järva area

Strategy for the representative case site area (the Järva area, section 4.1 explains its selection) that shows a spatial strategy and spatial implication for 2050, which considers and links the different scales of intervention. On the intermediate scale, strategic interventions will be proposed and phased through time. An extrapolation is made for the metropolitan scale, where strategic design principles are replicated which than form alternative proposals for development locations, and shows the potential of the strategic approach elsewhere.

2.6.14 Local scale urban design in three case sites

The case site proposals shows at neighbourhood-level and street-level perspective what design interventions can be made to improve opportunities for migrants and to establish social sustainability within the neighbourhood. Three sites are chosen according to spaces that are prevalent in vulnerable areas which will be further elaborated in section 5.4. They serve as the spatial implication for the strategies proposed on the intermediate scale and shows the qualities of the interventions and the interrelation beween policy and design.

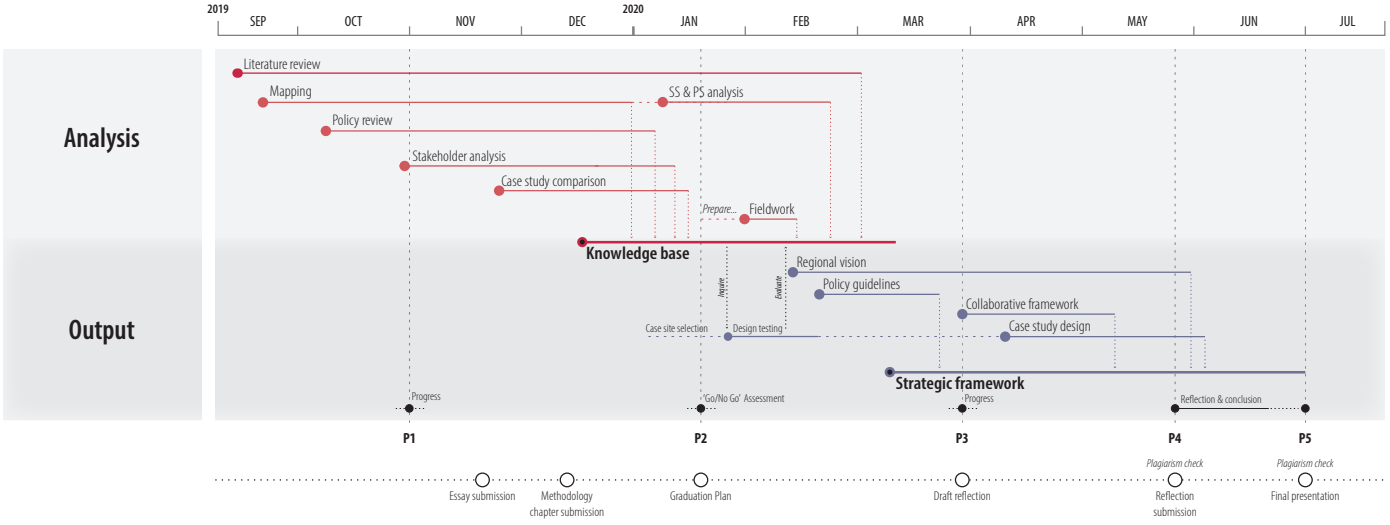


Fig. 2.16 - Planning diagram
Source: image by author

Fig. 3.1 - Gamla Stan old town
Source: Image by author

3. Analysis

Analysis roadmap - interrelations between elements

The diagram below shows the connections between the different elements of research. It connects the subquestions to the methods that will be used to answer these questions. subsequently to the topics that will be discussed through the methods and how they relate to the build up of the proposal. The three layer approach is again put forward to structure the research.

First, the **stakeholders** in the Stockholm region are explored, how they interact and what kind of power and interest they might have in achieving the goals of the project. Furthermore, current processes in terms of urban development and migration are investigated to see where new policy guidelines may be needed.

Second, a **policy review** is conducted to see what the current plans are for future development. This is done on regional and local scale, to see what levels of governance are most powerful and active and if there are any descrepanies between what is aimed for on paper and what happens in reality.

Fourth, **accessibility** of the region is assessed in relation to transport connectivity but also proximity to services. Goal is here to see how and if current planning paradigms and policies are detrimental to the socio-spatial connection of deprived neighbourhoods.

Thirdly, **patterns of development** are subsequently identified and how this effects peripheral areas in the region which is where pretty much all vulnerable neighbourhoods are located. It sees how investment is divided spatially and what prospects there are for the future if current patterns persist.

Fifth, Possible policy and spatial interventions are investigated through a **case study comparison** with other projects in a European context. It provides inspiration and looks if lessons can be drawn from these examples for the case site area.

Finally, findings are summarized in a **SWOT analysis** of the region to identify where the strengths, weakness and opportunities and threats lie for the next phase of the project.

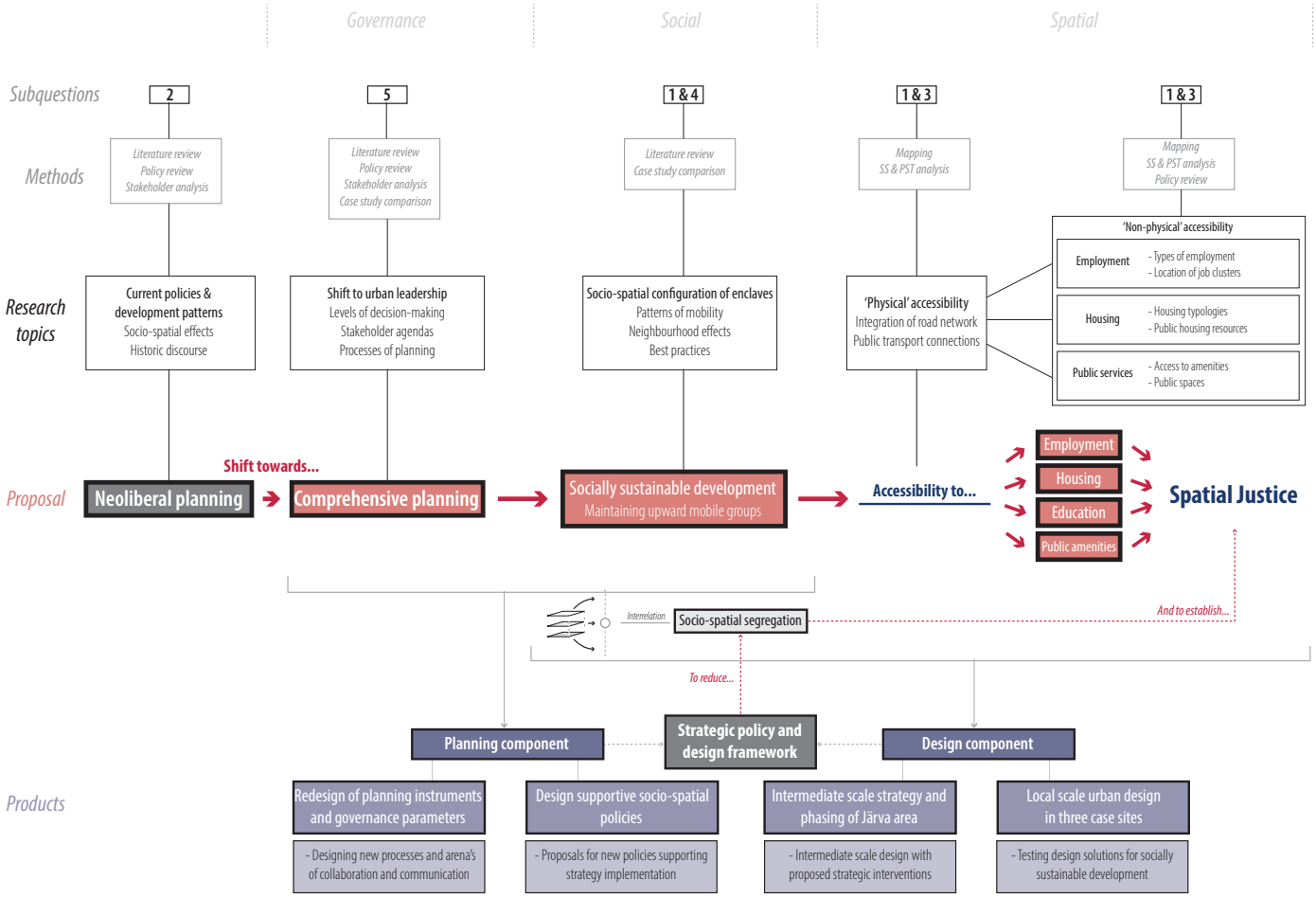


Fig. 3.2 - Roadmap of the methodology

Source: image by author

3.1 Stakeholders

Identifying the players

3.1.1 Stakeholder analysis

Breaking the cycle of social exclusion is not achieved overnight and the many different aspects that play a role in the creation of this cycle also mean a large amount of stakeholders that are involved in one way or another. To make this collection of stakeholders comprehensible, they are categorized based on level of scale, sector of ownership and finally their stance and role towards the goals of the project.

Levels of operation are distinguished in four levels;
(1) the international level - European Union;
(2) national level - Sweden;
(3) metropolitan level - Stockholm County;
(4) local level - Municipalities and districts.

Sector of ownership is divided into four categories;
(1) the public sector; •
(2) semi-public sector; •
(3) private sector; •
(4) civil sector. •

The potential role of stakeholders are once again divided into four categories;
(1) leading stakeholders; ◉
(2) supportive stakeholders; ●
(3) neutral stakeholders; ■
(4) adversal stakeholders. ▲

This categorization allows for a clear recognition of collaborative opportunities, but also which actors might challenge the achievement of project goals.

STAKEHOLDER INVENTORY

International level

Fig. 3.3 - Source: image by author

European Union • Collaboration between 28 European nation states which provides continent-wide legislation, including EU cohesion policy, competition law and environmental directives.

Nordregio • International research institute created by the Nordic Council of Ministers. It has a special focus on regional planning, governance and policy in a Nordic and European context.

Migration Policy Institute (MPI) • An international think-tank on international migration policies in both US and European context which researches and publishes on migration and refugee trends.

Interpeace • An NGO that aims to resolve conflicts worldwide for the last 25 years. They have also conducted work on social exclusion in suburban neighbourhoods of Stockholm where they launched initiatives for inclusive societies.

National level

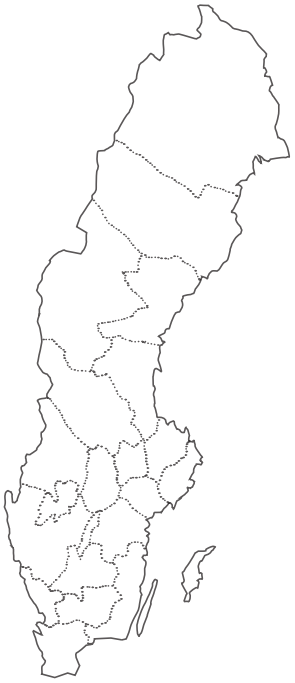


Fig. 3.4 - Source: image by author

Boverket • The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. It is responsible for all legislation concerning the construction and management of the built environment.

Trafikverket • The Swedish Transport Administration is a governmental ministry that deals with the construction, management and maintenance of the road network, railways, water traffic and aviation.

Migrationsverket • The Swedish Migration Board regulates immigration to Sweden, monitoring the procedure for residence permits and requests for asylum. It has recieved criticism for the long waiting lists which now averages ten months.

Arbetsförmedlingen • Government body which acts as an intermediate for employees and employers in the public sector. It is also occupied with labour policy implementation.

Delegation against segregation (Delmos) • Since January 2018, the Swedish government has established a new agency with the specific target to reduce segregation and improve social-economically disadvantaged areas.

Public Housing Sweden (PHS) • Formerly called SABO, is an overarching organisation of the Swedish municipal housing companies, which forms the gateway between national and local legislation. It has approximately 300 member

SJ • A national rail transport company which rides the trans-national train services in Sweden. Its services include night train, high speed and intercity services to cities like Malmö and Göteborg but also to Oslo in Norway.

Swedish Tram Society (STS) • '*Svenska Spårvägssällskapet*' is a non-profit organization that owns the company Stockholms Spårväger AB, an operator of some of the tram lines in Stockholm.

Housing cooperatives • In Sweden there are large scale of housing cooperatives of a social character that own, build and manage cooperative tenant associations. Examples of these are Riksbyggen and HSB.

Private real estate developers • Companies that are privately owned that develop and construct dwellings, offices and other real estate with an aim for profit. Examples of these companies include Ailon and Wallenstam.

Diversify Foundation • A non-governmental organisation which aims to increase inclusivity and participation on the Swedish labour market. It adresses labour discrimination and is critical of Migrationsverket's policies on deportation.

Swedish Union of Tenants (SUT) • The *Hyresgästföreningen* is a national organisation that represents the rights of all affiliated tenant members. It negotiates rental rates for tenants with municipal housing companies and private landowners.

Nattvandring.nu (NV) • A collective non-profit, non-governmental organisation which helps organising the set-up of local night walk groups as a form of community control.

3.1 Stakeholders

Actors through the scales

Metropolitan level

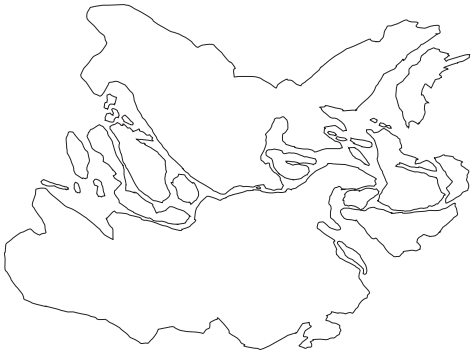


Fig. 3.5 - Source: image by author

Region Stockholm • This is the county level administrative body of the Stockholm county. It main responsibilities include health care provision and regional public transport.

County Board Stockholm • This institution is the representation of the state at province level. They conduct legal checks on the comprehensive and detail plans of municipalities.

Stockholm region EU office • This government body is the representative of the Stockholm region in Brussels. Its areas of activity include research and regional policy.

Storstockholms lokaltrafik (SL) • The adminstrator of the regional public transport through train, tram, bus and metro. It gives out licenses to private operators like MTR.

Transport operators • Railway systems in Greater Stockholm are managed by SL but exploited byinternational transport operators. **MTR Nordic** exploits the metro and commuter rails and services on the trams and light rail systems are carried out by **Arriva** and **Stockholms Spårväger AB.** The Arlanda Express is privately owned and operated by **A-Train AB**.

Local level

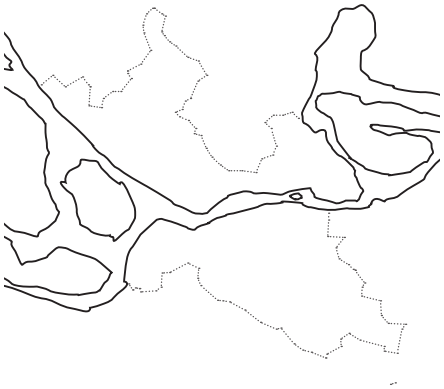


Fig. 3.6 - Source: image by author

Municipalities • The local municipalities form the main public bodies of power within the metropolitan scale. They have a planning monopoly over their respective territories, meaning decision-making power is highly decentralised. National government has little say in local matters, except for projects that concern a specific national interest.

Municipal housing companies (MHC) • Semi-public construction companies that build public housing, owned by municipalities themselves. Originally these companies functioned on a cost-rent basis, where tenants paid rent based on the operation costs of the MHC. This was made possible through government subsidies. Since 2011 MHC's are operating under business principles and they now compete with private real estate developers. This change in legislation and the abolishment of government subsidies has lead to increased, market-led rental rates.

Private landlords • Single-party proprietors who participate in rent setting negotiations with tenant associations and the Swedish Union of tenants.

Trade & labour unions • Collective unions that, contrary to many other country, sign agreements with companies and negotiate salaries and the setting of minimum wages.

Universities • Local academia at Stockholm University or KTH are researching processes of segregation and migration. Their knowledge can be an important input.

Residents & (tenant) associations • Private residents as well as those living in cooperative dwellings who are represented through tenant associations engaging in rent negotiation.

3.1.2 Power-interest relations

It is important to understand the decision-making process and which parties have the power at hands in order to reach the goals of the project as described in the methodology. The main aims are to create a new mode of planning that will (1) establish socially sustainable urban development which is supported by (2) better access to public services for migrants. The different subgroups of actors can be distinguished:

Local governance authorities

The local municipalities with their planning monopolies in collaboration with the County Board will have to lead any institutional changes as well as changes in the current mode of planning.

Public transport authorities

SL and Trafikverket, whom are responsible for the public transport in the region will probably be fairly neutral towards this goal. Generally most of the suburbian regions are already served pretty well.

Public housing authorities

MHC's of municipalities in collaboration with PHS and Boverket are the prime sources of public investment in these areas and their work and input is required to create more socially sustainable development.

Private property owners

The group of private landlords and private developers who own part of the land have a lot of power in hands. Their focus will be on economically sustainable development and social factors will be less high in their agenda as these usually require more costs with relatively low monetary returns.

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

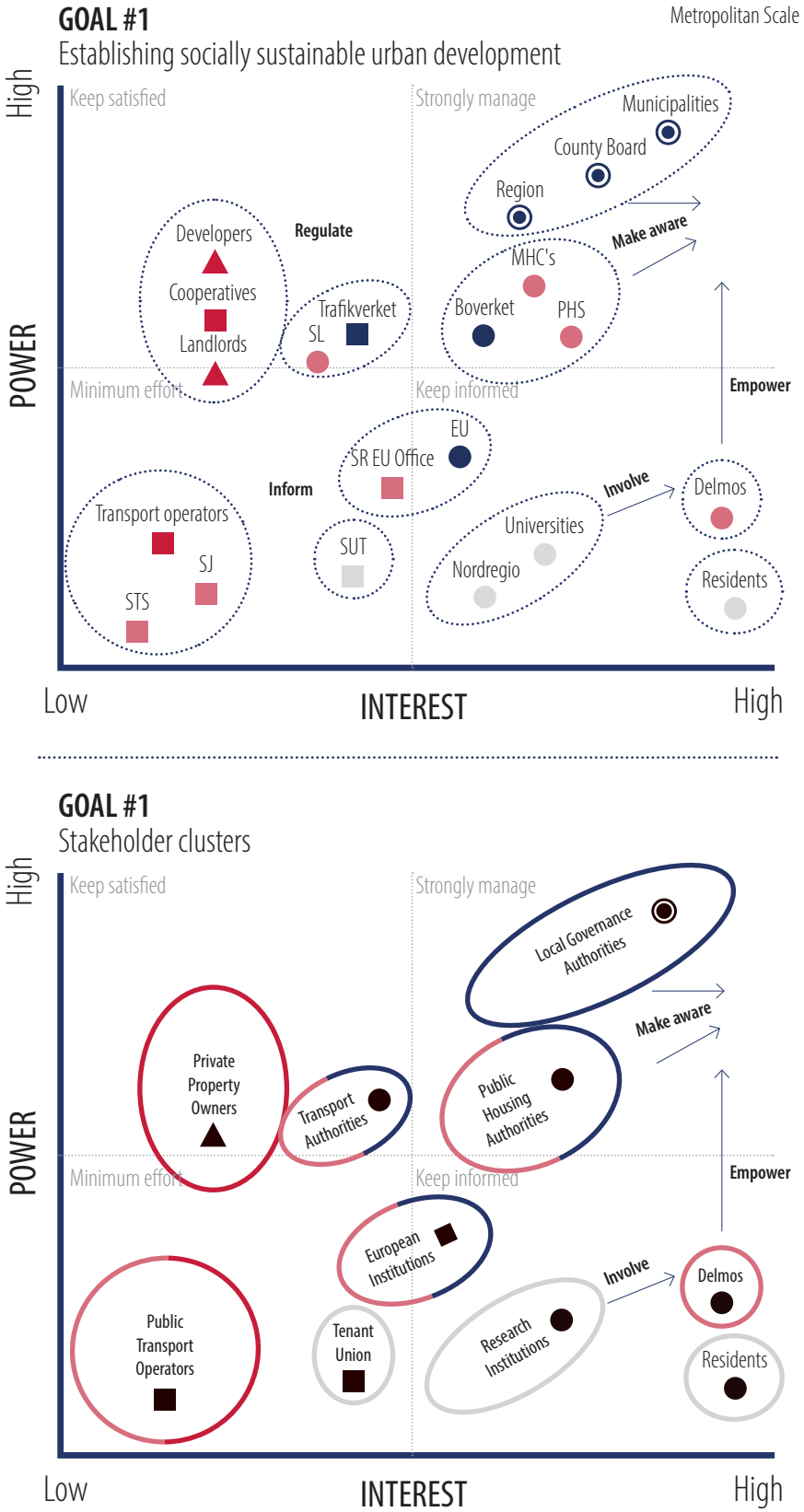


Fig. 3.7 - Goal #1 - Power-interest diagrams
Source: image by author

3.1 Stakeholders

Different actors at different levels

European institutions

The EU and the Stockholm Regional EU Office direct influence on the local level is limited. Some of their activities could be related to migration policy or urban development policy, but since European legislation needs to be generally applicable to all members states and the fact that the situation in Stockholm is very site specifi,c their influence will not be very large.

Research institutions

There are many academia at universities in Stockholm as well as international research institutions like Nordregio and the Migration Policy Institute that work on themes of socio-spatial segregation, migration and housing policies. Their input can be very important for local authorities to set up more effective working methods.

Trade and Labour Unions

The trade and labour unions have a much stronger position in Sweden than in other countries as they are a determining factor in the setting of (minimum) wages. They could play a role in providing better access to the labour market for vulnerable migrants.

Tenant Union

The Swedish Tenant Union is the most important representative of tenant rights in the country and as many migrants are living in public housing dwellings, they are a primary intermediate between authority and resident. They have however little influence on the patterns of planning and are primarily there to mitigate any negative externalities caused by the current mode of planning.

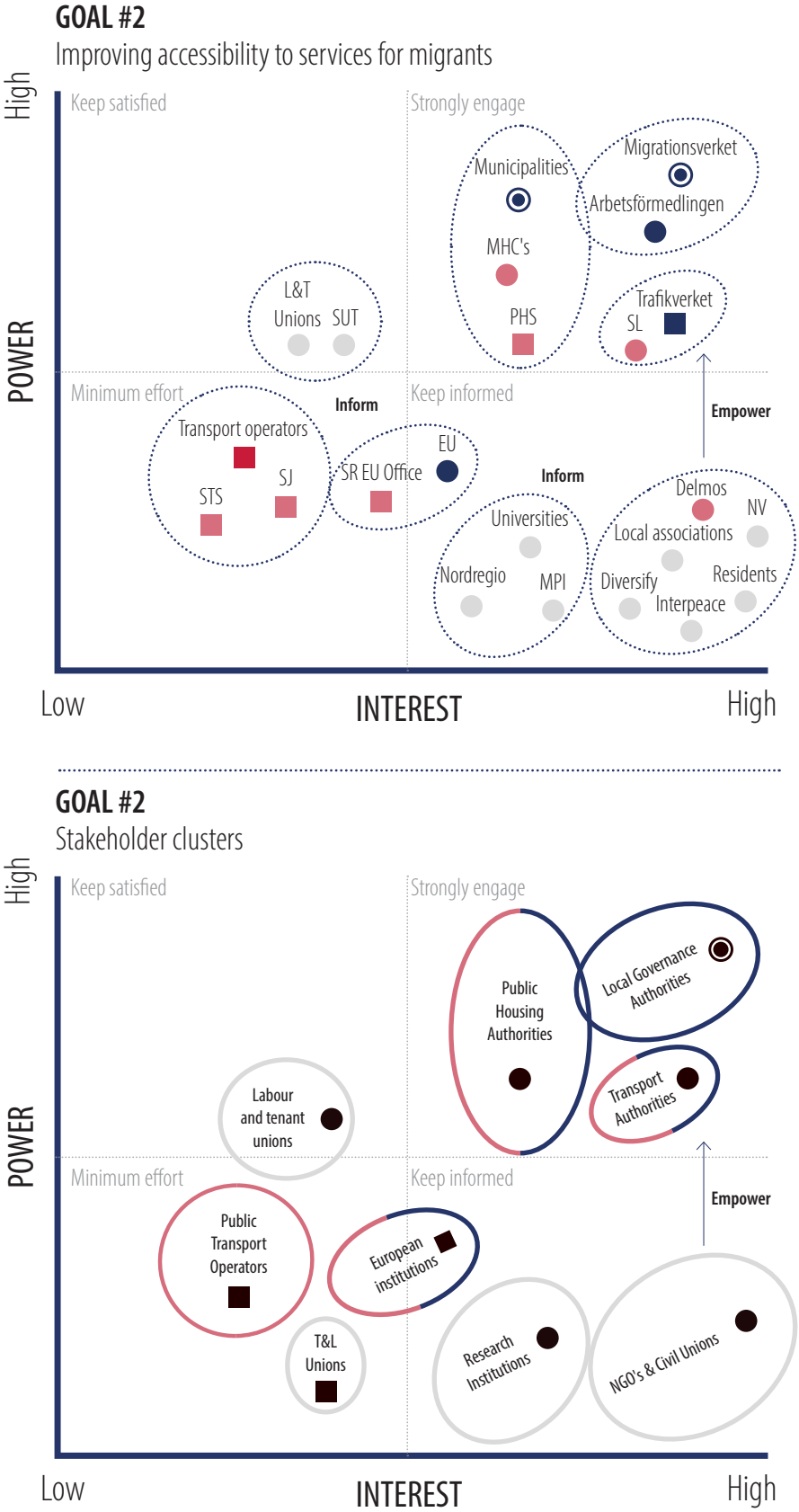


Fig. 3.8 - Goal #2 - Power-interest diagrams
Source: image by author

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

3.1.3 Goal #1 - Socially sustainable development

The first goal from the methodology was to make a shift towards a new model of planning that ensures more socially sustainable development, that reconsiders the ideals of The People's Home by taking into account equality and inclusion as core values in the planning process. This contrary to the monetary gains and market-driven development taking place now. The planning is primarily happening at the municipal level (and to a lesser extent at the regional body), and this is were the primary change needs to happen especially with the position and role planners attribute to themselves (Grange, 2017). Furthermore public housing authorities like MHC's need to be made aware of the role they play within the housing market and how the current system is creating an increasing divide (Hedin et al, 2012).

Delmos' work as an anti-segregation agency also needs to gain more power and prominence on the metropolitan scale, as it is now questionable how their research and recommendations are taken account of and how they are translated into local policy. The agency only exists for two years at the time of this project, so it is still in an initial phase so it is understandable that their efforts do not have direct effects on planning nowadays. The question for the future is how this translation will eventually be made and therefore it is important to empower Delmos and engage the more in this step of translation. The input of research institutions can also be of help to both Delmos and to local authorities, and they can form a support layer for creating better understanding of how the current mode of development is influencing segregation levels. This can provide new input for Delmos on a national level, but also address segregation more specifically on the local scale.

3.1.4 Goal #2 - Improving accessibility to resources for migrants

The second goal is then is to make sure migrants get better accessibility to services like housing, employment and public space. The question is to what degree physical and non-physical barriers are impairing migrants. In a physical sense this could be established with public transport agencies and the national Transport Board, Trafikverket.

Institutions like Migrationsverket and Arbetsförmedlingen are already making best efforts in the process of integration, language skills, housing and employment. Collaboration with local authorities like municipalities and regional bodies is needed to prevent overbearing pressure on single municipalities, especially in metropolitan areas like Stockholm.

Furthermore, there is a lot of potential in the empowerment of local associations as well as NGO's and research institutes, each in their own right. The Delegation against Segregation has a lot of potential to become a central spider in the web of stakeholders. Even NGO's like Interpeace have provided important contributions to the local debate in neighbourhoods, for example a project in Tensta (Interpeace, 2014). The knowledge and expertise of local stakeholders that reacts to the site specificity also needs to gain importance in the decision-making process. Participatory processes seemingly in place, but to it is important to see to what extend the voice of the resident is heard.

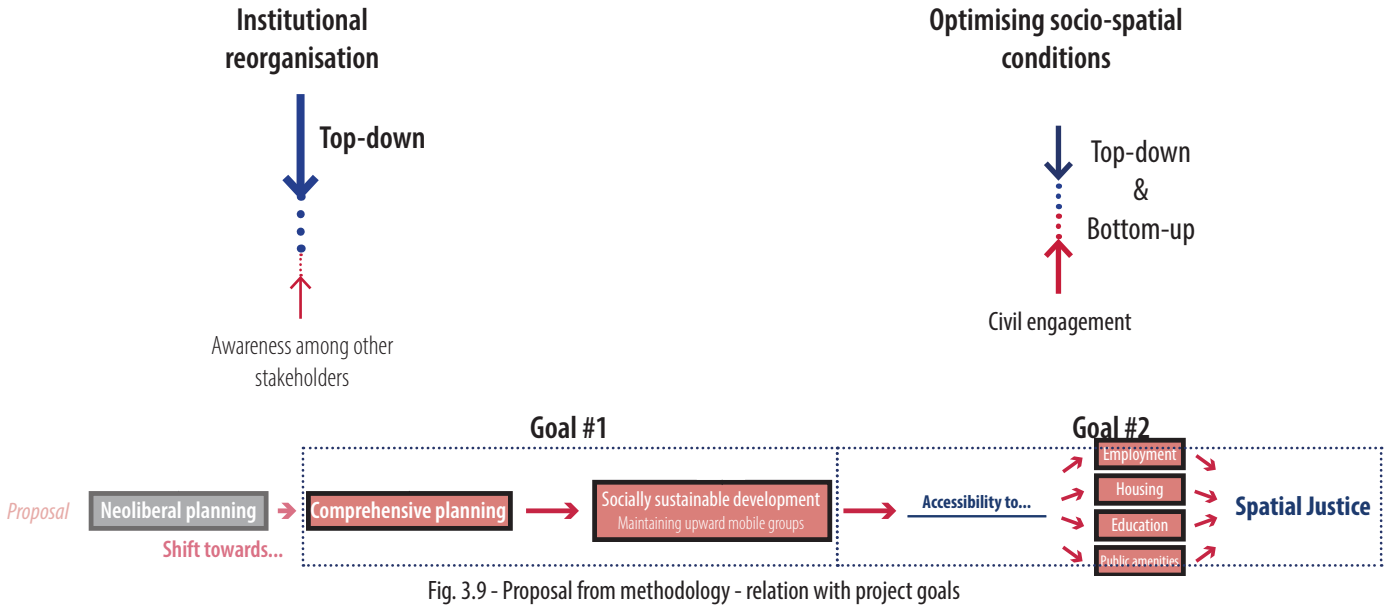


Fig. 3.9 - Proposal from methodology - relation with project goals
Source: image by author

3.1 Stakeholders

Involvement in urban development

3.1.5 Planning instruments in urban development

So how are the stakeholders involved in current processes? First let's look at the process of how urban development comes about. To understand this process, it is important to be familiar with the planning instruments that municipalities use to guide development. The most important ones are (Boverket, 2018):

1. The comprehensive plan (CP)
2. The detailed development plan (DDP)
3. Area regulations

3.1.6 Comprehensive plan (CP)

The comprehensive plan is a non-legally binding document in the form of maps and guidelines that should function as a foundation on which projects are validated. It shows in what way the municipality gives shape to national and regional interests, how it aims to provide land for development as well as preserve land for nature and how the balance between the two forms a model of sustainable development. Any developer can use the CP as a first testing method to see whether a development will be a realistic option.

Fig. 3.10 - Excerpt of a comprehensive plan (CP)
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2016)

3.1.7 Detailed development plan (DDP)

This is a legally-binding plan that shows in a more detailed way how land is developed. It sets out clear perimeters of ownership boundaries. It also contains a description on the quality of what should be developed in terms of building heights, programme, aesthetic features. DDP's are short-term documents and do not describe a long-term future plan. For that reason they leave some room for interpretation in order for them not to get outdated too quickly. Usually this means a time span of approximately 5 to 15 years. All in all the document comprises a written explantory text along with a map containing regulations. Lastly it contains a descriptive text on how the plan should be implemented and a proprietory list of owners.

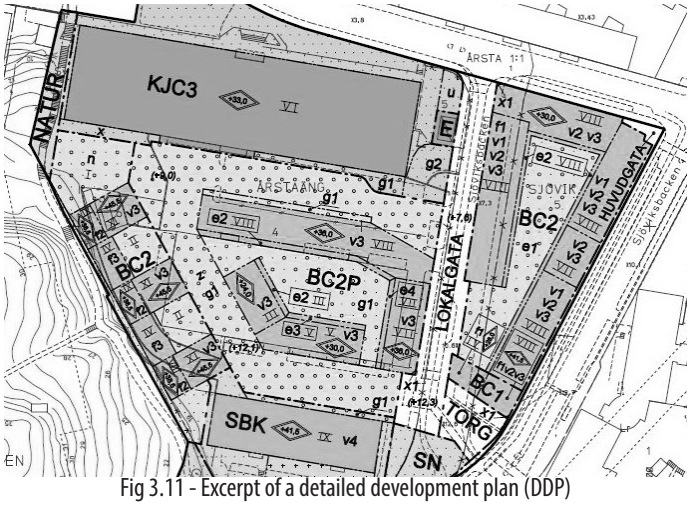


Fig 3.11 - Excerpt of a detailed development plan (DDP)
Source: Stockholms byggnadskantor (2013)

3.1.8 Area regulations

Besides a DDP, some municipalities also have specific area regulations which are also legally binding. They impose restrictions in specific sites, usually to enforce certain elements of the comprehensive plan in a legal framework.

It should be noted that the 'production' of these documents is primarily the responsibility of the municipality, though a municipality may chose to outsource this task to a private firm. In the end, a planning officer of the municipality will always monitor the project team that sets up a DDP.

3.1.9 Participatory process

The diagram on the right describes the steps taken towards any urban development in Sweden which shows strong signs of participatory planning. As seen it is quite an extensive process, which is quite time-consuming partially due to the many public consultations.

This process has also received criticism and has been deemed as tokenist participation in some cases, where the participation process is in the end a symbolic way to create apparent inclusion in the planning process (Monno & Khakee, 2012). The main obstacle seems to be that citizens in itself are not viewed as credible or knowledgeable enough to have any serious leverage in the project. It is usually already only the citizens who are already better off that end up participating, as vulnerable groups are arguably not taken seriously due to their lack of understanding of the complex planning process. The authors also argue that the planning system mainly consists of by architects and designers who feel diminished when their professional expertise is overruled by local knowledge and experience. The market-driven perspective in the planning process has now turned the relationship between planner and citizen into a service - customer relationship. As a result, the participation of people in the planning process has been equalled to a propensity to pay (Monno & Khakee, 2012).

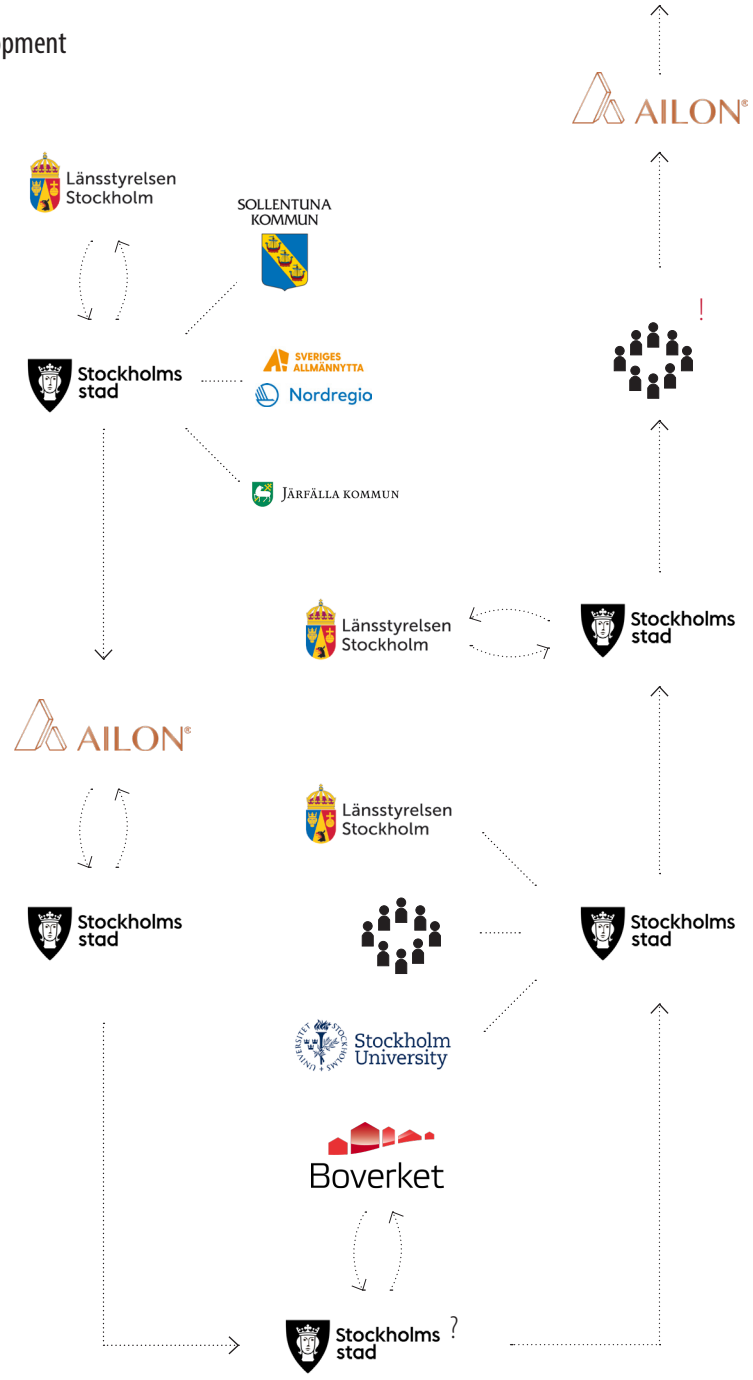
3.1.10 Process of urban development

1. Municipality sets up a comprehensive plan on how to deal with local concerns, balanced with regional concerns in dialogue with adjacent municipalities if they deem it necessary. The county board checks the legal status of the document.

2. A developer owns a piece of land. They initiate a project for development at the municipality.

3. The municipality has four months to react and afterwards makes a preliminary agreement with the developer. This marks the start of the DDP development process.

4. The DDP process can be preceded by a (1) program phase. In that case the municipality does more prior investigation, for example when the proposal contradicts the comprehensive plan.



5. In the (2)consultation phase, it is investigated if the project requires a more extensive research on the environmental impact according to the Environmental Code established by Boverket.

6. When previous steps have been carried out, a draft is presented at a consultation meeting to the County Board, residents, experts and other stakeholders involved.

7. Based on these consultations the plan is once again revised in the (3) examination phase by the County Board.

8. When the DDP is adopted, it becomes legally binding and the municipality can give out a building permit. Third parties can appeal this decision within 4 weeks.

9. When any possible appeals have been dealt with, the developer has the construction rights and can start building.

Fig 3.12 -Urban development process
Source: image by author, logos from respective companies

3.1 Stakeholders

Involvement in integration process

3.1.10 - Overcoming societal obstacles from migrants

Previously, five main obstacles for migrants and refugees have been discussed namely understanding the culture, learning the language, finding accomodation, finding employment and societal acceptance. To what extent do stakeholders help them to overcome these obstacles and what is their role in the integration process?

Culture & Language - There is a language course available for migrants called SFI ('*Svenska för invandrare*' - 'Swedish for newcomers'), which not only addresses the language but also cultural aspects of the country. Migrants are only entitled to SFI once they are granted a residence permit. Furthermore language proficiency is not a requirement for Swedish citizenship (Migrationsverket, 2015).

Housing - As of now, it seems that for housing there is a large shortage in affordable housing, also with special regard to accomodation for newcoming migrants. 272 out of 290 municipalities (94%) report to be struggling with arranging accomodation for this group (Boverket, 2016). It is also clear that affordable housing generally is scarce due to sell offs by MHC's in the past decades and that in current new constructions higher price segments as well as home-ownership tenures are dominant (see chapter on housing market).

Employment - A barrier for migrants is that newcoming adults have no right to national education when above 18 (Migrationsverket, 2019). Migrants are therefore for a signficant part dependant on their own resourcefulness and entrepeneurship, especially when they are still waiting for a decision in their case for asylum or residence as they have limited rights in this period.

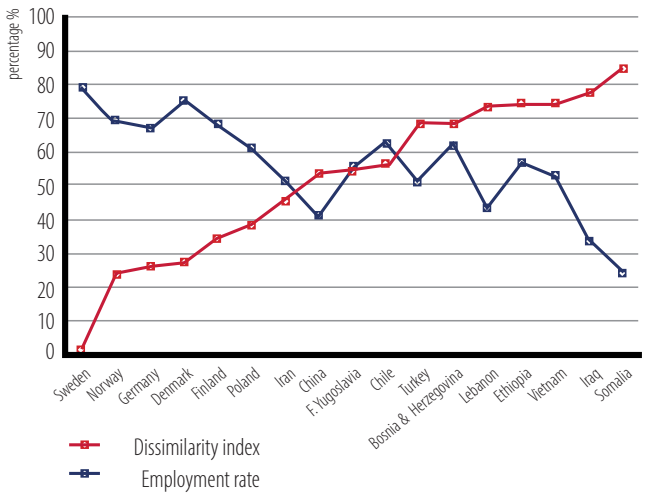


Fig. 3.13 - Employment vs. dissimilarity index i.r.t. Swedish population
(Source: Andersson et al 2009, retrieved from Andersson et al, 2010)

Societal acceptance - Obviously societal acceptance is not something a government agency can establish, it is a collective mindset and responsibility. The sharing of public space and the co-presence of people in space are possible ways for planners in the public domain to increase understanding and societal acceptance.

3.1.11 Recent development in asylum policies

In the light of the most recent migration crisis in 2015, the Swedish government has taken on new asylum legislation in 2016 which is much more restrictive in nature then what it used to be before (Fratzke, 2017). Whereas previously both refugee and subsidiary protection applicants would recieve a permanent residence permit, this is now reduced to temporary permits being 3 years for refugees and 13 months for subsidiary protection beneficiaries. Furthermore, the government does not longer grant any protection to applicants other than the two mentioned above. Mostly this affects unaccompagnied minors, although it is unclear whether these would be denied entry as it could be in conflict with international EU law.

Lastly, the new legislation has limited the possibility of family reunification. This right is now reserved for refugees and is no longer available to subsidiary protection beneficiaries. Furthermore, the financial support requirements have been increased and applications are to be made in a more timely manner after a migrant has been granted refugee status.

3.1.12 Sub-conclusion

It is clear that the asylum process in Sweden is highly organized, and that there are many institutions that are willing to provide help overcome integration obstacles. At the same time there is a 'second line of defense' in the form of non-governmental organisations that stand up for the rights of migrants.

It is however also clear that the acceptance and integration of migrants could arguably have become more difficult, paradoxically through the increasing restrictions in government legislation. Migrants coming to Sweden often need to wait for a quite extensive period before their application is granted, before they have any certainty. This could reduce their willingness to integrate and add to their perception of social exclusion (Fratzke, 2017). At the same time it also puts additional strain on the capacity of Migrationsverket, because temporary residence permits remain registered under their jurisdiction and remain entitled to their services. Waiting times have extended as a result since the migration crisis in 2015 with estimates of 10 to 18 months processing time at the moment. This is a serious threat as vulnerable migrants are left in overcrowded accomodations without employment opportunities (SverigesRadio, 2015; FARR, 2018).

3.1.13 Process of immigration

1. When any migrant or refugee comes to Sweden, they will apply for asylum, a residence permit or a work permit at Migrationsverket, the government body for immigration procedures.

2. Whilst waiting for a decision on their application, applicants can reside in government accomodation or in own accomodation if they are able to arrange it themselves.

3. When an application is approved, a temporary residence permit is granted for the term of 13 months or 3 years based on the applicant's status. Denied applicants have to leave the country.

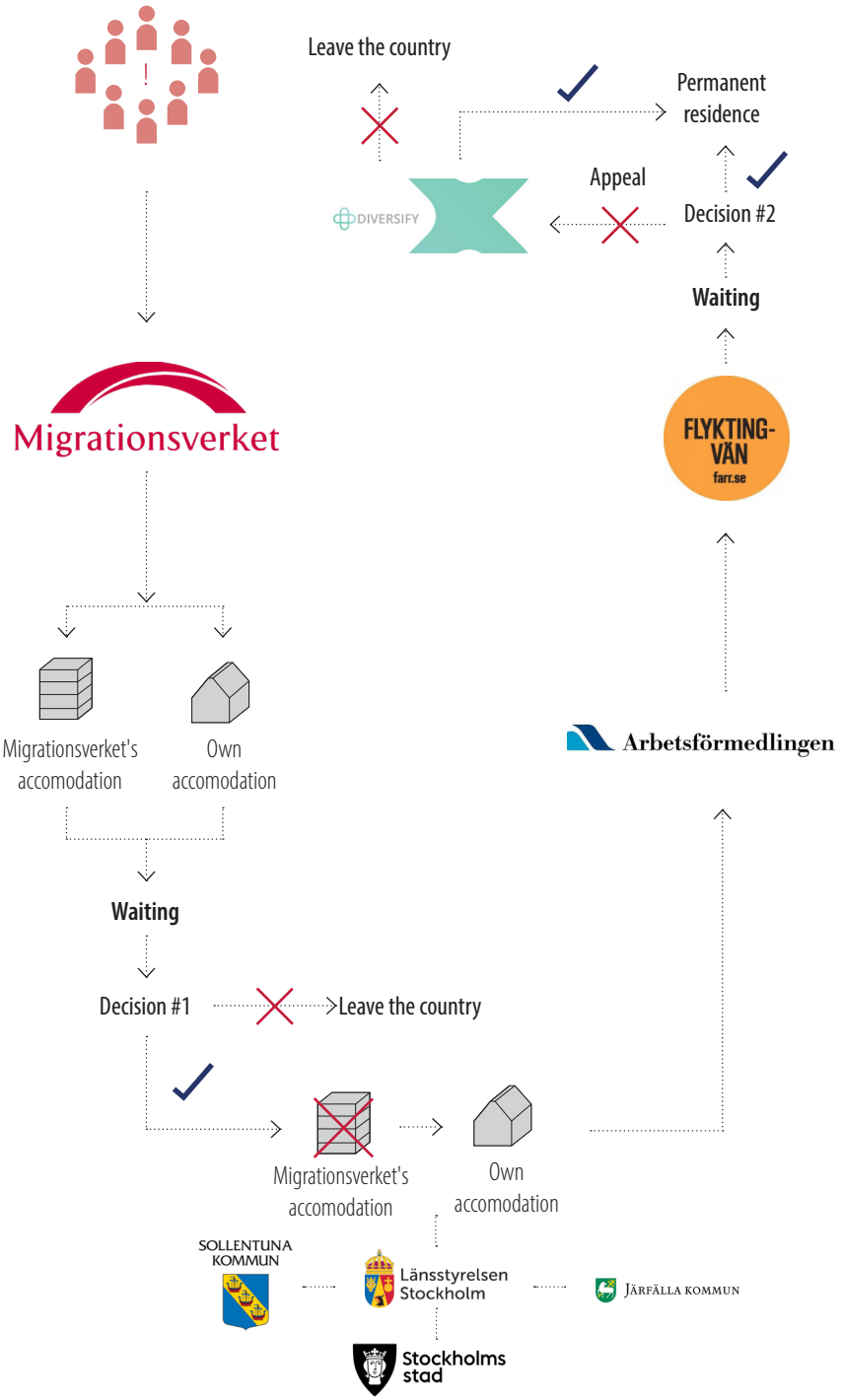


Fig 3.14 -Urban development process
Source: image by author

7. If an application is denied or if a person is deported after years of high-skilled labour, NGO's like the Diversify foundation can help set up legal procedures to appeal deportation.

6. Refugee support groups like FARR can provide a network for migrants, while at the same time generating attention for immigration procedural issues.

5. When a permit is granted, the Swedish public employment agency (Arbetsförmeldingen) can help individuals to get started in the workforce through so called establishment contributions.

4. Temporary residence permit holders are no longer entitled to accomodation provided by Migrationsverket and need to arrange their own accomodation. Since March 2016, the County Board negotiates with the municipalities to decide on figures regarding the amount of refugees going to each municipality.

3.2 Policy review

RUFS (2050) - Regional plan & planned investments (2019-2040)

3.2.1 Regionalism in Stockholm

The Stockholm regiona level is represented by Regio Stockholm, whose main responsibilities are public transport provision and health care provision. However, they also play a monitoring role when it comes to regional development as urban development projects are always consulted with the County Board, which represents the state on a regional level (*Länstyrelsen Stockholm*).

Yet, the municipalities remain the most important and strongest players in guiding development in the region. This has sometimes lead to a conflict of interests among municipalities and with regards to the topic of socio-spatial segregation and the care for migrants this has been particularly problematic. More affluent municipalities are trying to mainly attract middle class residents anda re therefore wary to build affordable housing which would alleviate issues for municipalities with a larger influx of vulnerable groups (Tammaru et al, 2015). A development model with a stronger regional perspective provides opportunities for increased cross-municipal collaboration and a more comprehensive and sustainable mode of planning. At the same time it is important to recognise its threats and downsides.

Regionalism model have been criticized for a lack of intimacy and understanding of the particularities of the local community scale as well as the familiarity of government institutions on a national scale. Furthermore it poses the risk of affluent municipalities with larger resources will overrule the needs of less affluent areas in a regional plan (Fainstein, 2014). The institutional design of governance models is crucial in establishing a more fair and socially sustainable urban development that will reduce segregation and provide better access to services for vulnerable groups like migrants (Fainstein, 2014). This requires flexible and innovative design of institutions.

3.2.2 Towards sustainable regional development

In recent years the Stockholm County board has presented a regional vision with a time span up until 2050 (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015), called RUFS 2050. The main challenges the vision aims to tackel that are presented in this vision are as follows:

1. Facilitating large growth of population whilst also upgrading the environment;
2. Meeting increasing needs of people and systems;
3. Creating an **attractive and globally competitive region**;
4. Mitigating negative climate effects whilst also allowing for **economic growth and increased accessibility**;
5. Establishing an open region with increased **inclusivity**;
6. Increased sense of security.

The main focus of the region seems to be on economic growth and global competitiveness. This is evident in the way the regional map is laid out. It talks about strategic urban development and increasing accessibility through the construction of new large scale infrastructure.
Although inclusivity is listed as a goal, there are no explicit statements on how this should be achieved. On the contrary, one could say that the current plan actually further contributes to an increasing divide between groups.

3.2.3 Spatial principles

Furthermore the document puts forward some spatial principles to be considered in regional development.

1. Transit-oriented development -> **Accessibility driven**
2. Connecting regional centres -> **Accessibility driven**
3. Optimise transport for people and freight -> **Accessibility driven**
4. Improve green and blue structures -> Environment driven
5. Strengthening urban-rural connections -> **Accessibility driven**
6. Innovation in accessibility -> **Accessibility driven**

What stands out at these spatial principles is that 5 out of 6 of these are strongly aimed at physical accessibility. Only principle number 4 is environment driven. Even though it has been listed as a goal to improve inclusivity and security, none of the spatial principles developed in the vision seem to contribute to these goals in any way. The regional and international perspective of thinking is arguably diminishing social values in this vision.

3.2.4 Planned investments 2019-2040

Complementary to the regional vision, a document has been released which further outlines the major investments (Tyréns AB, 2019). These investments, along with some larger projects that are showcased on the website of the municipality have been drawn on the map. These mainly include the private prestige projects like Hagastaden & Barkarbystaden (which will be discussed later) as well as the newly planned 20-km tunnel bypass of the city.

3.2.5 Sub-conclusion

Although it is encouraging that a regional vision is in place and that this level of governance and collaboration is considered, the vision seems to be mainly driven by a perspective stemming from transport planning. This is not surprising given the fact that the main responsibility of the County Board now is very much transport related. The absence of non-physical accessibility and social inclusivity is problematic with regard to the situation of migrants. The document does state the goal to be an open and inclusive region, but the current investment projects do not reflect this goal.

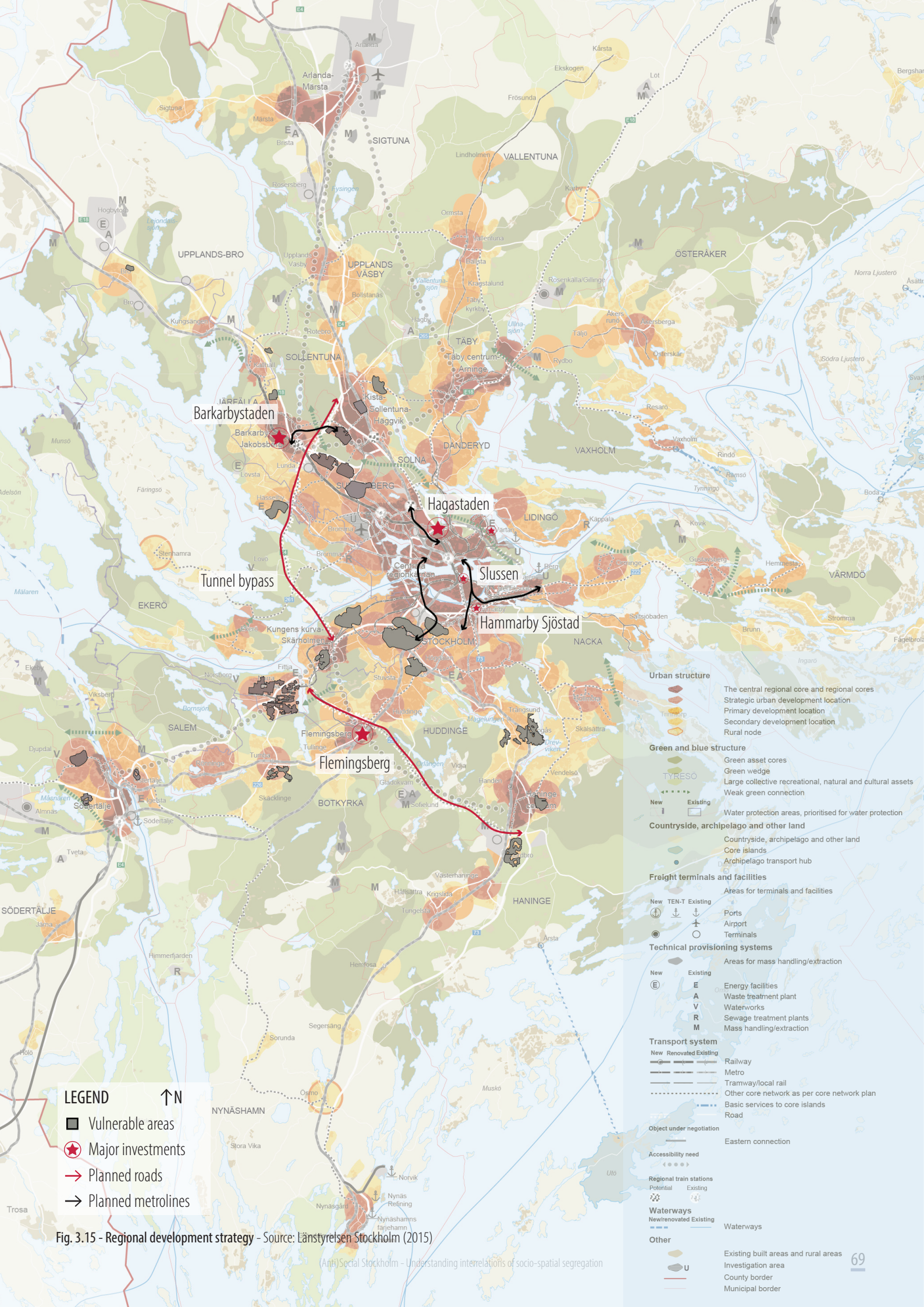


Fig. 3.15 - Regional development strategy - Source: Länstyrelsen Stockholm (2015)

3.2 Policy review

Stockholm City Plan (2016)

3.2.6 Stockholm's comprehensive plan (CP)

As described before, every municipality maintains a comprehensive plan, that is non-legally binding and that is used to guide development within municipal territory (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016). The plan discussed here dates from 2016 and the following can be concluded:

3.2.7 A focus on growth and global attractiveness

In line with the regional vision, where perhaps the larger scale brings these topics to the forefront more naturally, the city's plan is focussed on growth, increasing capacity and global competitiveness. The city expects to grow by 150.000 people from 2015 to 2025, a 17% increase in population, with an according construction goal of 140.000 dwellings. Simultaneously the region is running the rat race of worldwide competition, trying to attract businesses and entrepeneurs that will boost the region's economy, which is already named as being the primary driving force behind the national economy of Sweden.

The ambitions for growth are mostly put forward through an expansion strategy which aims to use the city core's attractiveness as a tool to attract business to also start settling in more affordable peripheral areas, for example the high-tech office cluster in Kista.

3.2.8 Improving periphery with discrepancy of investment potential

The comprehensive plan shows a clear intent to focus planning resources on peripheral areas like Kista-Järva, Skärholmen, Hagsätra-Rågsved & Farsta. These areas are in need of refurbishment, both dwellings and public space. At the same time, they are in need of more public services and jobs.

However, it also recognises some challenges that come with this aim, the main one the potential for investment. The inner city center acts as a magnet for private, large-scale development, which directs away the attention of potential investors from the distressed neighbourhoods. Publicly owned MHC's no longer have the means to facilitate large scale public housing projects on their own, at the same time these areas usually already are dominate by public rental housing. It is hard for MHC's to develop affordable housing close to the city centre due to high land prices.

3.2.9 Revised active-land policy

Since 2015, the city is maintaining a new, more active land-use policy, which is primarily concerned with the process of land allocation. It is sightly unclear what this new policy exactly entails, but it seems to enforce more strict quality measures as criteria for developers to negotiate with development on public land. Goal is to make this procedure more clear for all parties involved and hence make it more attractive for private developers to collaborate with the city.

3.2.10 Identifies housing issues and considers new tenure forms

The current housing shortage and situations of overcrowding are adressed and require new creative solutions to speed up the building process. The municipality is willing to consider new tenure and construction types. An example is the 'Snabba Hus' project by Svenska Bostader, where modular construction apartments for young adults are cheaply build through standardized methods. This is much quicker than traditional construction and the low costs allow for good affordability. The modules can demounted and moved to a different location in the future if needed (Svenska Bostader, n.d.b).

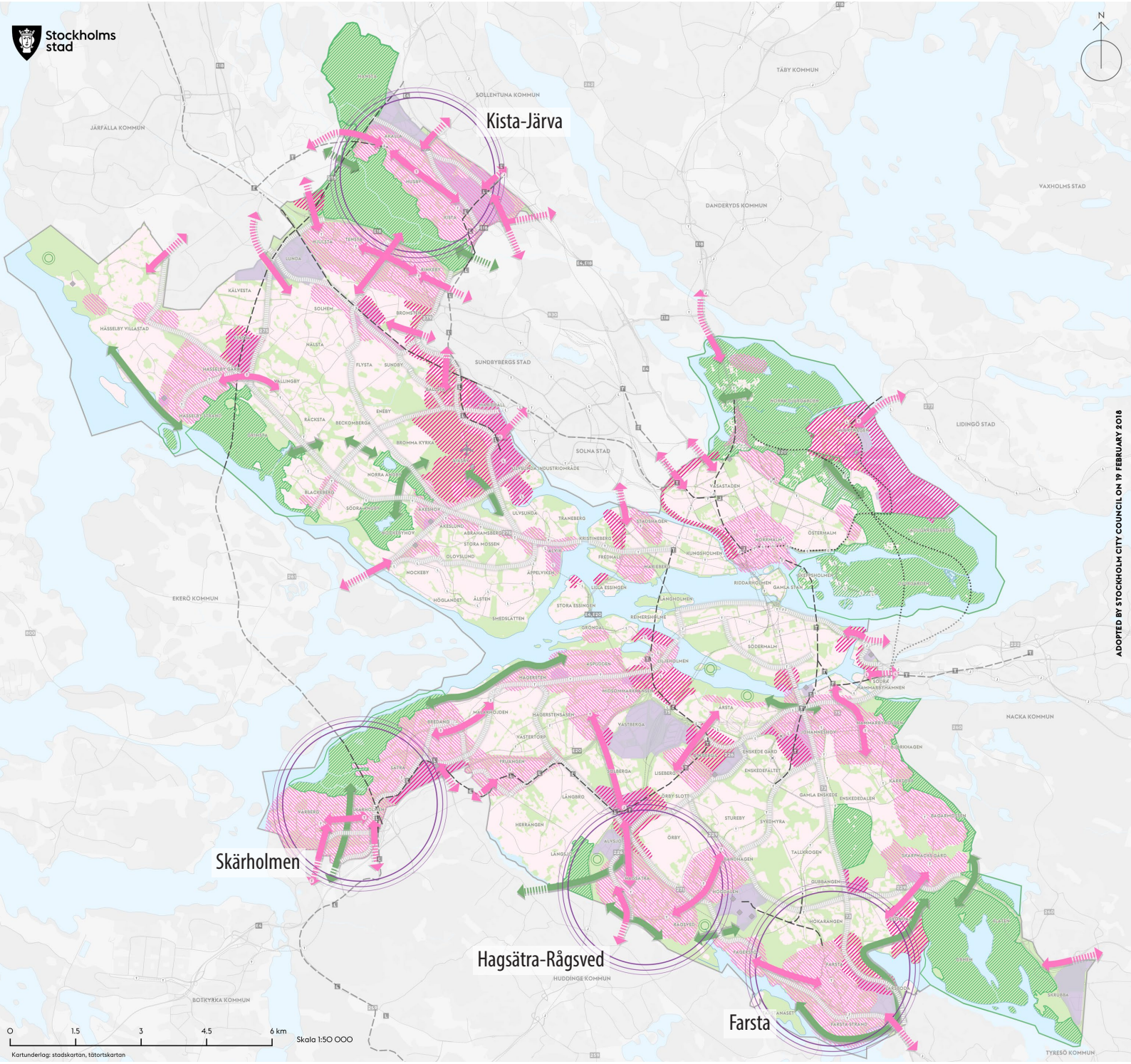
Besides these new building concepts, the city is also open to new forms of community building, where residents themselves act as urban developers of their own property. The selling off of public land, as well as the potential for low diversification of these types of areas however is precarious and requires meticulous public monitoring from authorities.

3.2.11 Acknowledges segregation issues, but lacks understanding

The plan recognises that there are stark socio-economic differences between living environments, founded in affordability issues as well as physical disconnection and inaccessibility. A lack of opportunities for encounter in public space are endangering the city's socio-spatial cohesion. Although the approach of the City is at least somehow reflected in the way land allocation has been happening in recent times (Caesar & Kopsch, 2018). It however also still lacks an understanding on how the multi-municipal governance of the Stockholm region and their subsequent planning monopolies create contradictions between different municipal ambitions.

3.2.12 Sub-conclusion

The document shows some good signs in terms of willingness from the municipality to direct their resources to peripheral areas in need as well as a more active land use policy although the details of this are slightly unclear. At the same time it also appears as if their resources are not sufficient to reach some of their goals for these areas and that more collaboration with private parties is required. The projects by MHC's to deliver good temporary housing to relive housing shortages are a good initiative but are not sustainable solutions. A wider regional and long-term approach seems to be lacking and requires more inter-municipal dialogue to attract investment to areas with conflict of interests mostly located at the municipal boundaries.



STOCKHOLM CITY PLAN

URBAN DEVELOPMENT MAP

The boundaries of the urban development areas, city streets, city development areas and so on are schematic. The specific intentions of the City Plan will be clarified in subsequent planning. Urban development is to be judged against the City Plan's four city planning goals and must meet the criteria in one of the four elements of the expansion strategy.

Urban development area – transformation
(very high city development potential)
Area for proposed transformation to mixed use with homes, businesses, services, streets, parks, culture and sports facilities. Developing green assets and guaranteeing functions such as schools and preschools is an important element of urban development. The transformation can involve entire or partial changes in land use.

Urban development area – addition
(high city development potential)
Mixed-use area where extensive additional development is proposed. The area may gain new homes, services, businesses, streets, parks, culture and sports facilities. Enhancing green assets and safeguarding functions such as schools and preschools is an important element of urban development. Additional development must be founded on an awareness of the existing features, assets and needs of the area. The area may include places where major structural changes are proposed.

Future communications

- Rail or road development agreed or in progress
- Rail or road currently under negotiation
- New main line or commuter train station
- New tram stop
- New metro station

City development area ecological corridor
Area with proposed improvements to significant regional ecological infrastructure. At the same time, recreational assets can be developed to enrich the immediate environment.

Proposed nature reserve
Area where an inquiry is in progress on potentially creating a nature reserve.

Area where additional development may be considered
(some city development potential)
Area where additional development may be considered within the bounds of existing land use, founded on an awareness of the existing features, assets and needs of the area.

Focus areas
Specially highlighted areas where investment and planning resources should be concentrated.

Strategic connections
Connections that are strategically important to attain the goal of a cohesive city. Connections can be made by developing the cityscape with buildings, green corridors, activity areas, destinations and transformed streets. The strategic connections complement urban corridors and local connections.

Urban corridors
Over-wide streets in the local road network and motorways with side areas that can be transformed into bustling urban environments in the short or the long term. These connect existing districts effectively and sensitively along the whole or part of the route. These roads will retain their important local and regional traffic function for personal and business transport, but a network of pedestrian and cycle routes will be built alongside and crossing the road. In the majority of cases, space will also be prioritised for high-quality public transport.

CURRENT LAND AND WATER USE

- Nature area
- Water
- Road
- Tunnel
- Rail
- Main line or commuter train station
- Tram stop
- Metro station
- Station/stop to be closed
- Area with opportunities for industry and disruptive operations, ports, terminals and certain municipal and technological utilities
- Major plants for utilities infrastructure
- Bromma Airport

Protected area

- Nature/culture reserve, National City Park or World Heritage Site

Fig. 3.16 - Stockholm municipality comprehensive plan
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2016)

3.2 Policy review

Differences between areas in Stockholm (2015)

3.2.12 Social imbalance between areas

In 2015 a report was released on the differences between different neighbourhoods in the Stockholm region named *'Skilnaderna i Stockholm'* (differences in Stockholm) (Municipality of Stockholm, 2015). It was written and produced in the light of growing social issues in a distinct set of areas. A pattern emerges, where a ring of neighbourhoods along the north-west and south-west edges of the municipal territory is visible.

3.2.13 Relationship between Stockholm's CP and problematic areas

Firstly, it is important to see whether there is a coherence between the Stockholm comprehensive plan (on the previous page) and the conclusions from the report on social inequality in the city.
This seems to be the case to a large degree in the sense that the City Department has selected areas like Kista-Järva, Skärholmen, Ragsätra-Rägsved and Farsta as areas where resources should be focussed on.

One area that pops from this data that is not named in the comprehensive plan is the Hässelby-Vällingby area. It is unclear why this is the case, a possible explanation could be a lack of municipal resources or simply a decision on priority for other areas.

The area that stands out most is the Kista-Järva district, which scores high on all data regarding social issues. It seemingly has the lowest rates of employment, the most economically vulnerable families with children, the most cases of arson and the lowest property prices within the Stockholm municipality. This is in line with the list of vulnerable areas published by Polisen (2019), where this collection of vulnerable areas (Tensta, Rinkeby & Husby) is rated with the highest severity.

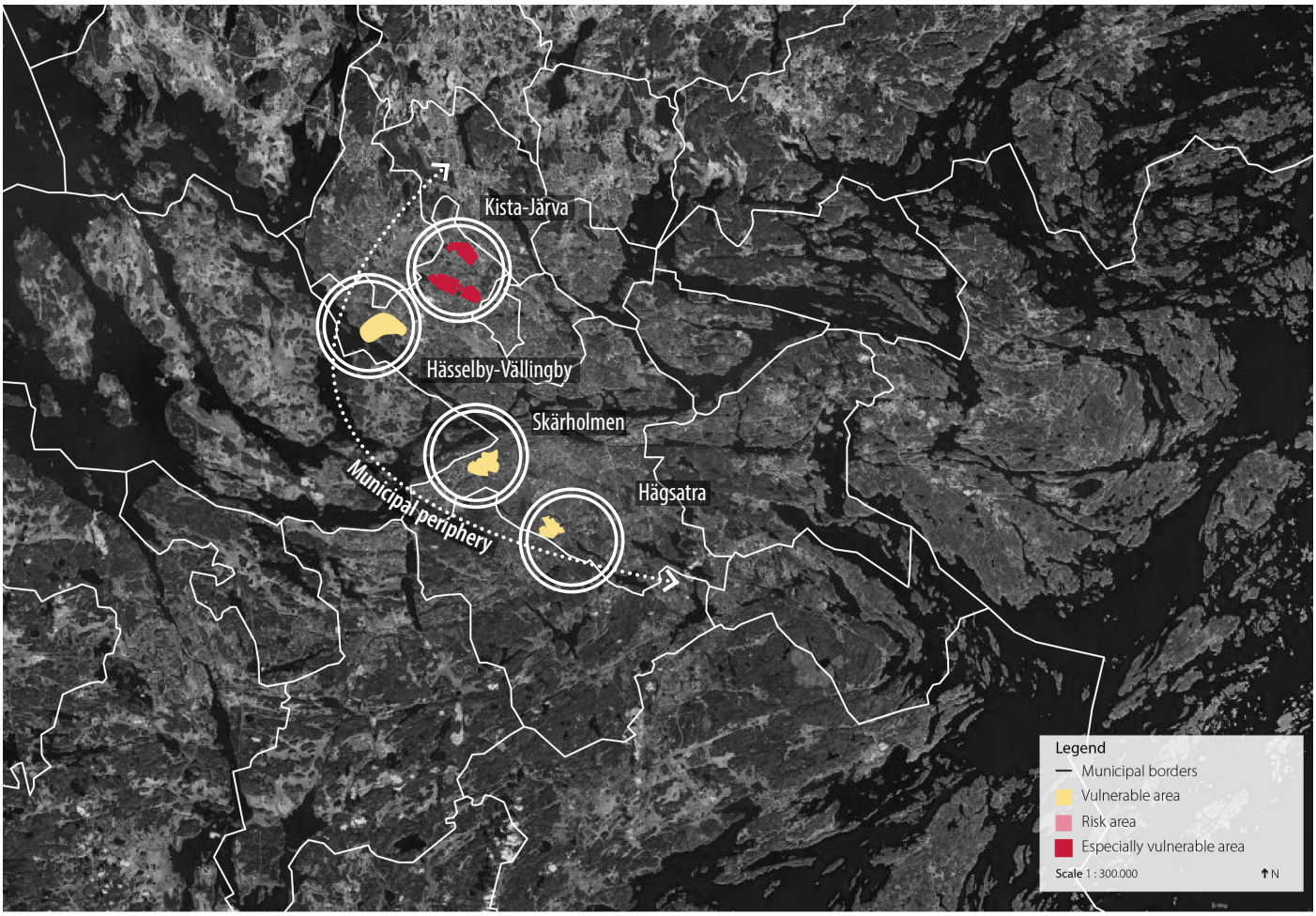


Fig. 3.17 - Relation between vulnerable areas - areas with social issues emerging from Municipality of Stockholm (2015)
Source: image by author based on data from Polisen (2019) & OpenData Stockholm (2018), background from Bing Maps

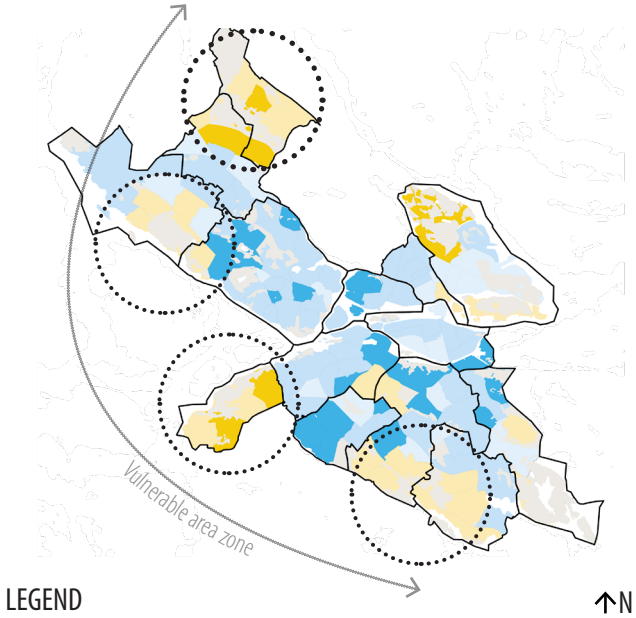


Fig. 3.18 - Employment between ages 20-64 in 2012
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2015) - adapted by author

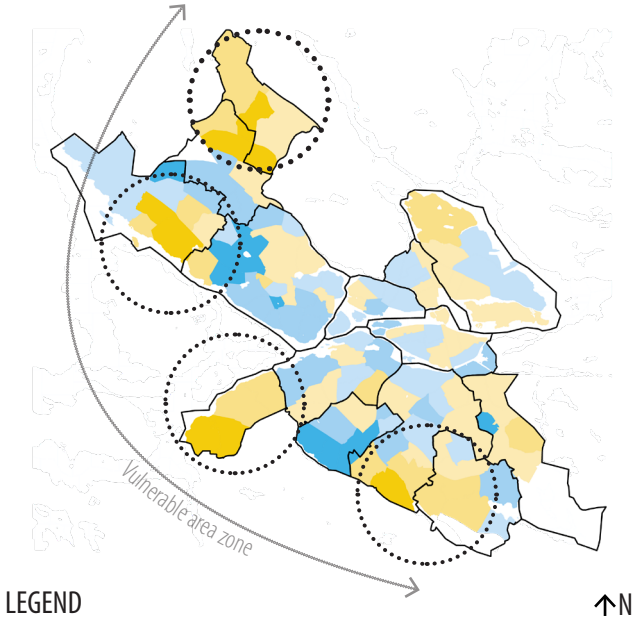


Fig. 3.19 - Economically vulnerable families with children in 2013
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2015) - adapted by author

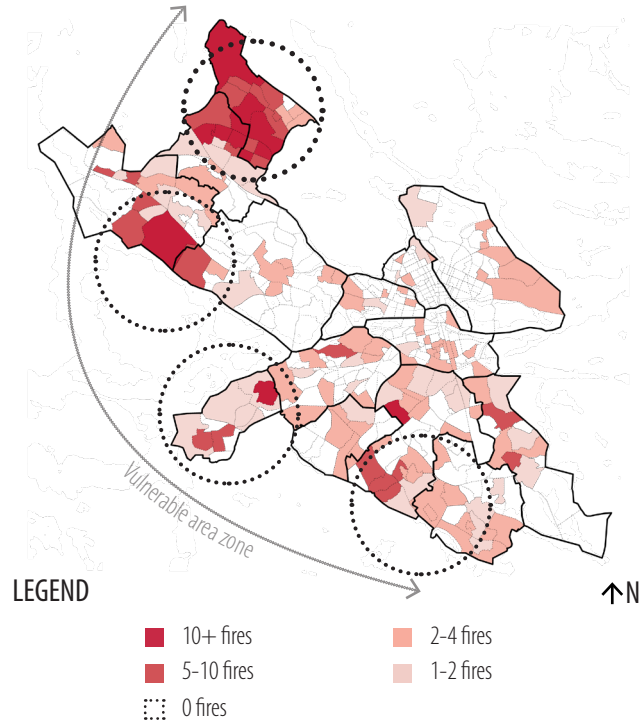


Fig. 3.20 - Cases of arson from June 2014 - April 2015
Source:Municipality of Stockholm (2015) - adapted by author

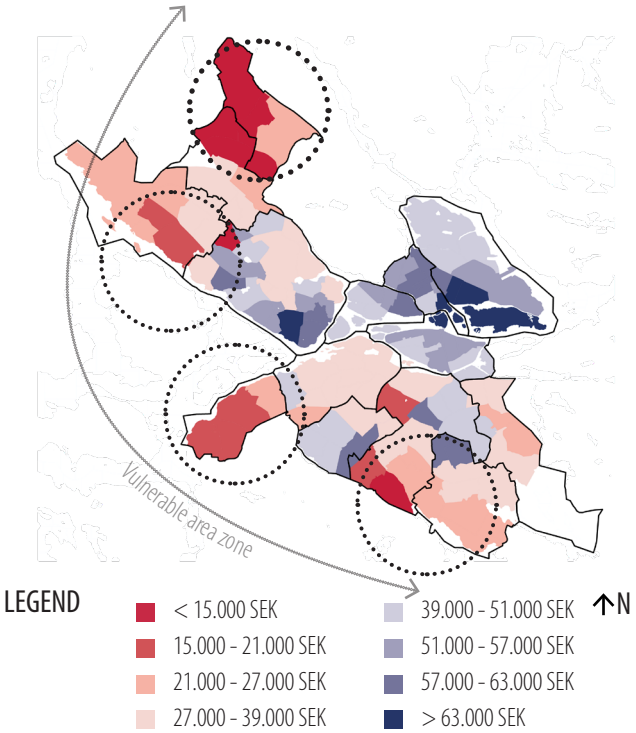


Fig. 3.21 - Housing prices per square meter in 2011
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2015) - adapted by author

3.3 Accessibility

Road network

3.3.1 Means of transport

Firstly the traditional definition of accessibility will be taken on in the form of physical accessibility. The transport network in Stockholm is diverse and quite extensive. Now the attractiveness and connectivity of the different modalities are examined:

Car

Fig. 3.22 - Source: Dumitrache (2010)

Stakeholders

TRAFIKVERKET

Stockholms stad

SOLNA STAD

Sundbybergs stad

NACKA KOMMUN

There is an extensive road network in Stockholm, as the layout of the city is mostly oriented towards cars. Owning a vehicle however is quite expensive as purchase, fuel costs, insurance, ownership tax, maintenance, parking costs and congestion tax add up to a large financial burden. Within the Stockholmregion a set of roads is under jurisdiction of the national transport board Trafikverket and some roads are under municipal control (see map).

3.3.2 Global angular integration of vulnerable areas

The figure below shows the global angular integration of the motorised network, this excludes any pedestrian or bike paths and shows the accessible roads for the automobile in the region taking into account the amount of turns a car makes (benchmark is a change in direction of 30 degrees to be counted as a turn). The range chosen is 4000 meters. Within such a range, large stretched main roads naturally colour red and so does the city centre which is in 'the middle' of the road network on such a scale. Global integration is also high in affluent inner city suburban areas like Bromma, Sundbyberg and Enskede.

The vulnerable neighbourhoods are located in the periphery of the city, most of them being in proximity of a highway or a road with good global angular integration. However in the case of the car, as mentioned before, the non-physical accessibility of migrants to the road network is likely to be a lot lower because their socio-economic status is often not as such that they have the means to afford a car. Especially in the Stockholm region which is one of the few metropolitan areas worldwide where congestion taxes are imposed.

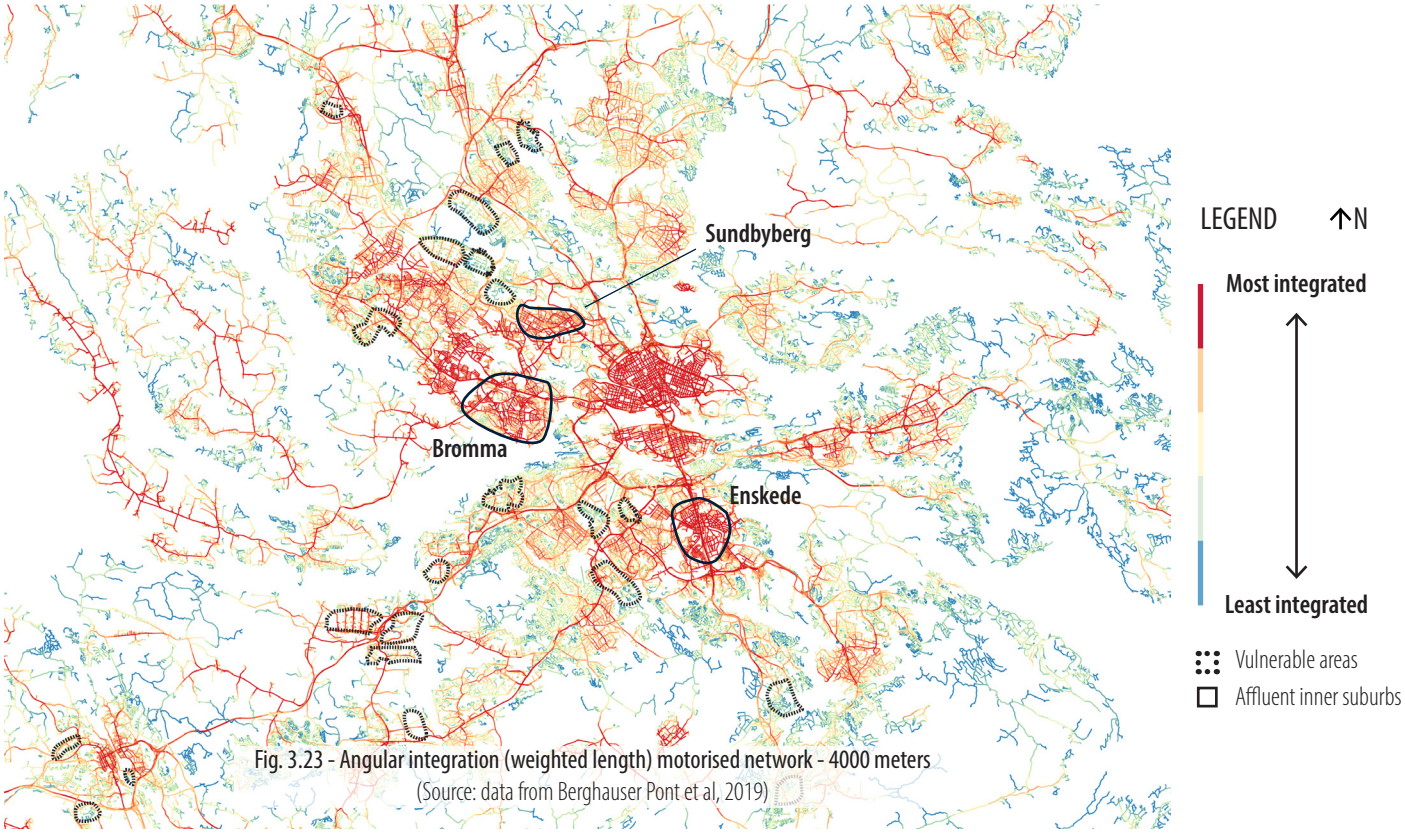


Fig. 3.23 - Angular integration (weighted length) motorised network - 4000 meters
(Source: data from Berghauser Pont et al, 2019)

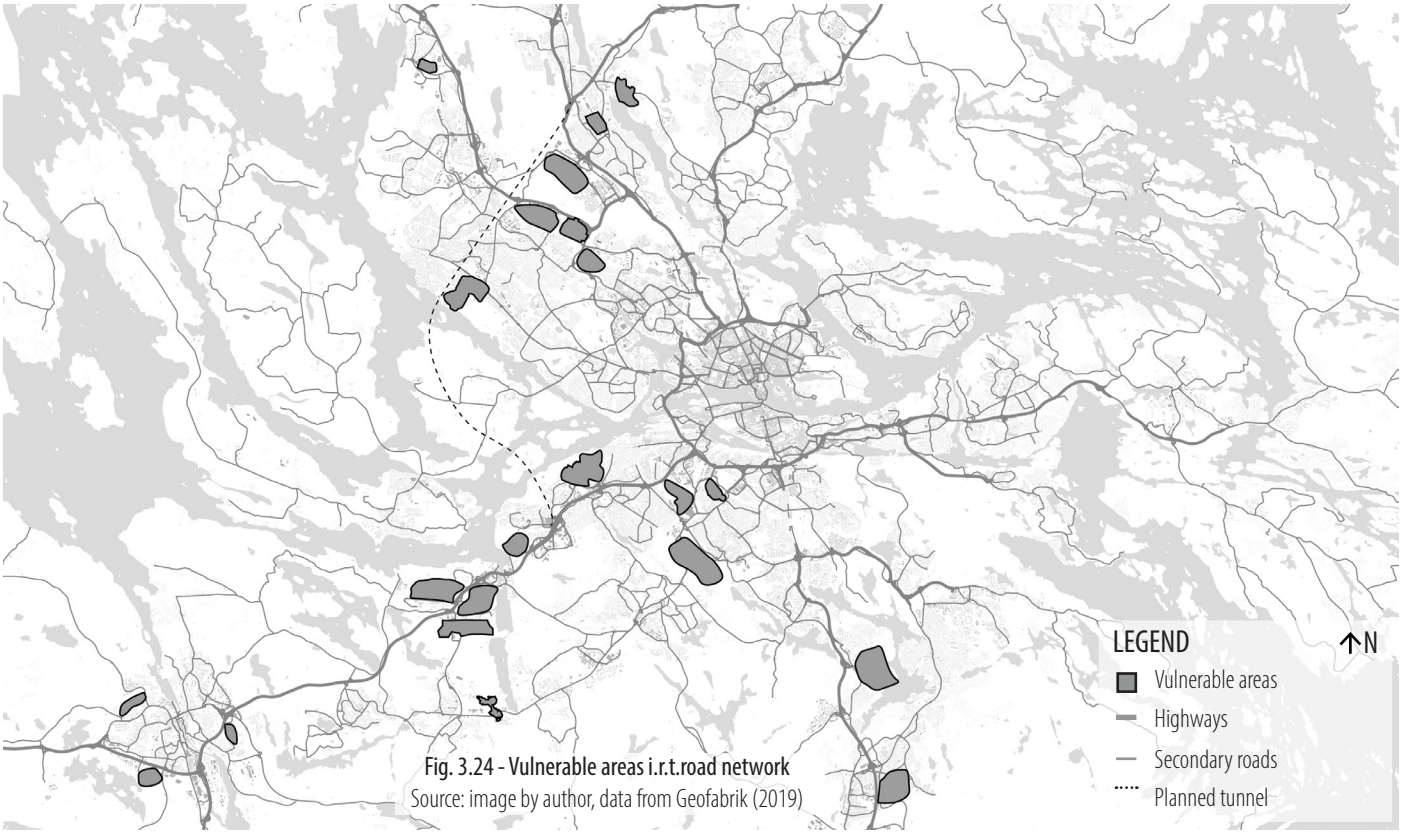


Fig. 3.24 - Vulnerable areas i.r.t.road network
Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik (2019)

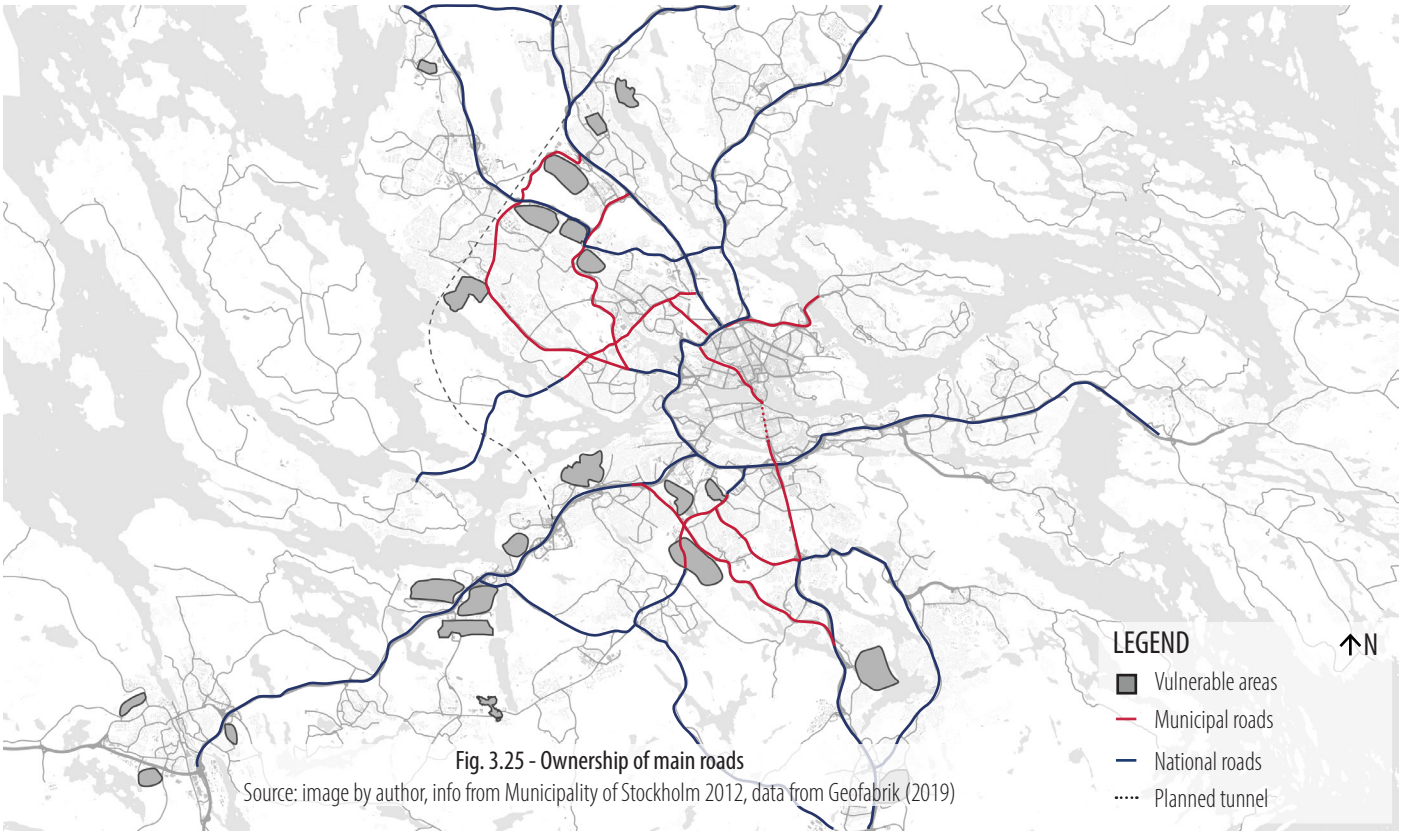


Fig. 3.25 - Ownership of main roads
Source: image by author, info from Municipality of Stockholm 2012, data from Geofabrik (2019)

3.3 Accessibility

Public transport

Tram, light rail and commuter rail

Fig. 3.26 - Source: Ellgard (2010)

Stakeholders

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm

SL

Svenska Spårvägssällskapet

Stockholms Spårvägar
Vision och Tradition

arriva

There are several tram, light rail and commuter rail services in Stockholm, mostly in the eastern more affluent areas and in the inner suburbs. Of the four lines, two are operated by Arriva and two are operated by AB Stockholms Spårväger, a limited company owned by the Swedish Tramway Society.

Metro

Fig. 3.27 - Source: Juneja (2016)

Stakeholders

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm

SL

MTR

The Stockholm metro is quite extensive and forms one of the most used modes of transport in the city, as it is a vital connection between the outskirts and the city centre. It is owned by SL and exploited by the MTR corporation, a transport firm from Hong Kong. In the coming years the metro will be expanded to increase capacity.

Bus

Fig. 3.28 - Source: Jørgensen (2019)

Stakeholders

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm

SL

Busses are operated by Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL) and have a very wide scope of operation. Regular city busses are coloured red, whilst the blue lines serve the suburban and more remote areas from the city centre.

Train

Fig. 3.29 - Source: Arlanda Express (n.d.)

Stakeholders

TRAFIKVERKET

SL

MTR

A-Train AB

On a regional level the train is a good alternative to the car. There are night trains to Göteborg and northern cities like Umeä, as well as a commuter rail to nearby cities like Södertälje and Uppsala . There is also the Arlanda Express, which constitutes the most important high speed connection from Arlanda Stockholm airport to the city centre.

3.3.3 Connection to deprived areas

It is apparant that the public transport network of Stockholm is quite extensive. There is a wide range of transport options which are all monitored by SL. Moreover it is important to mention that all modes of transport from SL have the same price, which counts for multi-day cards as well as single-ride tickets applying to all modalities. Therefore there is no difference in overall accessibility. Only the Arlanda Express to the airport is seperately monitored and a lot more expensive to use.

When looking at the map, it is also clear that deprived areas seem to have public transport connection to the city centre, mostly through metro. This is of course an underground connection, which also means that users of the metro do not see the neighbourhoods and that a visual relationship is not constituted. At the same time, trams and light rails with a smaller, more local range (which are also less dense in terms of users) are mostly present in more affluent areas.Trams and light rails travel above ground and here this visual connection is made. This difference could seem trivial, but it might impact the way a neighbourhood is viewed due to a limited understanding from non-residents. It can also be argued that the metro provides a regional connection, but it does lack local connectivity which is of primary concern to vulnerable areas.

Lastly, it is also important to recognise the symbolic and political value of infrastructure. The decision to construct a metro or tram in a certain area can provoke a sense of impartiality and exclusion in another.

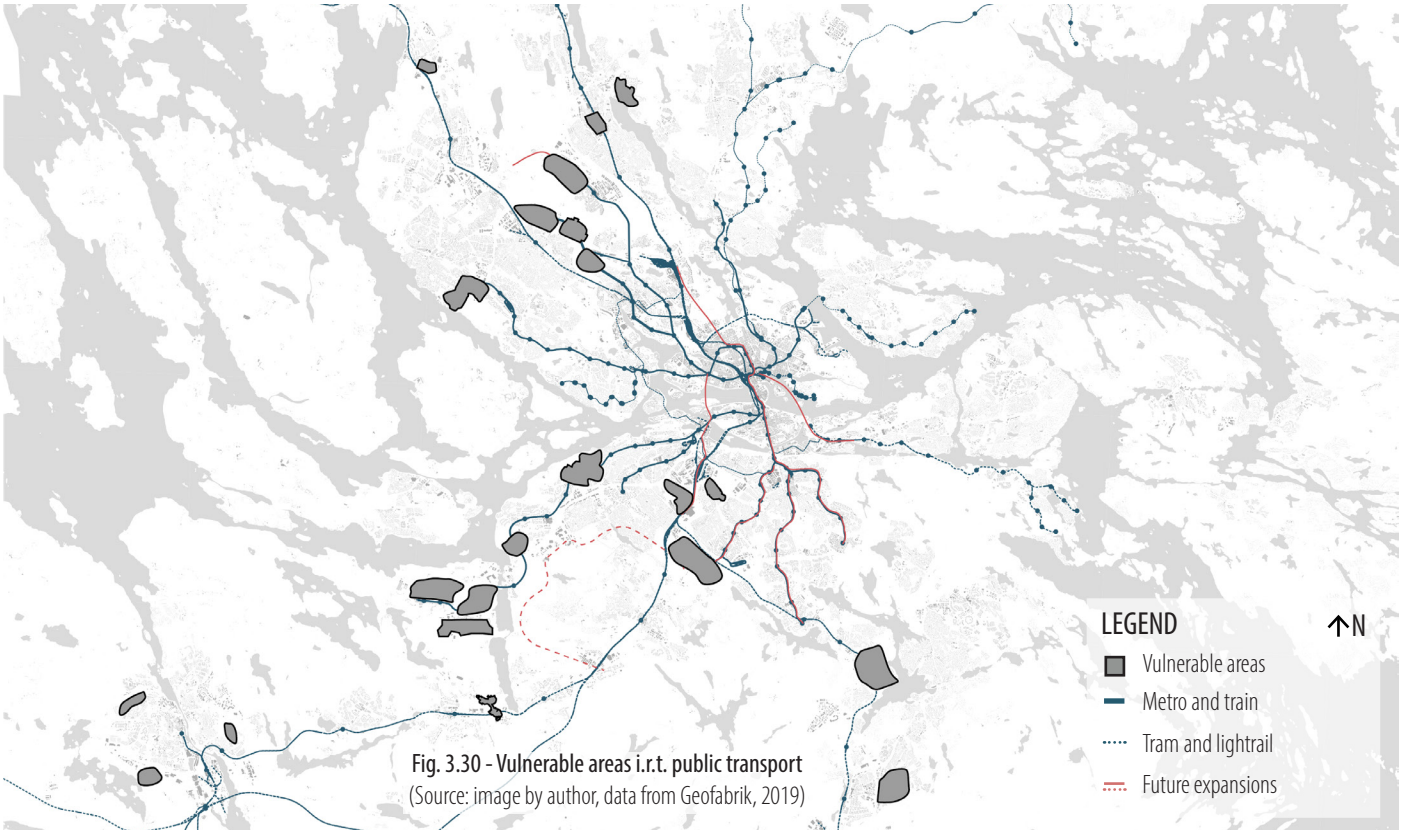


Fig. 3.30 - Vulnerable areas i.r.t. public transport
(Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik, 2019)

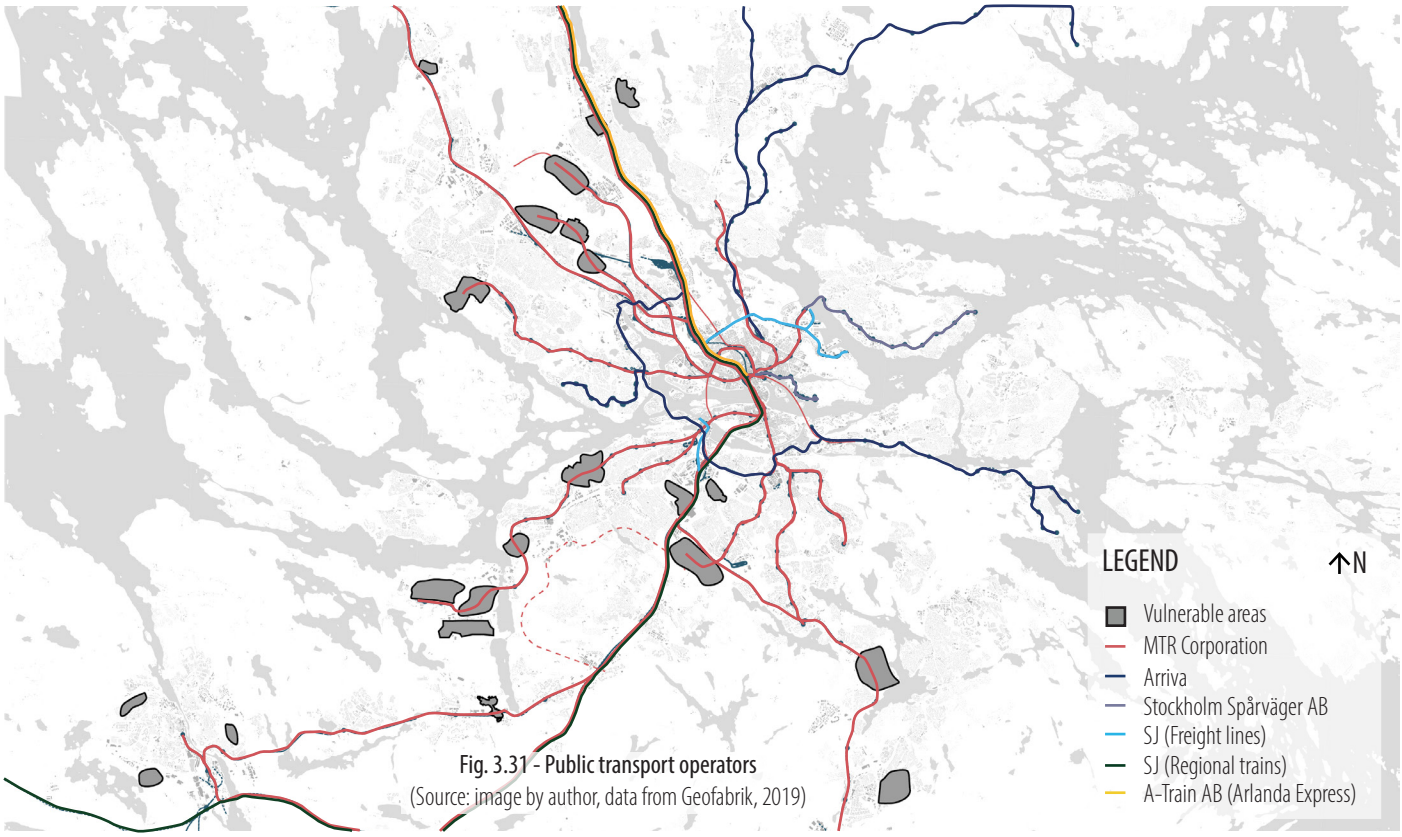


Fig. 3.31 - Public transport operators
(Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik, 2019)

3.3 Accessibility

Access to services and jobs

3.3.4 Access to jobs - skill level

To understand the relationship between the migrants living in the vulnerable areas and their access to employment, it is important to understand what kind of jobs they do. Most migrants residing in Million Programme estates have little education and are only qualified for low-skilled jobs. Clusters can be made according to the job types:

1. Low-skilled
- Manufacturing and storage - industry sites
- Retail and food sector - shops and restaurants

2. Medium-skilled
- Health care provision - hospitals
- Logistics - public transport hubs

3. High-skilled
- Service sector - offices
- Research and innovation - university colleges

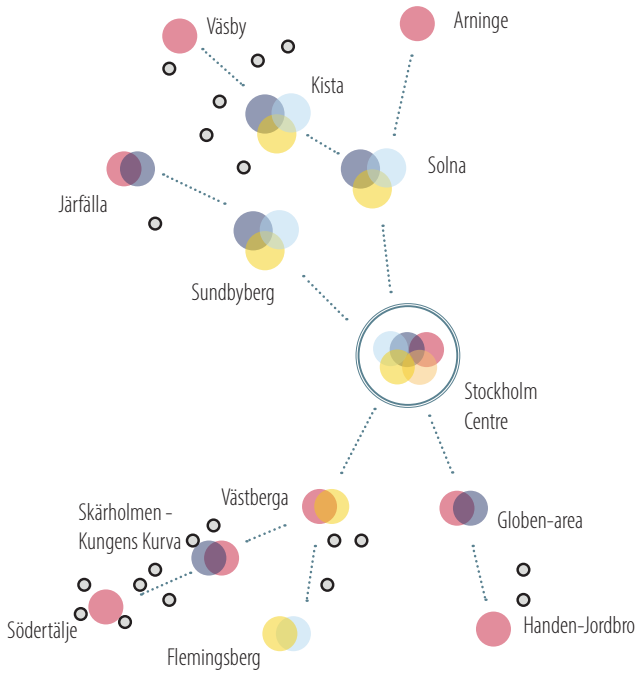


Fig. 3.32 - Conceptualisation of job locations i.r.t. vulnerable areas
Source: image by author

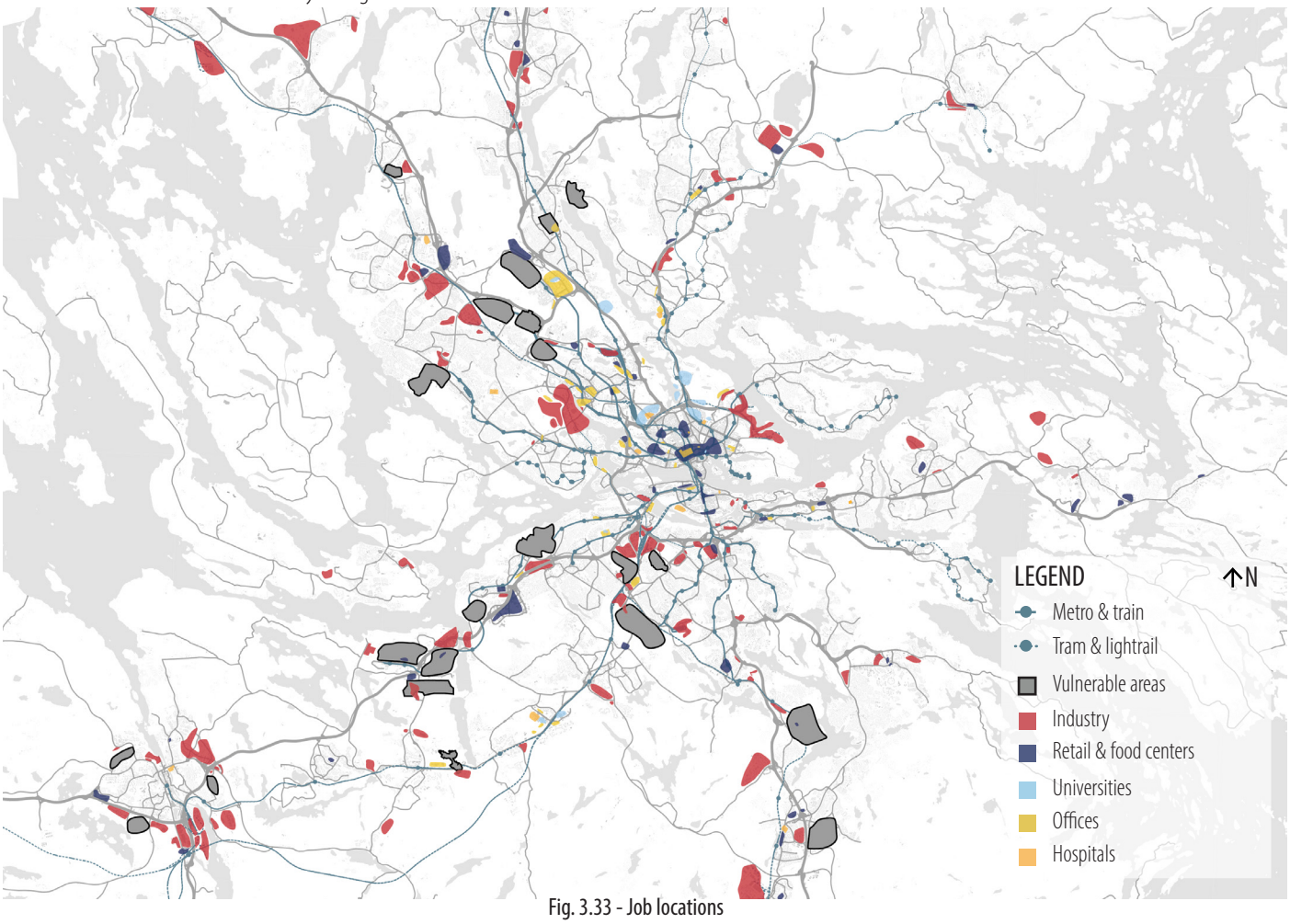


Fig. 3.33 - Job locations
Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik (2019)

According to Statistics Sweden (2017) the top-15 occupations with the largest share of foreign-born employees are:

Occupations	Percentages (%)
1. Fastfood preparers	79
2. Maids, nannys and other domestic workers	69
3. Translators and interpreters	59
4. Cleaners and office/hotel assistants	57
5. PhD students	51
6. Bus and tram operators	48
7. Taxi, van and car drivers	47
8. Machine operators	46
9. Dancers and choreographers	45
10. Research assistants	43
11. Butchers, fishmongers and related preparers	43
12. Cleaning supervisors and housekeepers	42
13. Beauty and body therapist professionals	42
14. Machine operators, meat- fish and processing	41
15. Restaurant and kitchen helpers	39

Looking at this list, we can identify several job clusters. The first one would be the food industry, with many foreign-born employees working in restaurants and fast food chains but also in the production and processing of food through meat and fish suppliers. A second would be construction and logistics in the form of machine operators. The third would be public transport, with a high number of bus and taxi drivers as well as tram operators. The fourth would be high-skilled workers in the service and academic sector like translators and PhD researchers.

3.3.5 Employment trends

There are two trends happening in the Swedish labour market at the moment which negatively effect propects of labour for low-educated migrants:

1. Professionalisation - Professions and their respective titles are becoming increasingly protected through higher requirements for qualifications and professional associations reprenting and overviewing the work of the field (Grange, 2017). The idea is that this way the work of the profession has more validity and security for clients and it aims to protect the integrity and reputation of the occupation.

2. Servitisation - More and more industrial services and businesses are becoming servitised, that is to say their prime product is becoming a service instead of a physical attribute (Statistics Sweden, 2018). Usually a higher degree of (high order) services requires specialised knowledge and education. As a result, more and more jobs demand training.

Job sectors	2008 →	2018	Change
1. Services	76,53%	80,21%	+3,68%
2. Industry	21,26%	17,98%	-3,28%
3. Agriculture	2,21%	1,81%	-0,40%

Source: Statistics Sweden (2018)

Furthermore, jobs are strongly concentrated in the city centre, with 66% of jobs of Stockholm municipality being in the city centre (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016). This trend of jobs increasing more so than the working population is aggravating this effect (see graph). Servitisation seems to lead to increased job clusters in and around the city centre with more attractive locations for companies to settle offices. This is also happening in neighbouring areas like Sundbyberg and Solna excluded in this dataset.

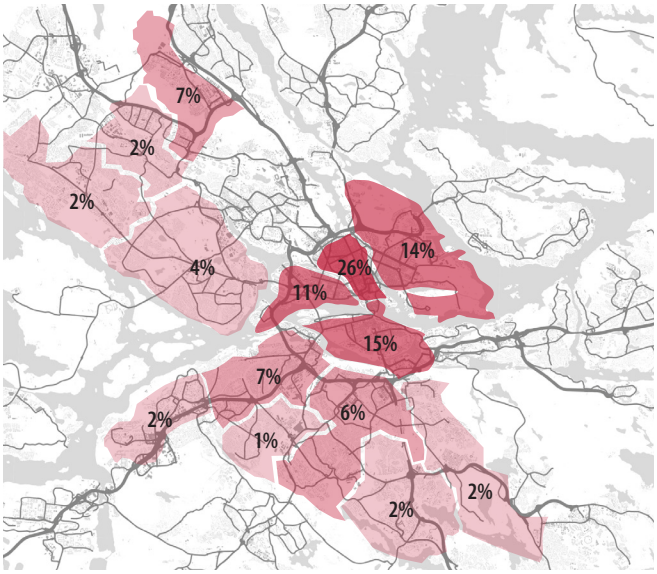


Fig. 3.34 - Division of jobs in Stockholm municipality
(Source: image by author based on Municipality of Stockholm, 2016 - data from Geofabrik, 2019)

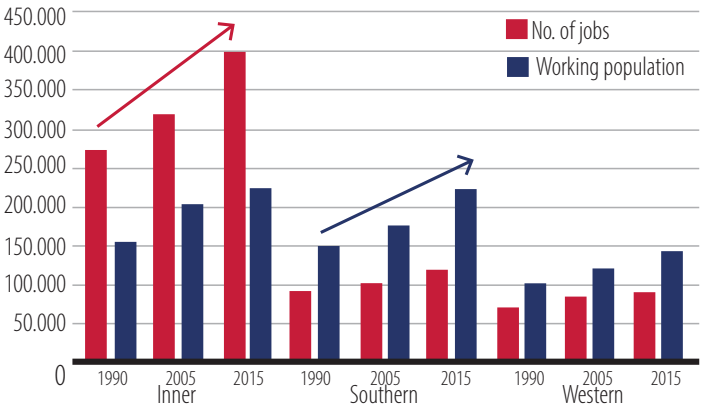


Fig. 3.35 - Change in jobs per district
(Source: image by author based on Municipality of Stockholm, 2016 - data from Geofabrik, 2019)

3.3 Accessibility

Access to services and jobs

3.3.6 Low-skilled jobs

When trying to recognise a pattern in the job locations of jobs in the industrial and retail service sector, there does not seem to be a very clear distribution of job locations. Retail services are fairly evenly distributed across the region, although usually quite decentralised in the form of outer suburb shopping malls instead of local shops in high streets.

Industrial sites are also quite evenly spread, although clearly the city centre is now dominated by retail and office spaces. As industries were originally located more in the city centre, these areas are now mostly being redeveloped into housing sites and industrial estates are now mostly at the edge of the inner suburbs. Job opportunities as shown before however are becoming increasingly servitised. Also studies show that the demand for low-skilled workers is not that high (The Local, 2019).

3.3.7 High-skilled jobs

When looking at the location patterns of high-skilled jobs, there is a much more clear pattern visible. Unexpectedly, the high-order services are much more clustered in the city center, as are the universities which are mostly located at the edge of the inner suburbs. There are some subcenters in sourrounding municipalities like Sundbyberg and Solna for office locations as well as mixed service centers for ICT and education in Kista and Flemingsberg.

3.3.8 Job accessibility

When it comes to physical accessibility to jobs, it seems as if there is fairly even distribution of job locations in the Stockholm region for low-skilled jobs, but the density of jobs is increasingly shifting towards the city centre. However, on a micro scale the mobility of vulnerable migrants is limited. Migrants with increased resources will find a high-skilled job primarily in the city center and their improved socio-economic status will allow them to move closer to their job as well. Although on a regional scale jobs might seem close by when looking at it from a straight line perspective, there might be missing connections on the intermediate and local scale inhibiting migrants to find employment. Furthermore, it seems that the non-physical barriers to employmentoutweight the physical accessibility issues in the form of low education levels, labour discrimination and language skills.

The creation and fostering of local jobs in the multicultural communities that most migrants live in is vital to increase individual social mobility and to maintain upward mobile groups in the vulnerable areas. This means local jobs that require low skill, but also good accessibility to high-skilled jobs in the vicinity that will allow migrants with increased socio-economic status to stay living within their community. The neighbourhood in itself however will have to also keep equal pace with this increase in status, meaning that it will have to become a more attractive living environment in itself to keep these people there who can also act as role models for their peers.

Conceptualising job distribution

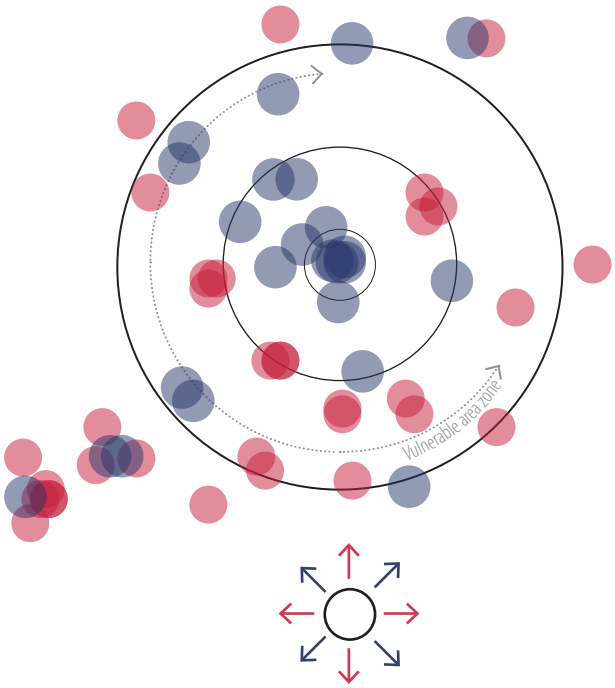


Fig. 3.36 - Distribution of low-skilled jobs
Source: Image by author

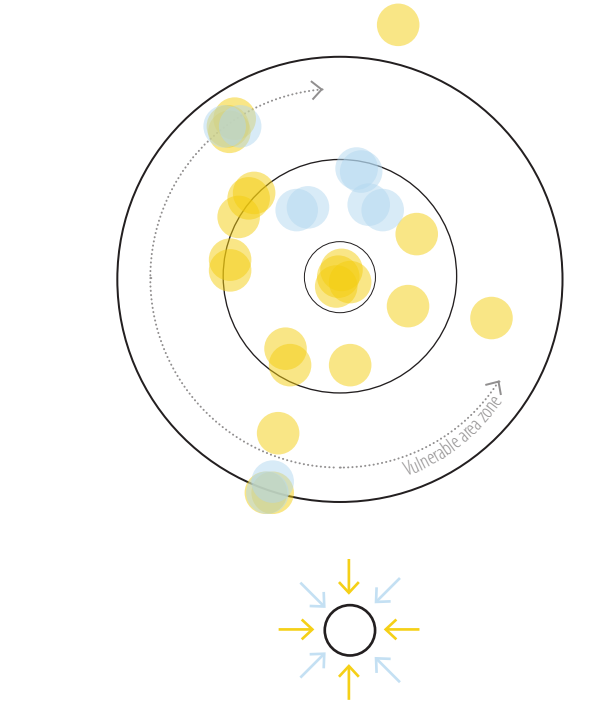


Fig. 3.37 - Distribution of high-skilled jobs
Source: Image by author

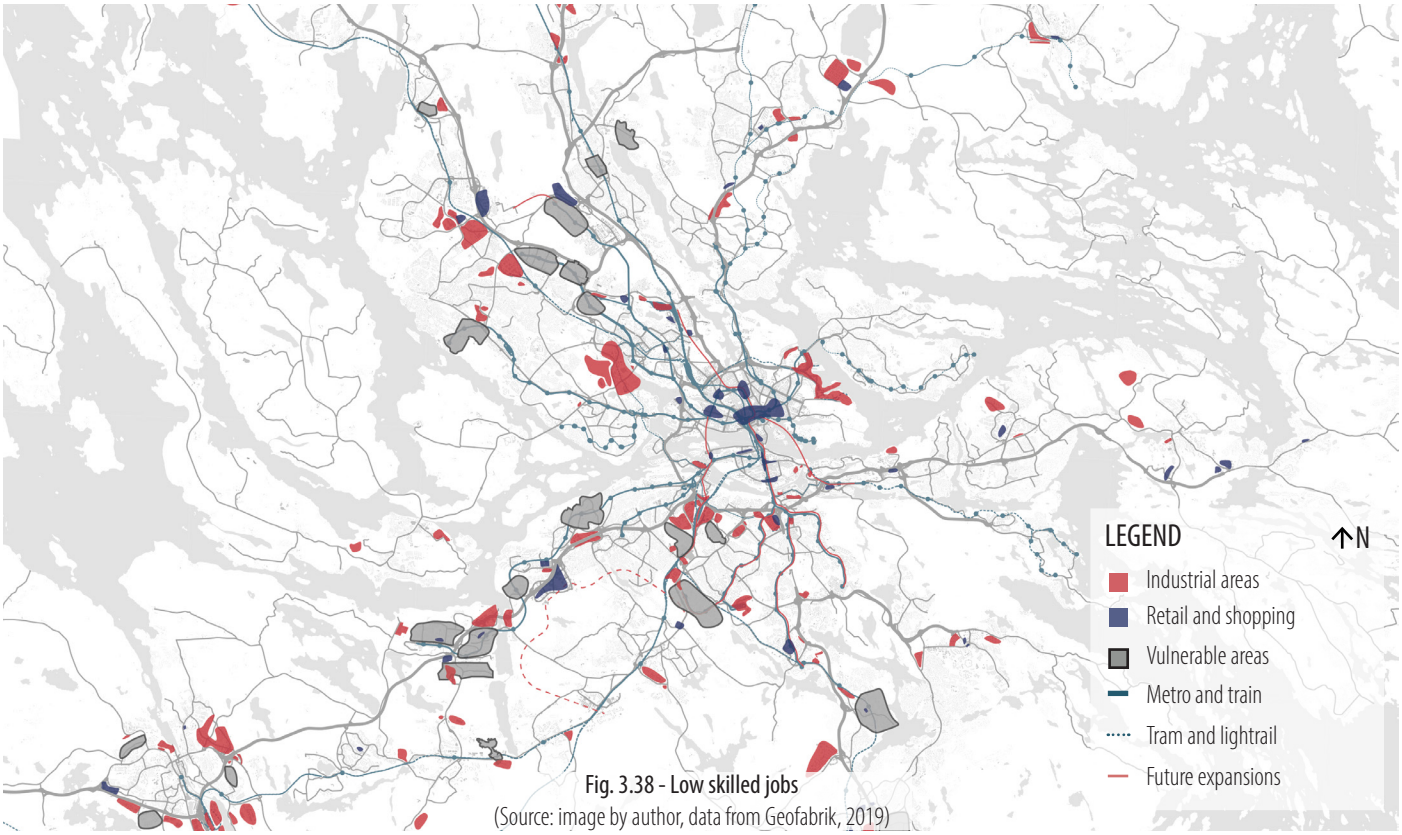


Fig. 3.38 - Low skilled jobs
(Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik, 2019)

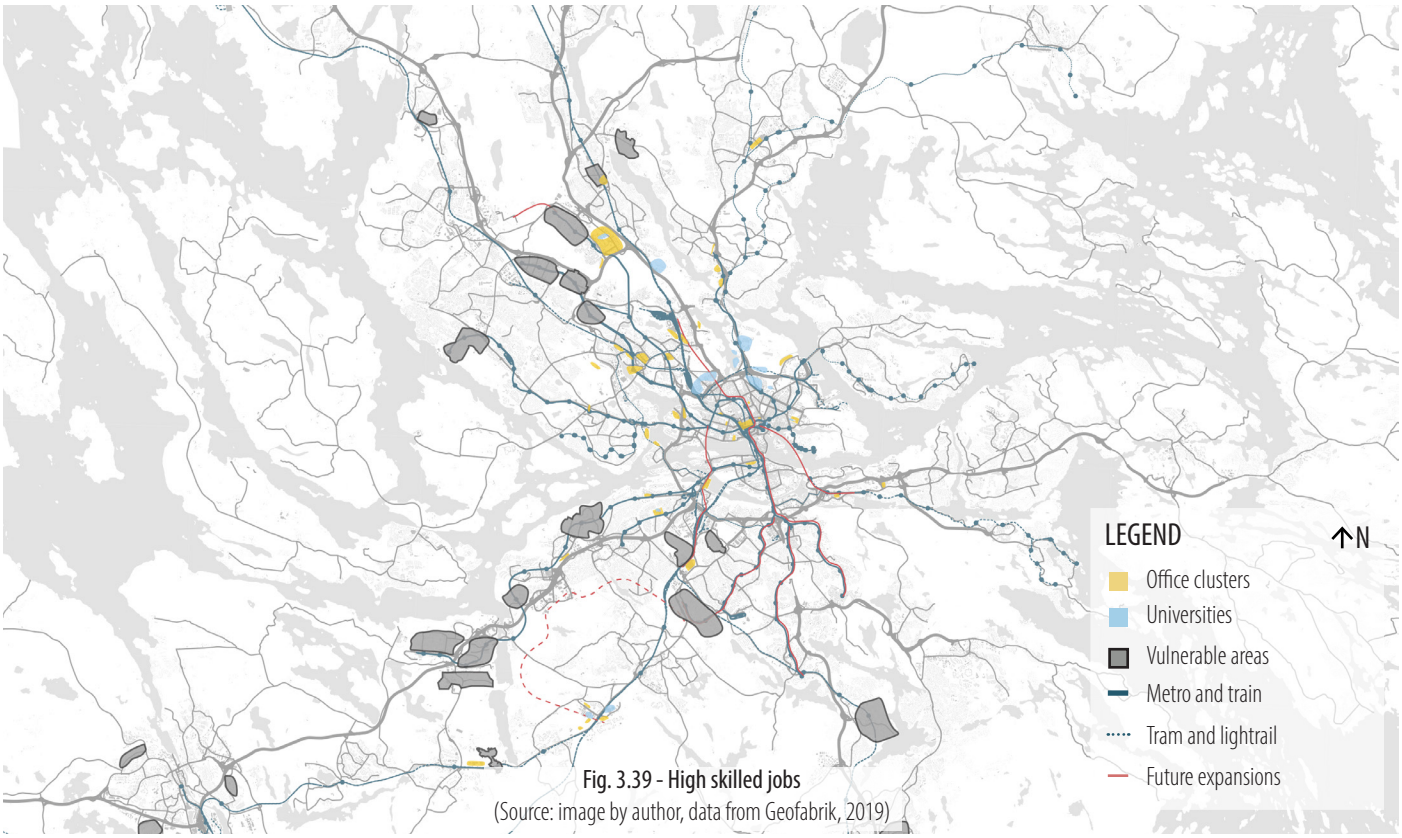


Fig. 3.39 - High skilled jobs
(Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik, 2019)

3.4 Patterns of development

High-end showcase to the detriment of social causes

3.4.1 Peripheral neglect

When examining the current development patterns within the metropolitan region, it becomes clear that a contradiction is created between the aims of individual municipalities and the developments currently happening across municipal borders. As changes in land values start to create a new magnetic field of capital attraction, polarization and gentrification of certain areas are intensified. The city core of Stockholm is an attractive area for companies to settle and to invest, furthermore its high land value allows for the creation of high-end developments which are the most profitable for any investor. At the same time, the municipalities capitalises on these opportunities to profile these projects and use them as a promotion for the Stockholm region globally. An example of these projects is Hagastaden, an inner city densification at the northern edge of the city with Solna municipality (see image 1). It will provide 6.000 new dwellings and 50.000 new workplaces by 2030.

Fig. 3.40 - 1. Hagastaden - inner city **densification**
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (n.d.)

However, adjacent municipalities also desire for some of the private capital to be invested within their territory, so they can attract more (wealthy) citizens and increase their income through municipal taxes. This is happening in the form of outer city expansion projects. An example is Barkarbystaden, a completely new neighbourhood that is being built in Järfälla. Like the inner city projects, these projects are very large-scale, are build up from scratch and have a very high standard with a mix of living, working and recreation. 18.000 new dwellings are planned here within the next ten years.

Fig. 3.41 - 2. Tensta development - peripheral **infill**
Source: Studiosuperb (n.d.)

This steering competition between municipalities to attract investment and to set up projects with which they can profile themselves to potential new investors and potential new inhabitants is leading to neglect in the outer city suburbs, where mostly peripheral infill projects are happening, more often than not funded from public investment through for example MHC's. An example of this is a housing project from Svenska Bostader happening in Tensta, where 150 apartments are being constructed at the edge of the neighbourhood. These types of developments are usually characterized by a relatively small scale (especially compared to developments from private investment), more modest aesthetics and mostly limited to housing only.

The peripheral areas are mostly zones where the territory of one municipality ends and the territory of another starts. The graph on the right shows how the curve of investment starts forming a U-shaped parabola, which will become deeper if current development patterns persist. This will boost socio-spatial segregation, as the poles of investment will drive housing prices up to such an extent that lower social classes will not be able to afford any housing in those areas. Urban life will start to become for the wealthy only.

Fig 3.42 - 3. Barkarbystaden - outer city **expansion**
Source: Skanska (n.d.)

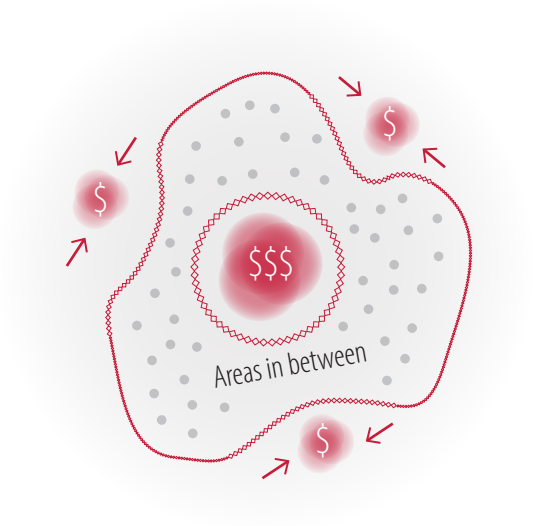


Fig. 3.43 - Clustering of investment
Source: image by author

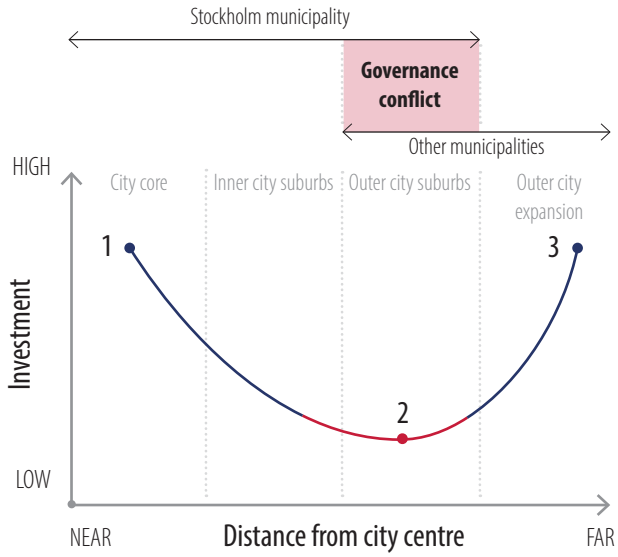


Fig 3.44 - Curve of investment
Source: image by author

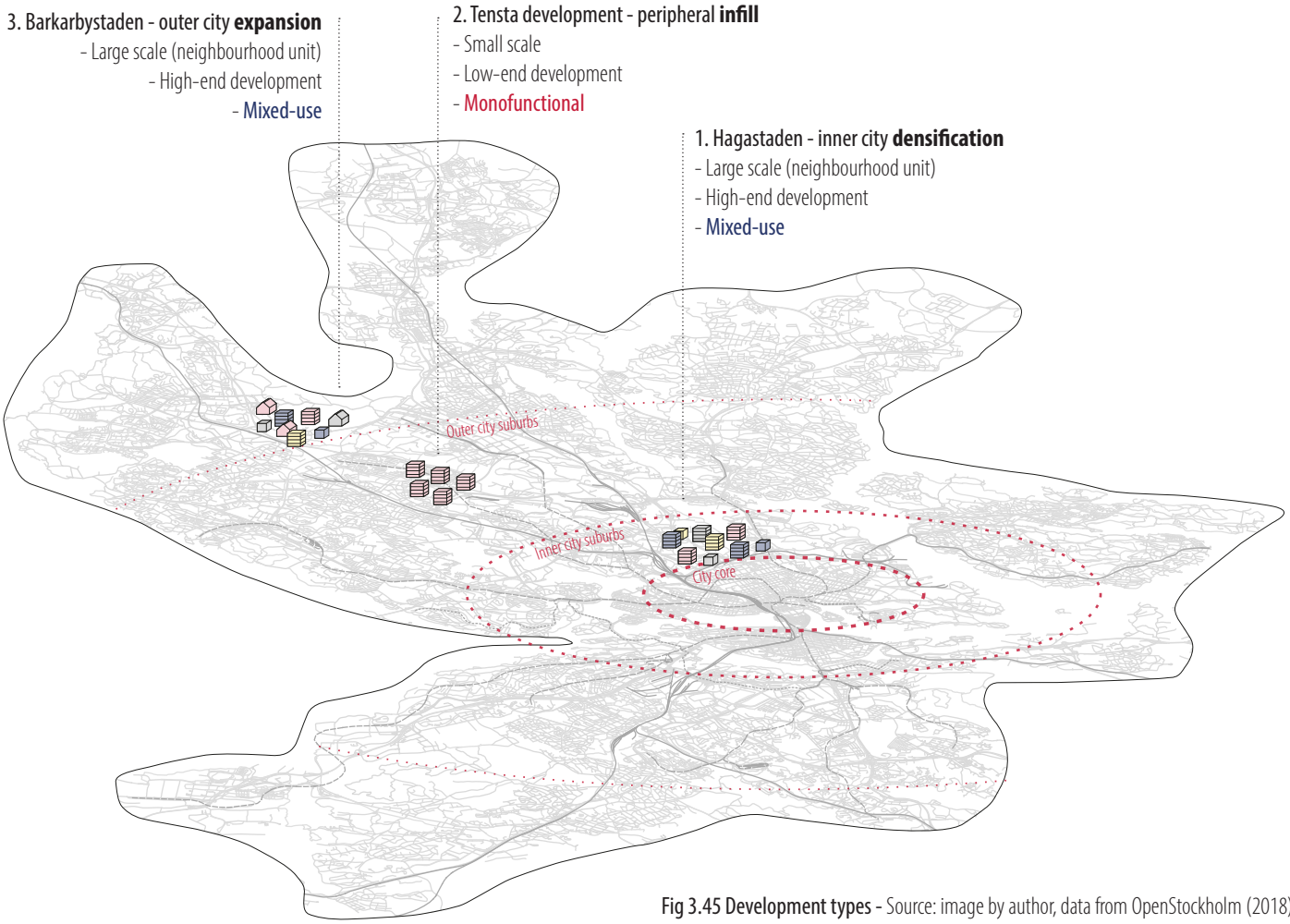


Fig 3.45 Development types - Source: image by author, data from OpenStockholm (2018)

3.4 Patterns of development

Deprivation at municipal edges

3.4.2 What happens if this pattern continues to persist?

The upscaling of the development as well as the clustering of development (and therefore public amenities) in the urban cores of the municipalities is threatening accessibility and brings the issue of distributive justice back to the table. Although functions are upgraded in size and capacity, their scope of accessibility does not size proportionally. This leaves in-between areas without connection to facilities, and it is these areas that are mostly inhabitated by those with the poorest social mobility already. Furthermore, the nature of the built environment in these areas already was characterized by a high degree of functional separation. If this trend continues, people living in in-between areas will be systematically excluded from resources.

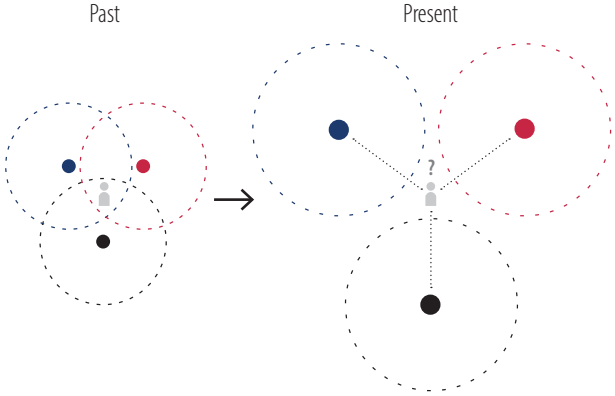


Fig. 3.46 - Spread and upscaling of functionalities
Source: image by author

This will be additionally problematic because of the car-oriented structure of Stockholm, which is the main connection between these outer peripheral areas and the local centralities. Low-income and low-skilled migrants in these areas will be further experiencing socio-spatial inhibitions.

3.4.3 Sub-conclusion

All in all when examining some of the policy documents, there are some conclusions that can be drawn with regards to the current patterns of spatial, social and organisational development of the Stockholm region:

3.4.4 Strong focus on physical connectivity, not accessibility

A lot of the large scale infrastructure projects occuring and the way the narrative of for example the regional development plan is built up suggests a strong focus on the expansion of the transport network, but seems to lack a multi-dimensional understanding of the concept of accessibility. A highway going past your place of residence has no value to someone who can not afford to buy a vehicle and use it.

3.4.5 Sustainable development focusses on environment and economy

The term 'sustainable development' has been frequently used in several

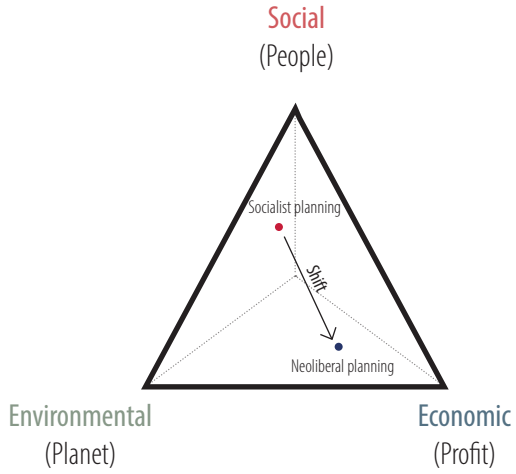


Fig. 3.47 - PPP-diagram
(Image by author)

policy documents and refer to some of the very high-end projects like Hammarby Sjöstad which are promoted as one of the most environmentally sustainable neighbourhoods out there. The location and nature of the project also ensure economic feasibility. However, social sustainability seems to become sidelined as a goal in urban development.

3.4.6 Decentralised authority breaks down collective responsibility

The planning monopoly that municipalities hold provides the ability to deliver 'custom' work for local conditions. However at the same time it means that automatically municipalities as public institutions start to maintain a strong preoccupation with local issues confined by their municipal boundaries. This in itself is logical and perhaps also the reason why this level of governance exists. At the same time to deal with multi-scalar issues, a cross-municipal or regional collaboration is of vital importance. The regional county board is informed in their activities but there seems to be a lack of a strong collaborative, coordinative platform for regional development goals.

3.4.7 Struggle to attract private investment in peripheral areas

As described on the previous page, there seems to be a disbalance in attraction of local investment. These magnets of attraction lie primarily within the boundaries of adjacent municipalities like Järfalla, Huddinge, Solna and Sundbyberg or in the city core of the municipality of Stockholm. Areas within the Stockholm territory that do not form a centrality or are lying at the edge of municipal boundaries are mostly left hanging when it comes to the attraction of investment.

3.4.8 Prioritisation of landmark projects for global attractiveness

In line with the previous point illustrating the disbalance in local investment has led to a primary focus of large-scale, high-end development near the

city centre. These projects are subsequently used for city branding and city promotion purposes. This is evident from the way for example the Stockholm City Development's website is build up, where the big projects like Hammarby Sjöstad and Hagastaden are used as big global projects of attractiveness that can compete with other big development projects.

3.4.8 Competition between MHC's and private developers is scarce

The idea and goal behind the current Swedish housing system is that MHCs and private developers will compete with eachother now that both of them are seemingly competing on equal terms. On paper this seems to be the case, but in reality this competition seems to be pretty much absent. This seems to be because there is still a large difference in (financial) resources.

Fig. 3.48 - Collage from policy documents - Source (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015; Municipality of Stockholm, 2016; Tyréns AB, 2019)

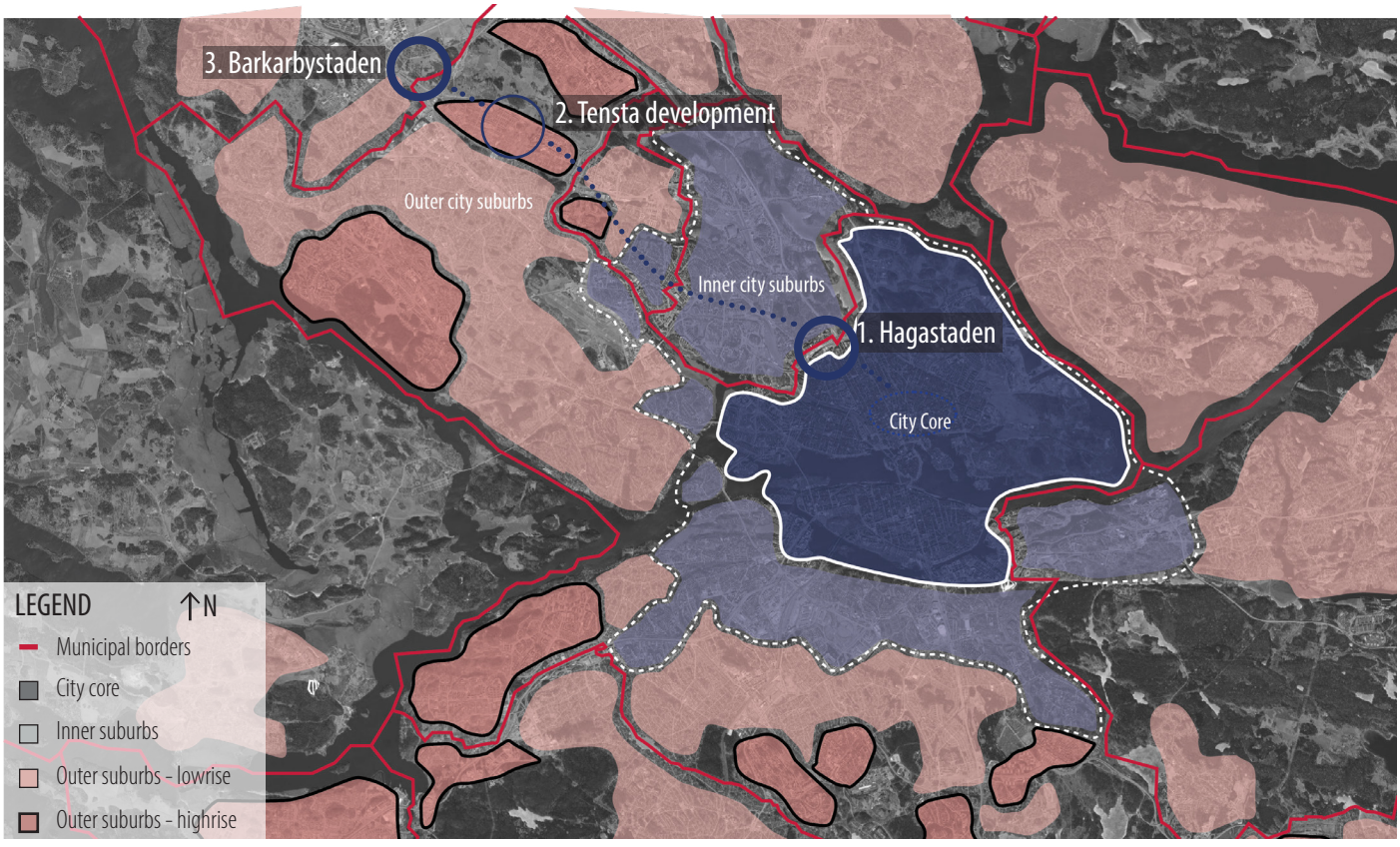


Fig. 3.49 - Urban zones - Source: image by author, aerial from Bing Maps

3.5 Case study comparison

Rinkebyterrassen, Stockholm (SE)

3.5.1 Suburb of Rinkeby

Rinkeby is one of the neighbourhoods built during the Millions programme period in Stockholm and is also part of the list of the vulnerable areas in Sweden in the category of highest urgency (Polisen, 2019). It is perhaps the most infamous neighbourhood of Stockholm, with the dialect of migrants now being named 'Rinkeby-Swedish' (Milani & Jonsson, 2012). It has also been the stage of youth riots in recent years (Bouma, 2017).

3.5.2 Rinkebystråket

Rinkeby's main street, called Rinkebystråket, used to be a typical main supply road in the neighbourhood, with seperated flows of traffic. The road was lowered with pedestrian footpaths going along and over the road in the form of small pedestrian bridges. Although this is a relateively safe traffic situation, it caused a lot of dark and gloomy places along the road. Also the design of the bridges and the other public space was often poor or unapproriated. This caused perception of unsafety and with the previously described instable situation in the neighbourhood, this led to uncomfortable situations for residents especially at night. Similarly to other vulnerable neighbourhoods, it lacks public space for gatherings and recreation and it lacks public amenities or employment opportunities.

Through the commission of AB Familjebostader, a municipal housing company of the Stockholm municipality, a large scale renewal and restructuring project has been started (Sweco, 2016). The revamp of the Rinkebystråket was finished in the fall of 2016 and consisted of a few key interventions. The first was adding a sidewalk along the road and bringing the main levels of movement into one plane. The second was the replacement of pedestrian bridges which initially consisted of concrete slabs with more permeable bridges of iron with semi-transparent fencing. The third and perhaps main intervention was the addition of space for new entrepeneurship and local services. Along the roads on the location of the original slopes, a wide range of local shops, restaurants and financial services was created. These properties are managed and exploited by Familjebostader.

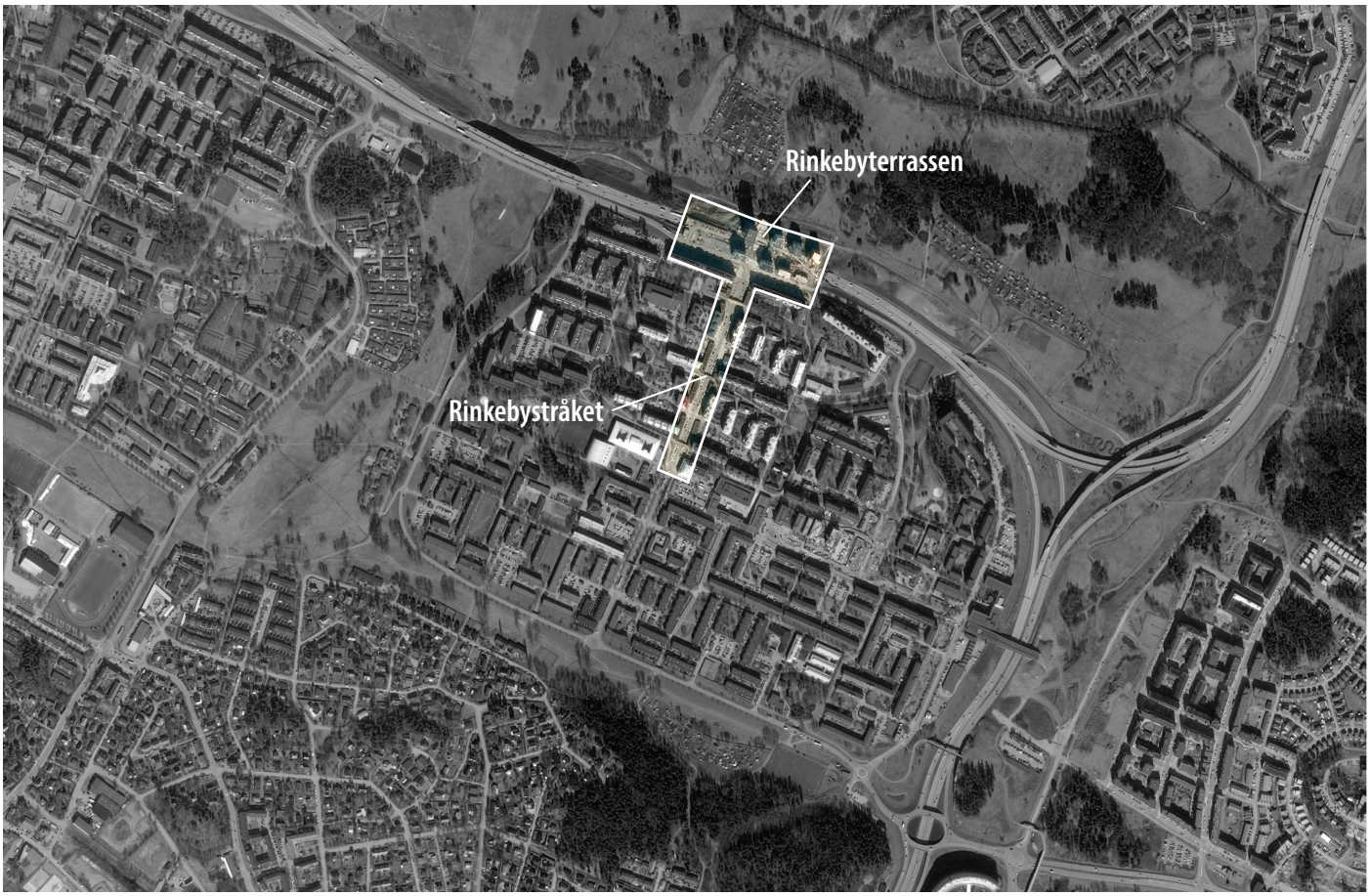


Fig. 3.50 -Rinkeby aerial - Source: Bing Maps

3.5.3 Rinkebyterrassen

In alignment with the restructuring of Rinkebystråket, a new urban development project called Rinkebyterrassen was initiated (ALM Equity & Byggvesta, 2019). This project consists of 600 new apartments, build on top of the E18 road, which is redirected through a tunnel underneath the new development. This project is privately developed, contrary to the Rinkebystråket which is developed by the MHC Familjebostader. 360 of the apartments are developed by ALM Equity with the units rented out as cooperative housing with tenant-ownership. The remaining units are developed by Byggvesta in the form of private rental apartments. (28-84m^2).

The new development also comes with new public space in the form of a terrace with a view on the natural area of Järväfaltet, hence the name Rinkebyterrassen. Through this field, a new pedestrian connection has been made to Kista, a district with many offices and ICT services but also shops and retail facilities.

3.5.4 What lessons can be drawn?

In the case of Rinkeby it seems as if the public investment of the Rinkebystråket has generated more interest from private developers to start investing in this area. The development of the apartments of Rinkebyterrassen seems to be rather modest and quite suitable for the area, without any overblown expensive housing being built. At the same time it is important to avoid gentrification as such that new developments lead to inhabitants being pushed away from the amenities once again due to increase in property rents. The risk of 'renoviction' for the renovation of outdated housing stock has already been adressed in the media (The Local, 2017).

Furthermore it has to be noted that the addition to the social capital of Rinkeby is a lot bigger in the public investment of Rinkebystråket than in the case of private investment of Rinkebyterrassen. In the latter, there are barely any public functions realised on the ground floor. The square on the terrace can be used by the neighbourhood, but it is located on the opposite side of the road and has no active functions surrounding it. That way it does not take full advantage of the new urban corridor in front of it. This is of course difficult to begin with, as the project is kind of realised as an 'island' in relation to the neighbourhood. It does however facilitate a new pedestrian connection to the northern district of Kista which is arguably a lot more comfortable now. All in all, the project gives an example of how public investment can form a new incentive for private investment and that it can happen in a modest manner. The question remains to what extent non-residents of new urban projects can benefit from these types of private development.

Fig. 3.51 - Rinkebystråket in the past
Source: Google maps

Fig. 3.52 - Rinkebystråket today
Source: Sweco (n.d.)

Fig. 3.53 - Rinkebyterrassen urban development
Source: Municipality of Stockholm (2018)

3.5 Case study comparison

Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam (NL)

Fig 3.54 - Bijlmermeer aerial - Source: Bing Maps

3.5.5 Bijlmermeer history

The Bijlmeermeer is a neighbourhood in the south-east of Amsterdam, which was constructed between 1966 and 1975 in the same time that the Million programme estates were built in Sweden. They were also build according to similar principles, mainly grounded in the idea of post-war modernism and the strict separation between traffic flows as well as between residence, work and recreation (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014). This was constituted in the form of multi-family dwelling blocks, wide open green spaces without clear design and heightened main roads.

Also similar to the Million programme estates, the Bijlmeermeer soon got infamous for rising social issues. By 2002, half of its population was unemployed and those who were employed earned salaries way below the national average (Failed Architecture, n.d.) By 2007, parts of the Bijlmermeer were put on the list of *'Vogelaarwijken'* (Vogelaar neighbourhoods), a list of areas that were considered to have social issues and that required more support from the government. Its vulnerable position on the housing market due to its unilateral offer of housing units, mainly consisting of small social housing, caused parts of the neighbourhood to become vacant. These vacant houses often become occupied with new guest workers or for example immigrants from Suriname whom at that time were hugely repelled by landlords in the city suburbs. Also the design of the neighbourhood caused a lack of social control, as the large honeycomb apartment buildings had no relation with the ground level anymore.

Since the end of the twentieth century the Bijlmermeer has been subject to large scale renewal projects, guided also by structural changes to the organisation of the neighbourhood, in all three layers of analysis discussed in this project. A couple will be discussed here:

3.5.6 What lessons can be drawn?

1) One agency for renewal - One main agency has been responsible for the coordination of the Bijlmermeer renewal, called 'Projectbureau Vernieuwing Bijlmermeer' (Projectagency Renewal Bijlmermeer), which operates under three clients. Those are the Municipality of Amsterdam, the city district of South-East and Rochdale (housing corporation), who from the early 1990s has managed all the social housing units in the neighbourhood.

2) Demolition and new-built dwellings - Since the 1990s, the main structure of honeycomb apartment blocks have been largely demolished. A wide range of living environments has since then be created through constructing a variety of new typologies and tenures. In some cases this meant the conversion to student units, or changing tenure from public rental to ownership.

3) Flat refurbishment - The original flats that have not been demolished have undergone a thorough refurbishment. In the public space this has often been visible through the removal of internal streets, the removal of pedestrian bridges towards parking facilities and the conversion of storage units to housing units , bike parking or commercial spaces.

4) Redesign of the green structure - By the time the Bijlmer was constructed, public space accountedfor almost 80% of the total surface area. Most of this area was planned in such a way that it required a lot of maintenance which was too much to handle for the municipality. Through new constructions and re-zoning, this has been reduced to about 40%. This way public space has become more strongly delimited and ownership is more clear and responsibility of territorial appropriation is taken up.

5) Lowering of entry roads - Most modernist neighbourhoods, as is the Bijlmer, usually have roads that are built at different levels to separate traffic flows. This often results in the construction of physical barriers, underpasses and unappropriated parts of land which are often perceived as unsafe spaces. As a part of the restructuring these arteries and crossings have been levelled.

6) Space for creative business - As the tenure and sizes of the housing units has become more diversified, also now spaces for creative activity have been established. New studio spaces for artists who can combine their entreprises with their own home are an example of that as well as the addition of new cultural functions like theaters and acting schools.

7) Space for new social services - In recent times also the addition of new social, community services has been realised. An example is the cultural education centre, where small local organization offer workshops and assistance with employment, education and personal participation. Other new facilities include child care, meeting rooms and local health care centre.

All in all the regeneration of the Bijlmer is seemingly quite successful. The overall pressure on the housing market of Amsterdam does threaten this area to rise so significantly in value that in the end affordability will become an issue. The protection of social housing facilities and the responsibility of the city planning department is crucial to prevent this from happening.

Fig. 3.55 - Original setup of Bijlmermeer
Source: NRC (2014)

Fig. 3.56 - Regeneration -> mixed single-family housing
Source: Failed Architecture (n.d.)

Fig. 3.57 - Small-scale social housing
Source: NRC (2009)

3.5 Case study comparison

Ca N'Anglada, Terrassa (ES)

3.5.7 Neighbourhood of Ca N'Anglada

Terrassa is a city in the vicinity of Barcelona with approximately 220.000 inhabitants. It is home to many immigrants from Morocco, who make up 35% of the population in District 2, called Ca N'Anglada. They moved in here in a short period of time and this has caused social tension (AEIDL, 2013). Most of the Moroccan migrants came from the inner countryside and had received low levels in education leading to high illiteracy rates. Many of these have no recollection of urban life and behaviour and this led to bad ties to the native population. This has lead to a large concentration of welfare problems and segregation. District 2 became a stigmatised area in the city as an area of unrest and conflict, which become known in the media in 1999 when riots occurred. These were aggravated by the lack of qualitative urban spaces that facilitate encounter which foster mutual understanding.

3.5.8 Physical Interventions

The municipality of Terrassa launched an urban project which was carried out between 2004 and 2011, under the Neighbourhood law of the Catalunyan government which provided a fund for distressed neighbourhoods in need of regeneration. The goal of the project was multitude, but it mainly consisted of a combination of physical interventions and social programmes. The physical interventions were highlighted by the restructuring of thirteen residential streets, two squares, three bridges and the main connecting street to the inner city of Terrassa, the Barcelona Avenue (marked with a dotted line in the map on top). Furthermore, two community centres have been established in the area.

3.5.9 Organisation and social programmes

As said the programme was financed together by the local municipality as well as the regional development fund from the regional government. The project established a project office in the centre of the neighbourhood to create visibility and to stimulate citizen participation in the process of regeneration through the organisation of public assemblies and consultations. At this place different municipal departments involved in the project would meet and collaborate. The social programme consisted of a set of different actions. Examples include a service was set up for newcoming migrants to provide them with local information and to provide education on urban life. Moreover, the setting up of a network of small accountable shops

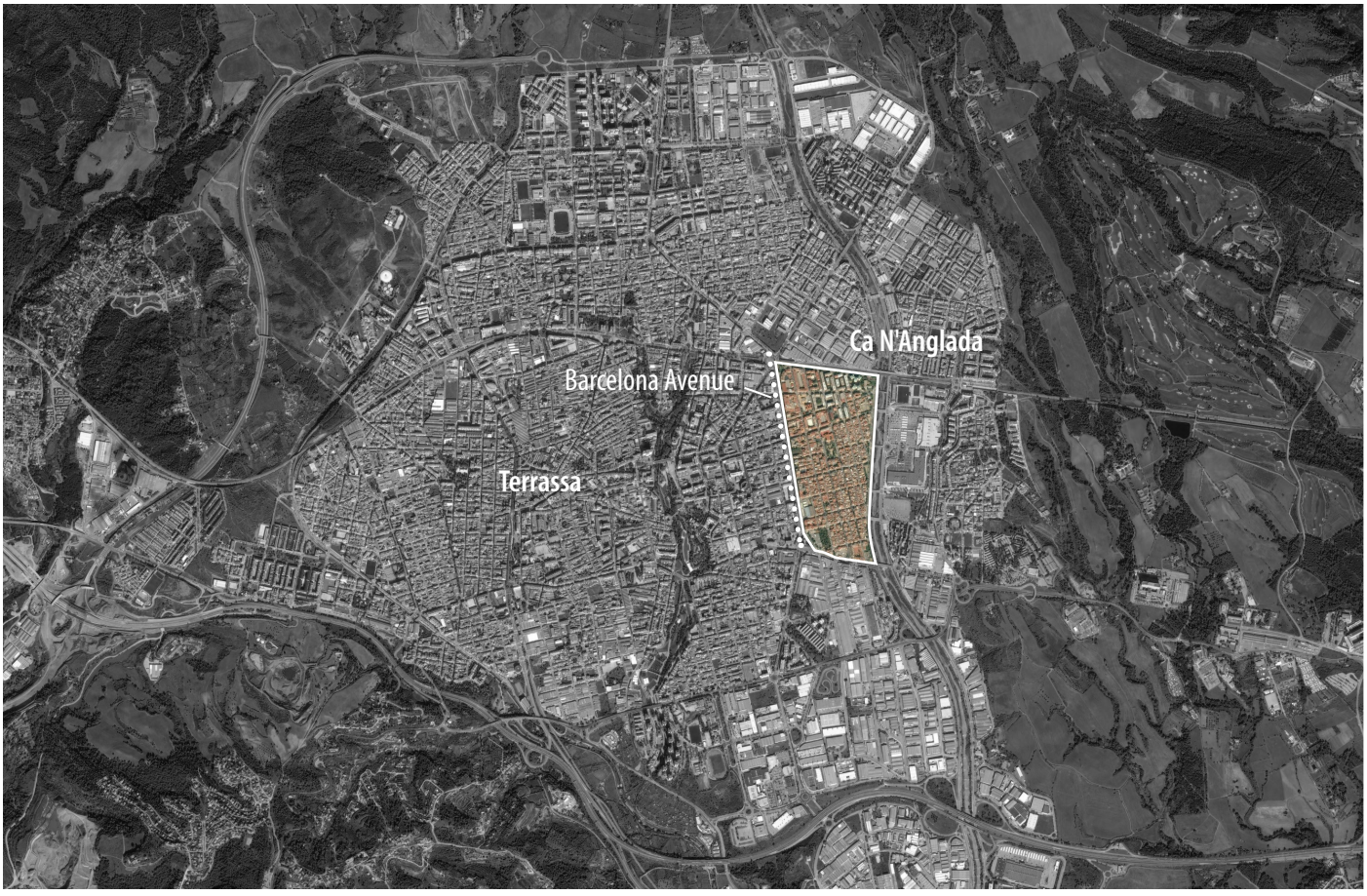


Fig. 3.58 - Terrassa aerial - Source: Bing Maps

that provided new employment opportunities for low-skilled residents was a successful intervention with many participating in locally set up vocational courses through local association. They have also started to create religious and health services. The increased community life has also incited wide public participation in the new decisions made on the neighbourhood in the regeneration programme.

3.5.10 What lessons can be drawn?

The project has described specifically some lessons that can be transferred to other projects;

1) It recommends a strong implementation of understanding of urban behaviour in space in the physical interventions. This includes for example the dynamics of ethnic networks and the way unintended encounters and interactions are taking place.

2) In order to manage a project well, there needs to be good coordination between different departments of the public authorities, which usually function as separate units on their own agenda and goals. The establisment of a separate office in the first stage of the project where officers of different backgrounds work together has been deemed as a beneficiary factor to the success of the project.

3) The physical integration of the neighbourhood through improved public space and street life along the main local corridors strengthens the identity of the neighbourhood and reduces stigmatisation, for example along the Barcelona Avenue which initially acted as a boundary towards the city centre which has now become an attractive transition zone for pedestrians.

4) Along with the physical interventions a strong communication and collaboration with local associations and residents is needed, also when it comes to the longevity of the project activities and their durability for the future as the project is no longer actively running in municipal orders. The improvement of social inclusion (so in society) can also have indirect positive effects on individualised issues like unemployment through increased understanding and decreased discrimination.

5) Creating self-responsibility within the neighbourhood through active participation from both the public authorities and the local residents. The set up of working groups for activities per population group or interest assures that people participate for their own good and are not 'passive beneficiaries'. In the end the work of the residents itself is needed to maintain community ties.

Fig. 3.59 - Littered public space before the project
Source: Territori (2012)

Fig. 3.60 - Barcelona avenue
Source: Google Maps

Fig. 3.61 - Residential street
- Source: Google Maps

3.5 Case study comparison

Brøndby Strand, Copenhagen (DK)

3.5.11 District of Brøndby Strand

Brøndby Strand is an outer suburb in the south-west of Copenhagen along the water of Køge Bay. A large part of the neighbourhood consists of constructions from the period 1969-1974 which houses about 75% of the suburbs population. It was part of Copenhagen's famous urban expansion called the 'Finger Plan' and is also the largest post-war modernist construction in the city from this period (BCVA, n.d.). Similarly to the Million programme estates in Sweden, built in the same time period and under the same design principles, the area has become home to a variety of social issues. A large degree of the population (about 65%) is of foreign background and the area struggles with high unemployment rates (European Urban Knowledge Network, 2010). The housing market is dominanted by public housing apartments. Again, the flows of traffic are separated with heightened and lowered roads and bridges causing dark and unsafe places for residents. Furthermore there are very little local job opportunities and public amenities available for shopping or recreation.

3.5.12 Social programmes

Since 1997, the neighbourhood has been part of the *Kvarterløft* ('neighbourhood lift') programme and investments have been made into social programmes (The Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs, 2007). These have been mostly focussed on creating a better reputation for socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods and improving their social capital, for example through the establishment of new community centres and to improve the mix in housing types and tenures. The approach is characterized by a bottom-up approach in collaboration with local stakeholders who know the neighbourhood well.

An example of a successful result of the Kvarterløft project is the establishment of the youth meeting center Tranens Drange. The aims of the Kvarterløft project so far had been primarily on young children and improving their liveability. Eventually the initiators managed to get a space for meeting through local housing associations and has now involved into a local success. The centre offers activities for the youth, who make up 35% of the population

Fig. 3.62 - Brøndby Strand aerial - Source: Bing maps

in Brøndby Strand. The project has been an effective way to foster mutual understanding, reduce crime and promote education. It's organisation is voluntary and flexible, which is made possible through the transfer of responsibility to the youth itself who have made this initiative happen according to Pia Blådal who monitored the Kvarterløft project in this area.

3.5.13 Redesign of urban blocks

A collaboration of design firms have won a commission competition to redesign the Brondby Strand highrise blocks. Similar to the development in Rinkeby, the development focusses on uniting the separated flows of traffic and reducing the split level nature of the blocks which causes dark and unclear passageways for pedestrians. This is also done through extensive landscaping, where residents have a better overview of their surroundings, expanding their perception of safety through improved social control of the area.

The plan features a 2,5 km long strip of pedestrian and cycling paths which are a lot more uniform now than before. Recreational public plaza's are connected to this strip, ensuring that places for interaction are created. These places are also connected to public transport options, with busses coming by these points. Parking is moved underneath this public strip to improve outdoor conditions for children playing outside.

The facades of the high rise buildings are refurbished and redesigned, with the option to extend indoor spaces into new balconies. On the ground level, the lobbies are elevated to a two-storey height, to maximize transparency and light entrance.

3.5.14 What lessons can be drawn?

The project seems to try and draw a balance between urban life and the perks of living close to nature. The entire project is aimed to be completed in 2024, so it is yet to be seen what the effects of the interventions will be. The setting up of the youth centre in the Kvarterløft programme in combination with the results of the previously described project in Rinkeby, Stockholm however are promising for the redesign of Brøndby Strand.

The importance of the redistribution of responsibility to local groups and the fostering of mutual trust by institution is what underlies the preliminary success of this project. When one party views the other as an adversary, collaboration is difficult whilst working together is inevitably needed. Again the risk of 'renoviction' and gentrification are also clear in this project. It is too see if the work to the highrise buildings will manage to foster the multicultural identity of the place or whether eventually Brøndby Strand will turn into a summer vacation area for the wealthy.

Fig. 3.63 - Brøndby Strand today
Source: Høgsbro & Dreyer (2016)

Fig. 3.64 - Plan for interventions
Source: Kragh Berglund (2014)

Fig. 3.65 - Impression of public space
Source: Kragh Berglund (2014)

3.5 Case study comparison

Lessons to learn

	Rinkeby, Stockholm (SE)	Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam (NL)
	Fig. 3.66 - Source: Sweco (n.d.)	Fig. 3.67 - Source: Failed Architecture(n.d.)
Info	**Years of construction:** 2016-2019	**Years of construction:** 1992-ongoing
Funding	Rinkebystråket -> semi-publicly funded (AB Familjebostader) Rinkebyterrassen -> privately funded (ALM Equity)	2,5 billion euro's of which 80% is profitable 20% non-profitable funded by Woningcorporatie Nieuw Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014)
Governance	- Awareness that private investment does not necessarily lead to gain in social capital even if it adds more affordable dwellings	- All social housing under jurisdiction of one party - Collaboration of municipality with housing corporation - A careful consideration of refurbishment and demolition + new construction is key to maintain identity - Neighbourhood branding as a tool against stigmatisation
Social	- Space for new shops, financial services and entrepeneurship - More opportunity for unintended encounter through new public squares and more active street life	- Space for artists and creative business (combined with dwellings) - Cultural education center with workshops and employment services
Spatial	- Addition of sidewalks and shops -Newly designed pedestrian bridges with more transparent and high quality material - Removal of unappriopriated green slopes - Modest housing project suitable to the area	- Demolition of highrise and construction of low-rise family dwellings - Flat refurbishment projects - Lowering of heightened supply roads

	Ca N'Anglada, Terrassa (ES)	Brøndby Strand, Copenhagen (DK)
	Fig. 3.68 - Source: Google Streetview	Fig. 3.69 - Source: Kragh Berglund (2014)
Info	**Years of construction:** 2004-2011	**Years of construction:** 2010-ongoing
Funding	20,5 million euros, 50% from municipality and 50% from regional government + 0,5 million from ERDF	7.2 million euros (Kvarterløft program) + additional funds & municipality of Brøndby
Governance	- Establishment of separate neighbourhood office located in the area itself - Collaboration with local associations of women and elderly - Visibility and attractiveness in citizen participation	- Awareness that renovation of an area needs to be done carefully to avoid 'renoviction'
Social	- Set up of accountable shop network - Vocational courses provided by local associations	- Giving out responsibility to youth to set up own associations - Increasing opportunities for unintended encounter through connection of public plaza's - Improving relationships between institutions and residents
Spatial	- Refurbishment of thirteen streets and squares, strengtehning physical integration and attractiveness (sidewalks, plants, etc.) - Creation of two community centres	- Levelling of traffic flows, increased vision for pedestrians - Connection with local public transport - Redesign of facades, diversifying and extending balconies

Fig. 3.70 -Project overview table
Source: Table by author

3.6 Analysis Summary

SWOT Stockholm Metropolitan Region

3.6.1 SWOT-analysis

To summarize some aspects of the research, a SWOT analysis can summarize what aspects are strengths, weakensses, opportunities and threats for the region. This can give a initial idea of a strategic orientation that can be maintained for the further steps of the project:

3.6.2 Strengths

1. Attractive natural landscape - The city is located on an archipel with many direct views on water and forests. Natural areas and reserves are close by and many suburbs have a feel of a continuous landscape rather than a continuous city.

2. High quality public space in city centre - In the city centre there are many high streets with a high degree of facilities, as well as many large public parks and squares that are surrounded by the typical eight-storey urban blocks.

3. Strong institutional power - The high degree of decentralization towards the lower level means the city, despite the large outsourcing and loss of power to private party, still is a very powerful player in the urban development process (especially when compared to other international contexts).

4. High-degree of municipal land ownership - The municipalities in the Stockholm region maintain a large portion of the land ownership in their respective territories. This gives them vast control over the allocation process and the plans for further strategic development.

5. Well-organized public transport - As evident from the research, there is a very extensive public transport network in the metropolitan region. A large variety of transport options allows for high flexibility in travel options for Stockholm's residents, with further expansions under construction.

3.6.3 Weaknesses

1. Car-oriented structure - The prevalent neighbourhood unit planning style from the post-war period has lead to a distinct street network hierarchy and poor network integration for suburban areas. Large differentiations between global and local integration can have a negative impact on crime levels (Hillier & Sahbaz, 2011).

2. High levels of segregation - Stockholm has become a divided city, with clear levels of ethnic and socio-economic segregation. Migrants and ethnic Swedes are living largely apart as do the rich and poor.

3. Poor integration of migrants - Migrants have come to Sweden in large numbers and authorities have struggled to keep up, especially in recent times of global conflict. At the same time, migration policy is leading to contradictions which aggravates identity crises and stigmatisation

3.6.4 Opportunities

1. Establishment of Delmos agency - There seems to be increased awareness for the societal issues of segregation. The establishment of the Delmos agency in 2018 is a result of the realisation that segregation is no longer a local issue but a national issue that is affecting many urban areas in Sweden (KTH, 2015). Although they are a very new organisation and their jurisdiction is still slightly unclear, their involvement in processes of regional urban development can be of great value.

2. Entrepeneurial character of migrants - Although not all cultures and groups of migrants are equally prone to self-employment, there is opportunity for creative individuals and collectives to help play a role in setting up new methods of regeneration and to improve job accessibility.

3. Public-private partnership - As of now, it seems as if peripheral areas have little attractiveness for private investors. The city has to use its public resources (for example through projects by MHCs) to invest in the areas, but these resources seem much more limited than those of private investors. They however as of now only seem interested in inner city densification or outer city expansion projects. Investigating ways to collaborate might enable for more investment to go towards the vulnerable areas that need it most, whilst at the same time maintaining goals for social sustainability and inclusion.

3.6.5 Threats

1. Prolonging of neoliberal planning - The neoliberal ideas evident in politics and planning in recent decades seem to aggravate segregation and social exclusion. The power dynamics have shifted more towards private parties, and many of these shifts are seemingly irreversible. If those parties are unwilling to collaborate or make efforts for the public good, it will be very tough for the municipalities to counter current spirals of decline in

2. New peak migration flows - Although the country has a well equiped migration board, it lacks capacity to deal with new extreme situations. Any new arising global conflicts will threaten and challenge the means of Migrationsverket once again and lead to longer waiting lists. Migrants will then find themselves with even more prolonged uncertainty.

3. Housing shortages - The decreasing affordability as well as the decreasing production rate of housing units have lead to overcrowded conditions. This further fuels unrest and dissatisfaction with public authorities among migrants but perhaps also among natives who can no longer access the Stockholm housing market.

SWOT Analysis - Stockholm Metropolitan Region

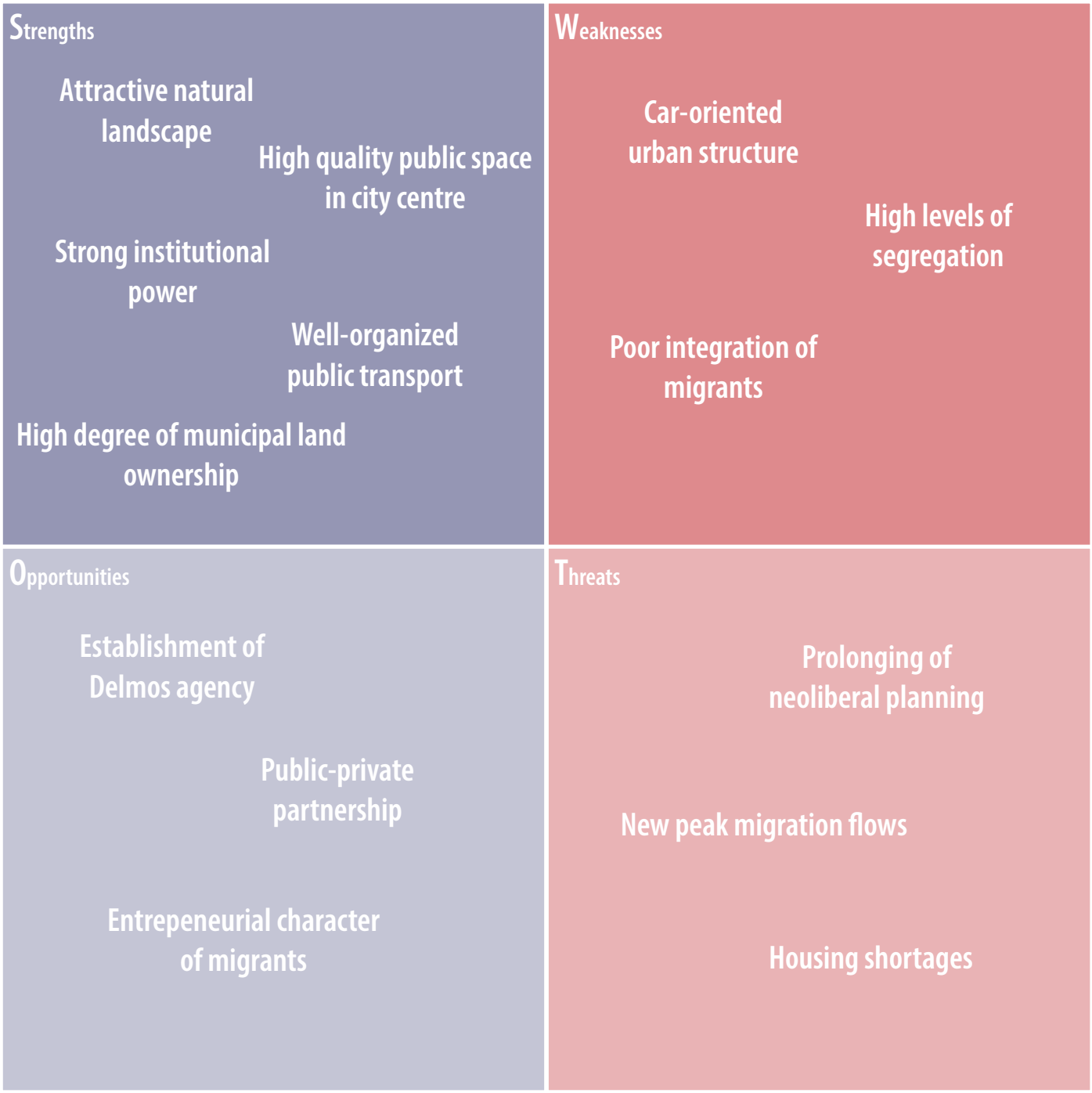


Fig. 3.71 - SWOT Stockholm Metropolitan Area
Source: image by author

4. Local analysis

Specifying what is general

Fig. 4.1 - Housing estate in Akalla
Source: Image by author

4. Local scale

Introduction

Local scale road map

This chapter deals with the intermediate and local scale, and explores the socio-spatial characteristics of the case site area.

First, the **selection of the case site** is presented and explained based on the criteria that are of importance to the underlying social, spatial and governance issues. The Järva area is chosen as a case site.
Second, the **case site is elaborated through three sub-divided areas**. The three areas are Norra Järvastaden, Södra Järvastaden and Barkarbystaden.
Third, the area is subjected to an intermediate scale **space syntax analysis** to identify potential for the strategy;
Last, the **conclusions** for the intermediate and local scale are summarized.

4.1.1 Case site selection

To address the multi-scalarity of segregation and its effects on social exclusion, it is important to not only look at the regional scale but also look at an intermediate and local scale what the effects and causes are of the social issues in vulnerable neighbourhoods.

In order to come to a proposal that understands the interrelations between governance, social and spatial constructs and that can provide new information that is applicable to other vulnerable areas in the region, it is important to select an area that epitomises the complexity of the issue. The following criteria have been used to select an area of focus:

1. A representative urban fabric, to make sure the spatial interventions have a degree of transferability to other vulnerable areas;
2. Proximity to current urban development projects, to investigate how nearby urban development projects can potentially benefit nearby vulnerable neighbourhoods;
3. Cross-municipal boundary relationships, to see and test collaborative platforms between authorities and to explore the possibilities for synergies in regional and local governance.
4. Highest level of urgency and severity, to study the most extreme situation and to tackle the biggest accumulation of welfare problems first and foremost.

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4.1 Case site selection

Local scale of intervention - Järvafeltet

4.1.2 North-West Stockholm - Järvafaltet

The area within the north-west of the Stockholm municipality around the nature area Järvafaltet contains a collection of three vulnerable areas of the highest severity category, divided within the two districts of Spånga-Tensta and Rinkeby-Kista. They classify among the areas in the Stockholm region with the lowest employment rate as well as the lowest mean income, see graph (Södertornmodellen, 2019). Furthermore, these three neighbourhoods (Tensta, Husby & Rinkeby) are located in a very complex governance situation. They are positioned in a 'corner' of the Stockholm municipality surrounded by many other individual municipalities like Järfalla, Sollentuna and Sundbyberg.

All three neighbourhoods are legacies from the Millions Programme and consist almost solely of multi-family dwellings in modernist housing blocks. At the same time, they are very close to new areas of development. West of the area, the new Barkarbystaden neighbourhood is built in Järfälla municipality that was discussed before. The Veddesta area which is now a commercial and industrial estate will also be transformed into a mixed dwelling area. Furthermore, in Kista an ICT cluster with offices and schools is developed and the city aims to further project its resources towards this area which will become more important in the future.

The graphs on the right show the socio-economic position of these neighbourhoods in relation to the rest of the city. It shows that these areas are especially vulnerable and are part of the highest urgency category when it comes to socio-economic related issues. Mistrust of other inhabitants is high, as are general feelings of insecurity. In 2010, 2013 and 2017 these areas have been the stage for riots between residents and the police (Bouma, 2017). In the next section the northern and southern part of the case site will be examined more closely.

> "Perceptions of safety are determined by the **glasses** you wear. Are you an insider or outsider to the area? What do you smell, see, know? But in the end it is people who commit crimes, not environments. The built environment is a '**make-up**'. It can be pretty, but without education or jobs, it won't help much. It is an individual process, a matter of morality. If you don't have **hope** and you do not care, you have nothing to lose and it does not matter. "
>
> ***- Interviewee #9***

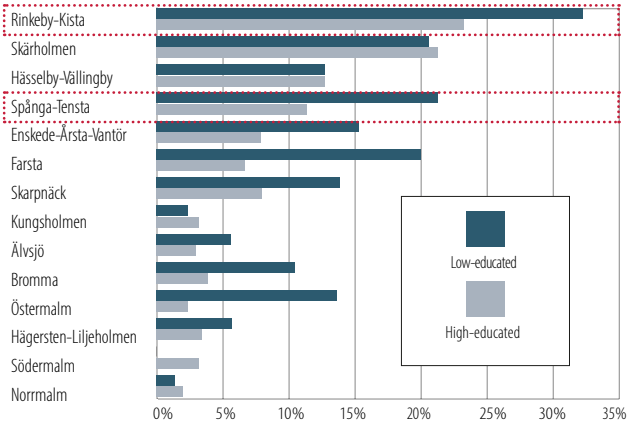


Fig. 4.2 - Mistrust of other inhabitants in the same neighbourhood ages 25 until 74

Source: image adapted from Municipality of Stockholm (2015)

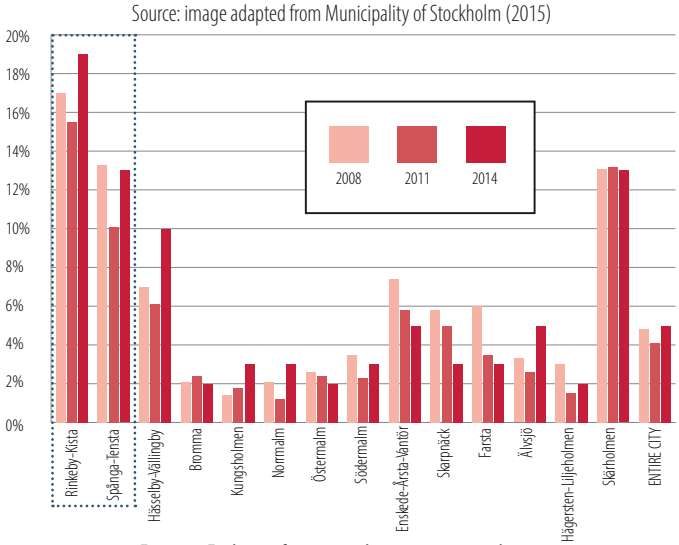


Fig. 4.3 - Feelings of insecurity between 2008 and 2014

Source: image adapted from Municipality of Stockholm (2015)

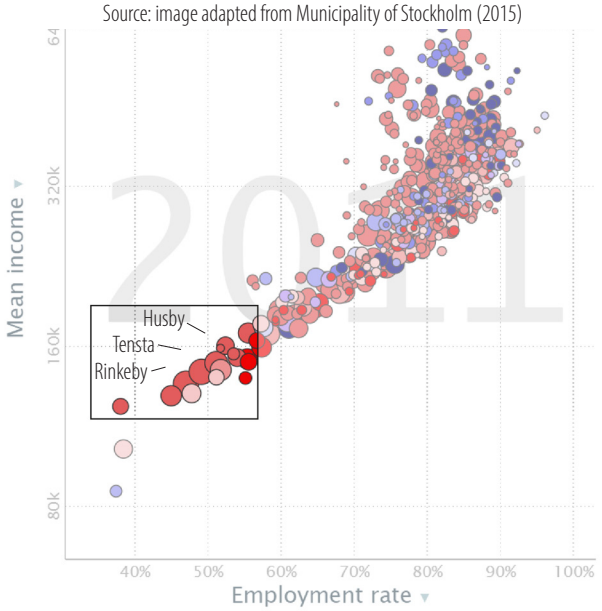


Fig 4.4 - Position of vulnerable neighbourhoods compared to Stockholm County in 2011

Source: Södertörnmodellen (2019)

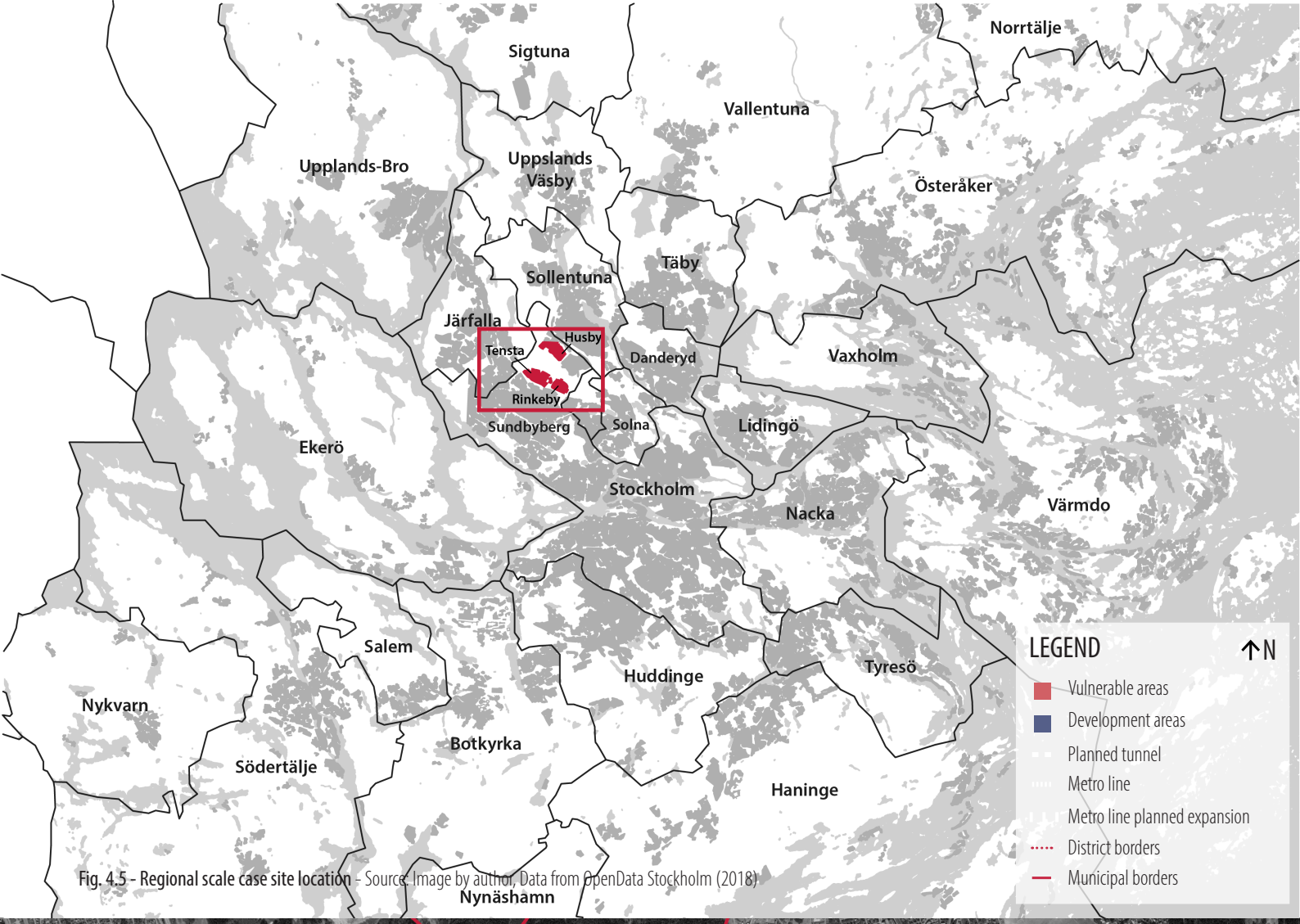


Fig. 4.5 - Regional scale case site location - Source: Image by author, Data from OpenData Stockholm (2018)

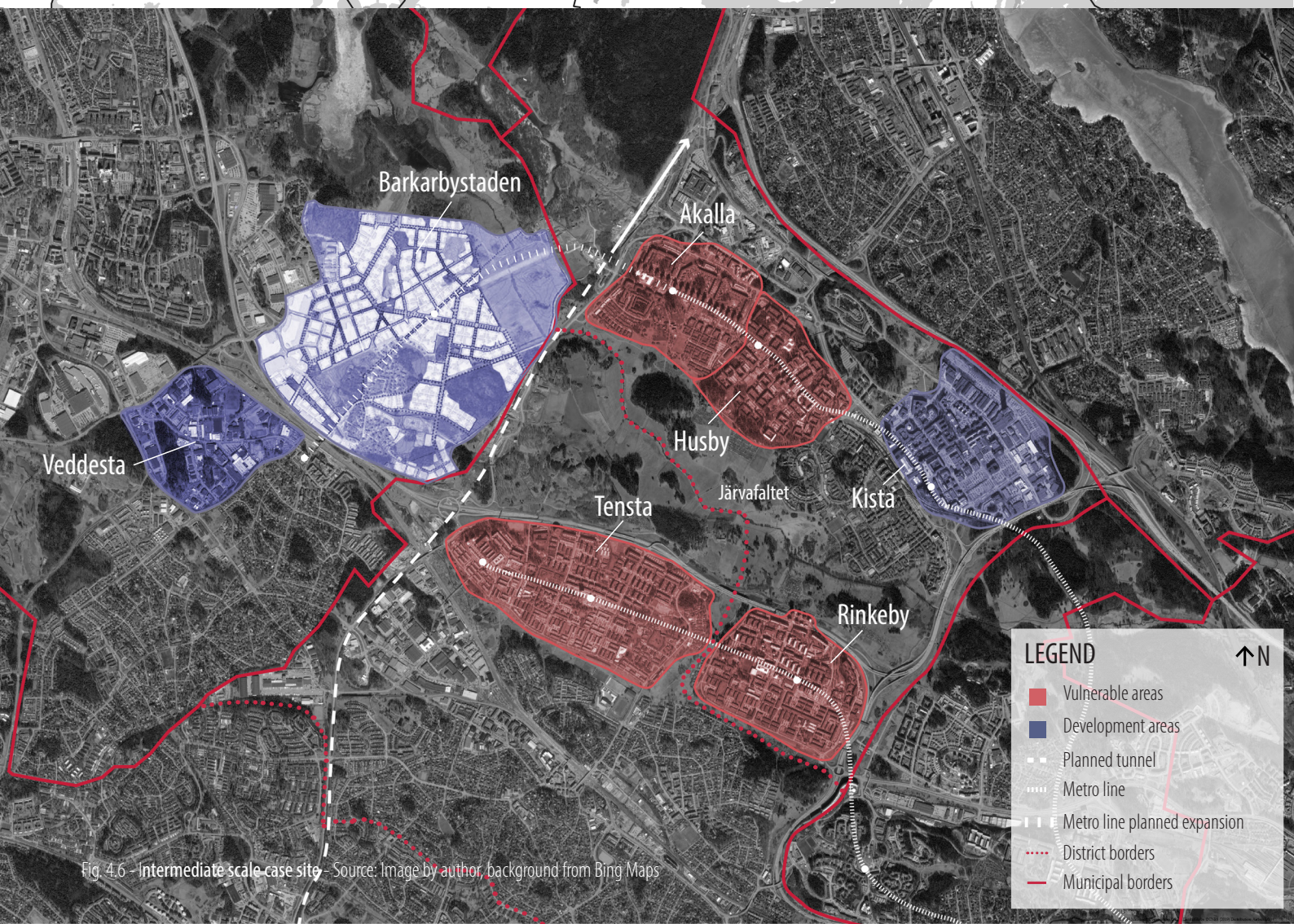
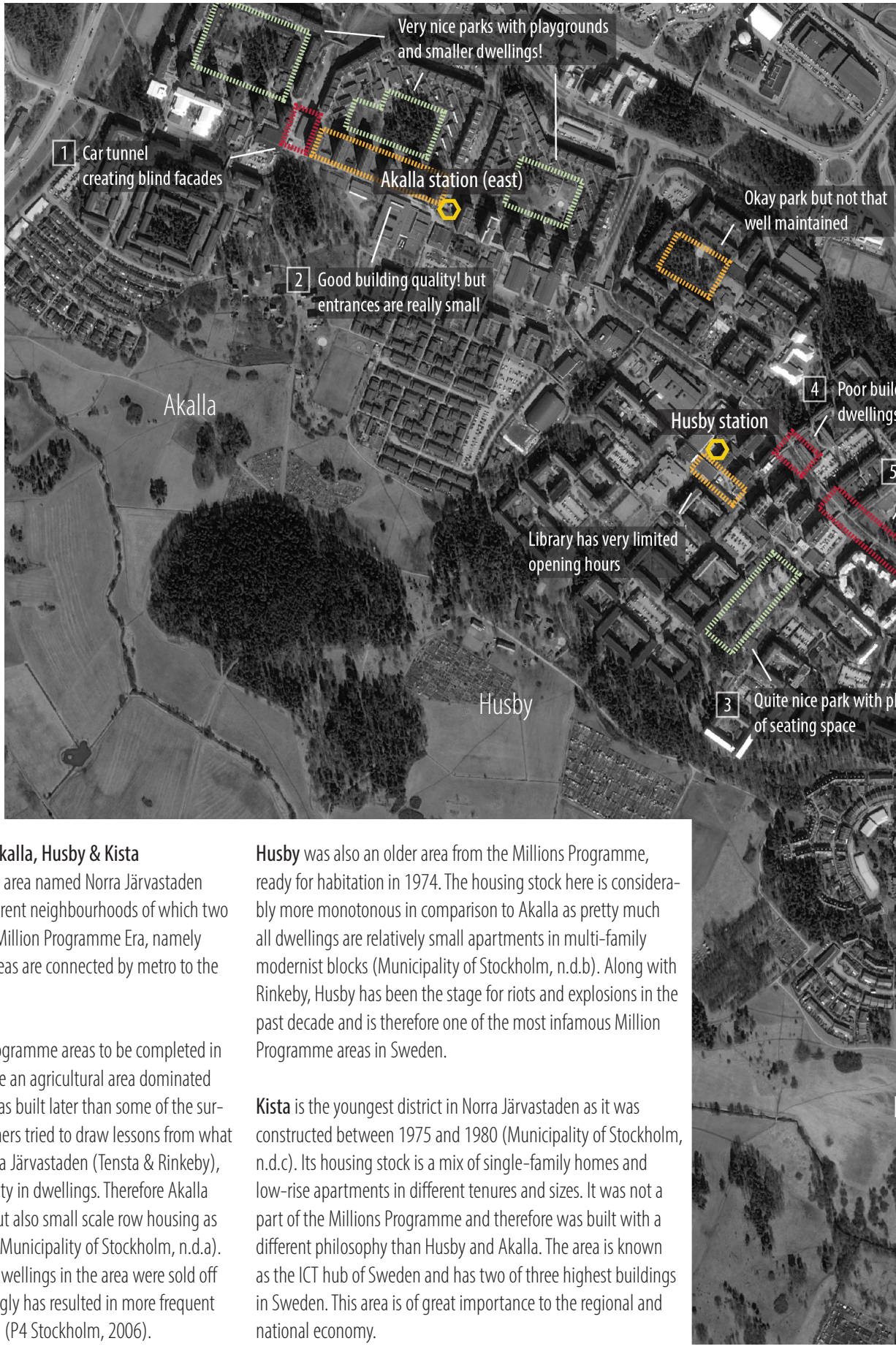


Fig. 4.6 - Intermediate scale case site - Source: Image by author, background from Bing Maps

4.2 Norra Järvastaden

Observations



4.2.1 Norra Järvastaden - Akalla, Husby & Kista

The northern side of the Järva area named Norra Järvastaden can be divided into three different neighbourhoods of which two were constructed during the Million Programme Era, namely Akalla and Husby. All three areas are connected by metro to the city centre.

Akalla was one of the last programme areas to be completed in the early 1970s and used to be an agricultural area dominated by farms. Because this area was built later than some of the surrounding areas in Järva, planners tried to draw lessons from what the mistakes were in the Södra Järvastaden (Tensta & Rinkeby), for example the lack of diversity in dwellings. Therefore Akalla has both highrise buildings but also small scale row housing as well as single-family homes (Municipality of Stockholm, n.d.a). Furthermore in 2001, public dwellings in the area were sold off to cooperatives which seemingly has resulted in more frequent maintenance of the buildings. (P4 Stockholm, 2006).

Husby was also an older area from the Millions Programme, ready for habitation in 1974. The housing stock here is considerably more monotonous in comparison to Akalla as pretty much all dwellings are relatively small apartments in multi-family modernist blocks (Municipality of Stockholm, n.d.b). Along with Rinkeby, Husby has been the stage for riots and explosions in the past decade and is therefore one of the most infamous Million Programme areas in Sweden.

Kista is the youngest district in Norra Järvastaden as it was constructed between 1975 and 1980 (Municipality of Stockholm, n.d.c). Its housing stock is a mix of single-family homes and low-rise apartments in different tenures and sizes. It was not a part of the Millions Programme and therefore was built with a different philosophy than Husby and Akalla. The area is known as the ICT hub of Sweden and has two of three highest buildings in Sweden. This area is of great importance to the regional and national economy.

Neighbourhood data

	Completion	Inhabitants	%foreign born/ background	City district
Akalla	1972-1977	ca. 8.800	60.4/78.9	Rinkeby-Kista
Husby	1972-1977	ca. 12.000	61.0/86.6	Rinkeby-Kista
Kista	1975-1980	ca. 13.000	51.4/71.3	Rinkeby-Kista

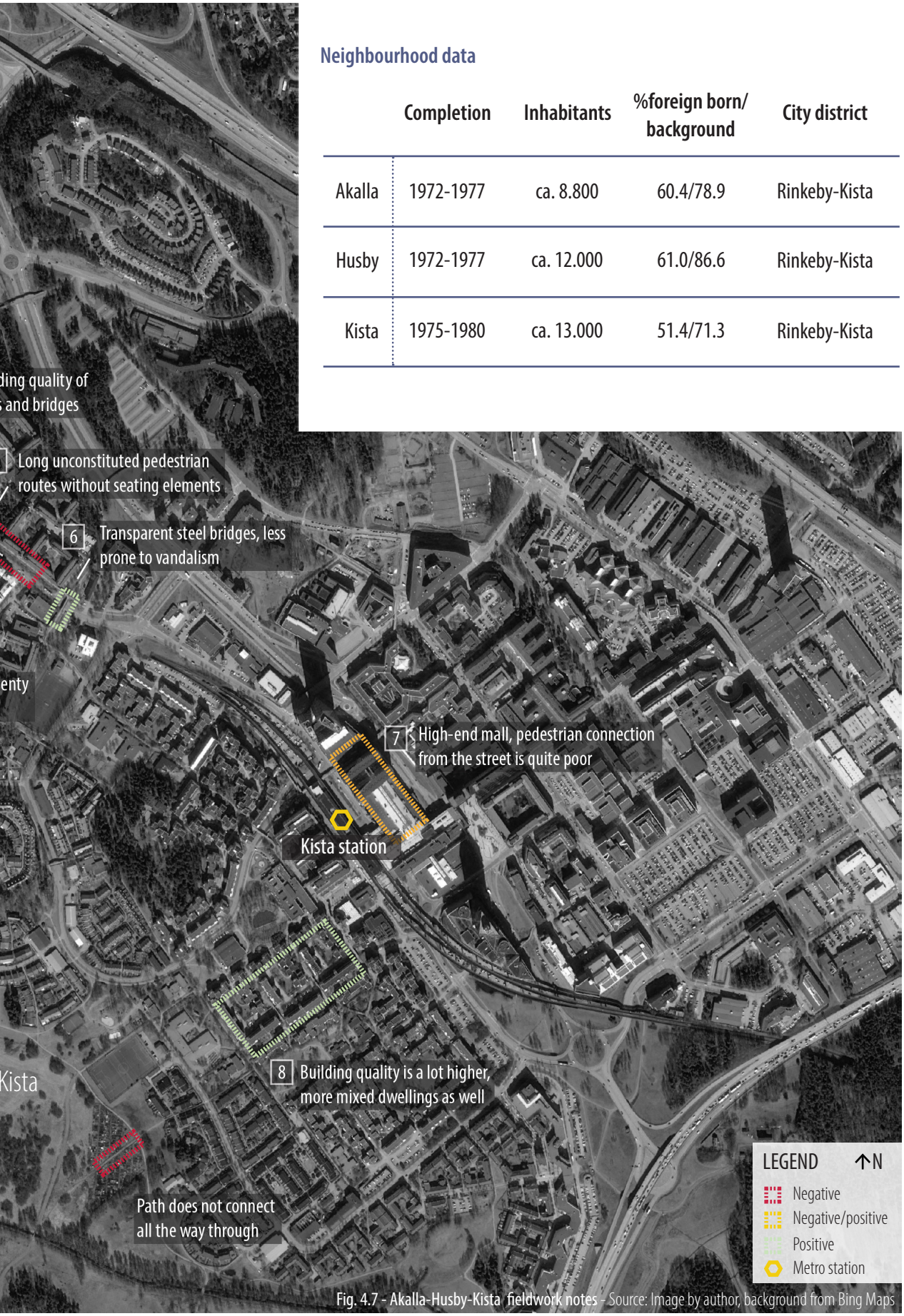


Fig. 4.7 - Akalla-Husby-Kista fieldwork notes - Source: Image by author, background from Bing Maps

4.2 Norra Järvastaden

Observations

Fig. 4.8 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.9 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.10 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.11 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.11 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.12 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.13 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.14 - Source: Image by author

4.2.2 Akalla-Husby particularities - What stands out?

1. In Akalla there is a large tunnel going underneath the central square, which acts as a connection to the metro station and as a bus station. This is creating very large height differences as well as many dark and anonymous places. The size of the tunnel as well as the dimensions of the roads are also remarkable. It is the question whether such large supply roads and this particular tunnel can be sustained by the population density of the area.

2. The quality of the buildings in Akalla is quite good, especially compared to other Million Programme estates. There is also a very good mix of dwellings, varying between apartments in different sizes as well as single-family homes. However, as is the case with many of the modernist blocks, the entrances of the buildings are very small and anonymous. Entrances are very hard to recognise, especially since sometimes the entrance is located at the short side of the building and because they lack any elements like large awnings or a more open facade structure.

3. Husby park is the central green space in the Husby suburb. It has a lot of seating elements as well as playing areas for children. It has different terraces at different heights, which gives an overview of the park.It has a lot of potential for social gatherings, and the different heights and terraces also can help build a public arena for performances.

4.The building quality in Husby is visibly lower than in Akalla, a lot of dwellings have filthy or damaged facades and have a poor connection with the ground level. Examples of this are found in image 4, where balconies have been build pretty much on the ground, whilst the surrounding green space remains unappropriated due to unclear ownership.

5.Throughout Husby (and other estates in the area), the main route for pedestrians are usually tarmac covered paths which run along the backside of the buildings. This usually means that the routes are unconstituted and poorly lit. Due to their design and lack of 'staying' quality, the natural behaviour in this space is to keep moving. These spaces therefore have an uncanny atmosphere, already during the day but even more so during the night.

6. Throughout Million Programme estates, pedestrian bridges can be found that cross the main arteries for car traffic. Usually these bridges are made of concrete slabs and are therefore an easy target for graffiti. However, recently some of them have been upgraded into bridges with steel balustrades. These bridges are a lot less prone to vandalism, are more sturdy and the transparency of the sides means it is easier for people to see what is happening on the bridge.

4.2.3 Kista particularities - What stands out?

7. Next to the Kista metro line, the Kista Gallerian can be found. This is a high-end shopping mall with a central parking garage on the ground floor. There is no active street life on the side of the Danmarksgatan, the main street in the area. The entrance to the mall happens on the first floor, which has a direct connection to the elevated Kista metro station. Inside the mall, there are mainly native Swedish visitors. Recently a journalist allegedly claimed that women that work in the mall feel threatened by male visitors of foreign background (Tomlinson, 2020).

8. The Kista residential area has a higher socio-economic status than the surrounding areas. It consists of a large mix of dwellings, but the density is a lot lower than the Million programme estates. There are mainly single-family row houses or apartments which have balconies or other types of outdoor spaces on the ground floor.

4.2 Norra Järvastaden

Programme and network

4.2.4 Integrated commercial hub, disconnected dwellings

When examining the function and network maps of Norra Järvastaden, a few things stand out. The first is the difference in diversity between the different neighbourhoods. Akalla has an excellent mix of housing types suitable for different types of groups. Husby however pretty much solely consists of one urban fabric type only, one that only hosts small low-income apartments. Furthermore the high integration, but also high degree of monofunctionality in the Kista IT Hub cluster is remarkable. Residential areas and commerce are closeby, but are not mixed. The area has no connection with the surrounding residential areas. Neither does it seem as if companies are engaging with what is happening in the surroundings of their office.

At the same time the central Norgegatan/Danmarksgatan is one of the highest integrated streets and really forms the backbone of the pedestrian network. At the same time, the road is pretty much vacant of any public amenities. Pedestrians and cars are separated by a two meter height difference.

In terms of amenities, the contrast between the Kista Gallerian and the small local shopping centres in Akalla and Husby are striking. Generally, retail amenities are quite scarce for the more vulnerable areas. The local centres lack diversity, whilst the Kista Gallerian is mostly catered towards more affluent customers and does not account for local shops that are concerned with foreign food culture, which is important to the residents of foreign background.

> "I can't understand that companies that cluster in these zoning plans that we have been very critical of and that appear to date back from half a century ago, seemingly have no clue what is happening on the other side of the street. It is a complete paradox."
>
> ***- Interviewee #12***

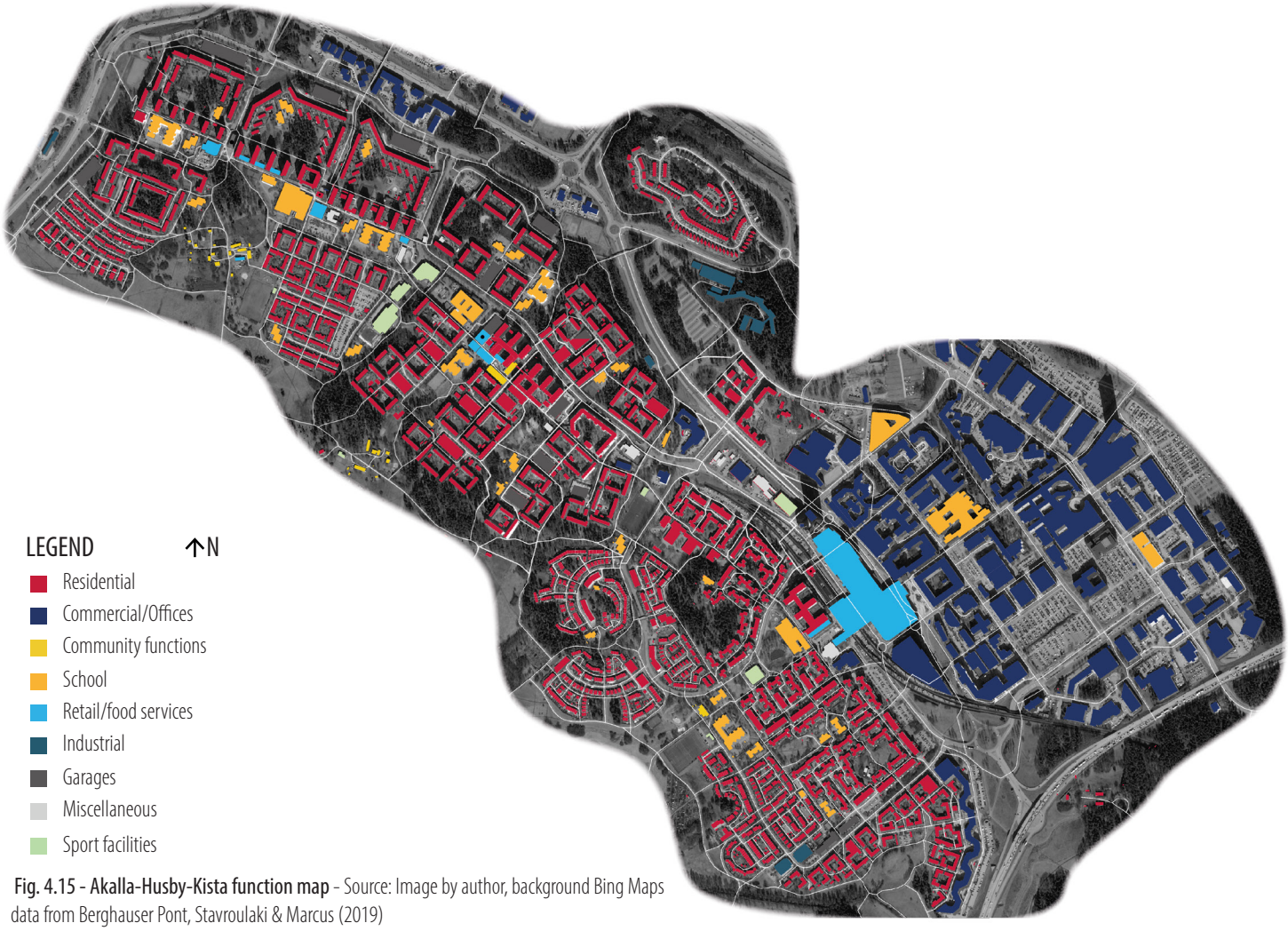


Fig. 4.15 - Akalla-Husby-Kista function map - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

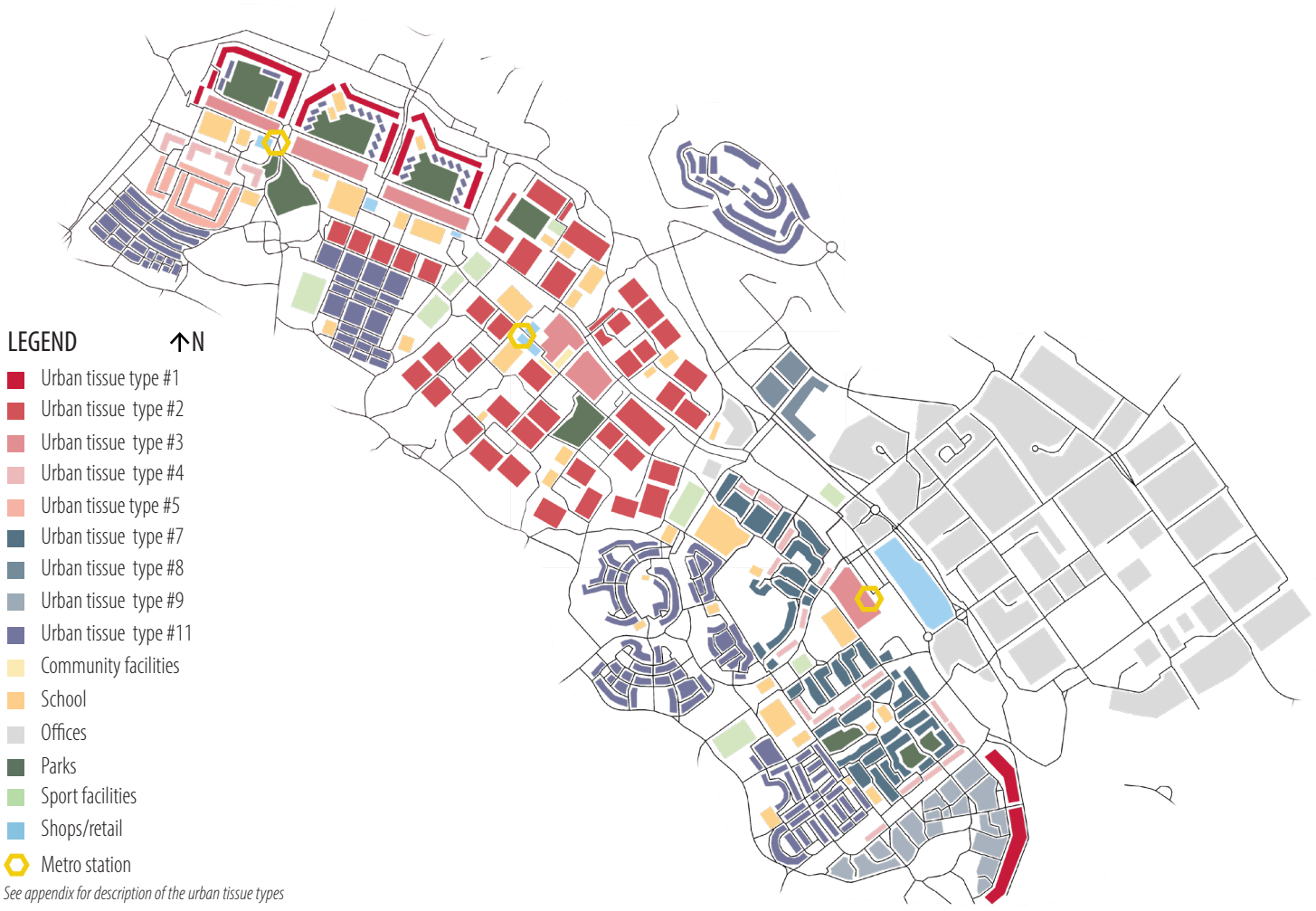
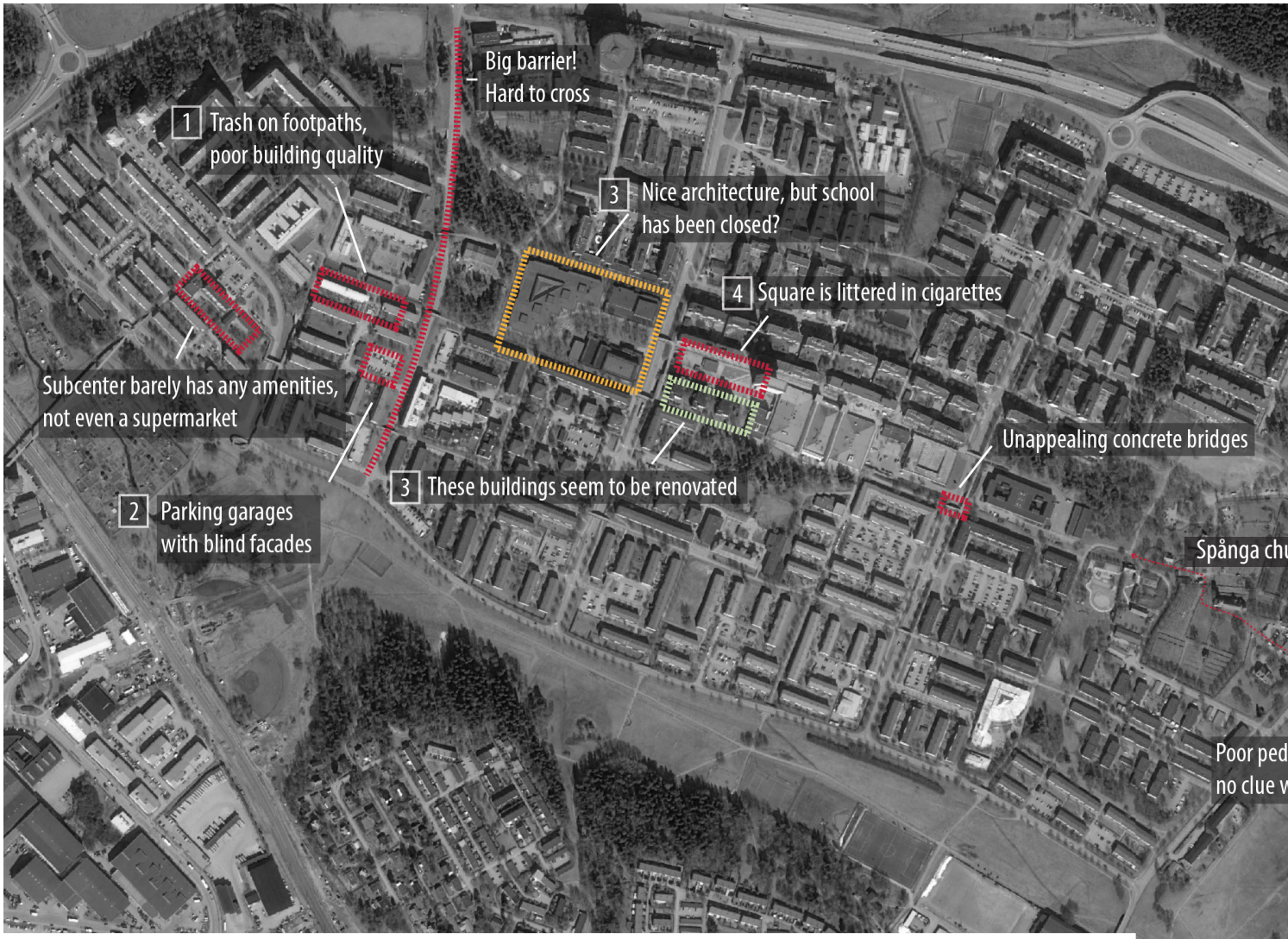


Fig. 4.15 - Akalla-Husby-Kista urban fabric types - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Fig. 4.16 - Akalla-Husby-Kista integration core - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

4.3 Södra Järvastaden

Observations



4.3.1 Södra Järvastaden

The southern part of the Järva area consists of two Million Programme areas, Tensta and Rinkeby. Both are connected by metro to the city centre, with Hjulsta (a sub-district of Tensta) being the final station on the blue line.

Rinkeby was completed in 1971 and despite some renewal projects previously discussed is dominated by the typical modernist apartment blocks. Rinkeby is, along with Husby, perhaps the most infamous Million Programme area in Stockholm and also nationwide, due to the riots that have occured in recent years which also received attention from several foreign media.

Tensta was finished in 1972 and is the largest neighbourhood in Järva. It is similar to Rinkeby in terms of housing stock and population. The area was criticized in the early times as the first inhabitants of the area in the 1970s moved in before the metro was finished. This left the area vacant in some places and caused decay. The sole focus on housing also lead to other areas like Akalla to pay more attention to diversity of dwellings and environment. Besides the modernist blocks there is also the Sörgården block from the early 1970s by architects Höjer & Lundqvist, a cultural-historic ensemble of low-rise detached villas. It is separated from Tensta by the Spånga churchyard which is of equally high cultural-historic value.

Neighbourhood data

	Completion	Inhabitants	%foreign born/ background	City district
Tensta	1966-1972	ca. 18.800	60.4/88.1	Spånga-Tensta
Rinkeby	1968-1971	ca. 16.000	61.1/91.3	Rinkeby-Kista

Fig. 4.17 - Tensta-Rinkeby fieldwork notes - Source: Image by author, background from Bing Maps

4.3 Södra Järvastaden

Observations

Fig. 4.18 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.19 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.20 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.21 - Source: Image by author

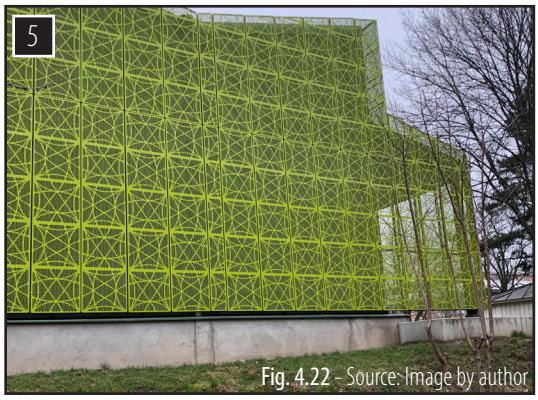


Fig. 4.22 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.23 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.24 - Source: Image by author

Fig. 4.25 - Source: Image by author

4.3.2 Tensta-Rinkeby particularities - What stands out?

1. When walking around, it becomes clear that many public places are littered with trash. Trash cans are often damaged and many bushes have traces of plastic in them. The public square at the Tensta local shopping centre is littered in cigarettes.

2. In the light of the modernist building style and traffic separation, parking is mostly done in the streets or in local parking garages. These garages are often semi-heightened concrete structures, with a ground floor which is often used for storage, waste collection or additional parking. This creates weathered concrete facades along these garages, giving of a very uncanny feeling due to the harsh material.

3. In Tensta close to the central shopping area a collection of buildings can be found with community functions. These include the building of the Tensta gymnasium, the library which is also used to organise gatherings and the local sports hall. However since 2016, the Tensta gymnasium has been closed due to serious problems with the educational quality as well as accounts of completely disorganised lessons due to pedagogic issues among students (StockholmDirekt.se, 2016). This is peculiar as research by Interpeace (2014) indicated that *"Students are committed to their studies and achieve good results and grades. The quality of education in the district is also recognised and attracts students from other districts"*. Furthermore there is no real phsyical connection between the two zones because they are separated by the Hagstråket street and are located at different heights.

4. It is also clear that efforts are made by municipal housing companies to renovate existing modernist blocks, as is evident in examples like the ones in picture 4. At the same time, the square in front of it is quite stoney and littered in cigarettes. The notice board on the square also looks damaged, due to the repeated stapling of papers onto the board and subsequently removing them leaving behind bits of paper and stapling material.

5. Besides dwellings also public buildings like schools have been renovated like the Rinkebyskolan in Rinkeby. Also other schools like the Förskolan Berggården and Förskolan Treklangen have been demolished and completely reconstructed. Most of the schools look modern and clean, with often colourful and interesting facades of sound architectural quality.

6.The Rinkeby Torg shopping centre looks quite alright in its appearance. The entry way from the Rinkebystråket to the shopping centre is quite odd, as one has to walk past a large parking area to get to the shops. The inside courtyard has plenty of seating elements, but the back streets are all unconstituted and have no public functions on the ground floor. This area was one of the few places during the field visit which had a reasonable amount of people there. There is a clearly a big difference in people from this area to the Kista area which had mostly native Swedish visitors in the shopping center.

7. The Rinkebystråket has been subject to very thorough renovation and resdesign. The traffic separation in this area has been partly lifted in the sense that sidewalks have been created along the main street where space for commercial activities has been added. Pedestrian bridges have been upgraded into steel bridges with transparent balustrades and seating elements have been added in public space. However, there are also still quite a few spaces for shops which are left vacant as is visible in the picture. Furthermore there are some in between spaces left between the different blocks of commercial spaces which have been completely paved and have no clear function, breaking up the continuity of the shopping street.

8. At the end of the Rinkebystråket redesign project, a new area of dwellings has been developed named Rinkebyterrassen. This area has a pedestrian connection towards the northern part of the Järvafaltet area. It consists of a combination of private rental and tenant-ownership apartments which are built on top of the highway.

> ''They have **closed the last high school** in the whole area of Järva, now there is no facility that provides a university entry level requirement. The signal to all the kids that live there is **abandonment**. The director said: Children want to study elsewhere and we need other ways to build a community. It is a typical neoliberal view that the customer is always right and it shows that he doesn't even believe in educaton himself. This is usually where I get angry.''
>
> ***- Interviewee #5***

4.3 Södra Järvastaden

Programme and network

4.3.3 Monofunctional districts, disconnected network

Similarly to the Norra Järvastaden the functions, network and typologies are examined in the Södra Järvastaden.

First of all, the spatial disconnect between the different areas is evident, not only in urban form but also in the network. the sub-district of Hjulsta in the far west is very much separated from the main district of Tensta. It is cut off through a large artery road which has no sidewalks and only has about three pedestrian connections from east to west. There is also a clear border between Tensta and Rinkeby, as well as the southern district of Spånga. Pedestrian connections are there, but they are long stretched and often lack visual order as they are interrupted by tunnels and height different due to the geography of the location.

Fig 4.28 shows the most integrated routes, and how a direct A-B connection between centralities is made impossible by several obstructions like the Spånga churchyard. This churchyard is of cultural-historic value and will the only continuous line between all districts and this line therefore has the most potential to act as an integrative backbone. At the moment this line has no entrances or amenities connected to it. It does lead onto the Hjulsta metro station in the west however, a subcenter which is severely lacking in amenities. Therefore this line still has sufficient potential to eventually become the real integrator of the Södra Järvastaden.

In accordance with Husby in Norra Järvastaden, Rinkeby and Tensta are very monofunctional areas with very limited possibilities for a housing career. The neighbourhoods have changed very little since the time that they were built. Apart from a few very small and irregular patches of single-family housing and the Sörgarden ensemble, all dwellings are relatively small modernist apartments from the seventies (City Museum of Stockholm, 2001).

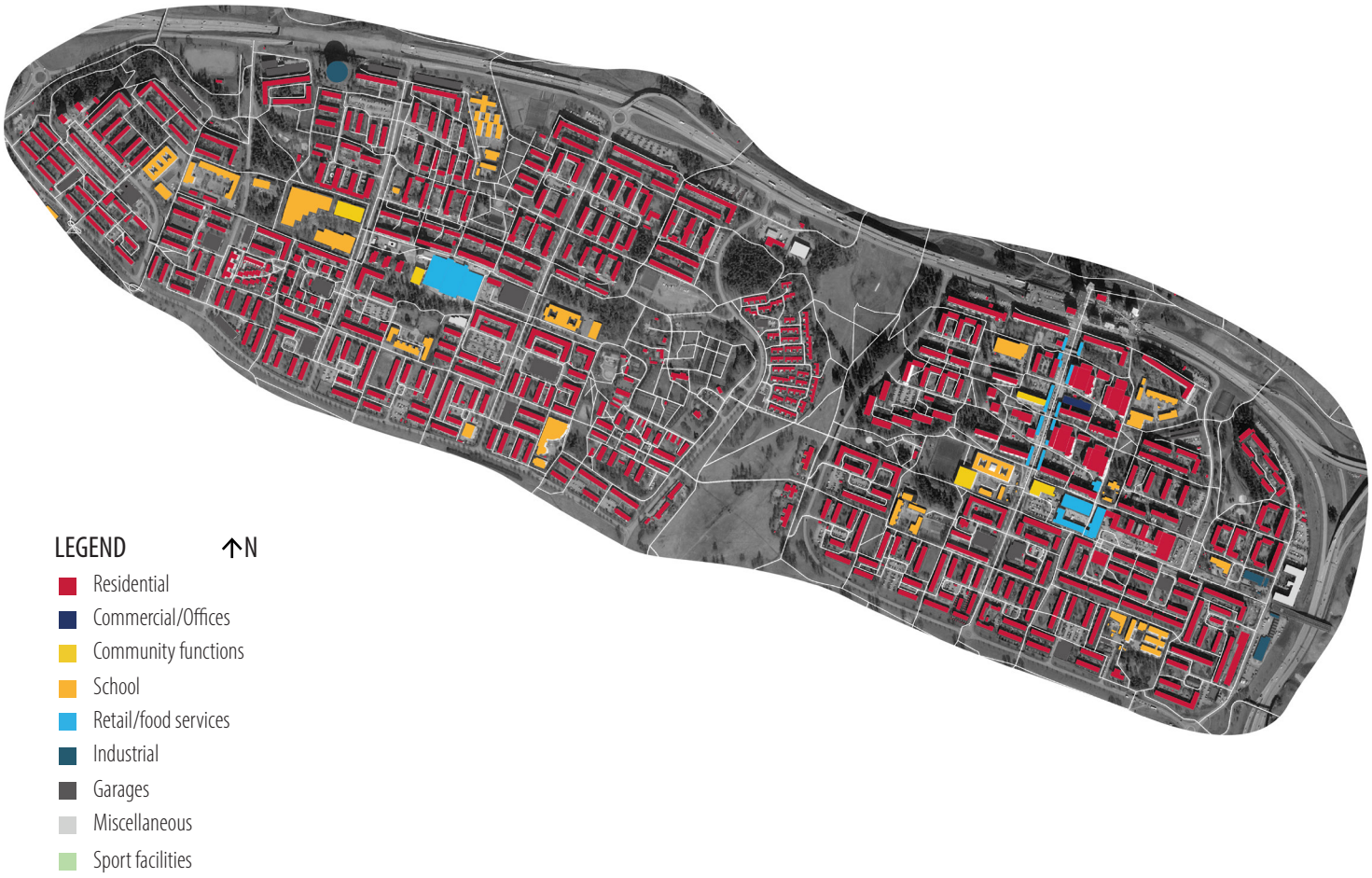


Fig.4.26 - Tensta-Rinkeby function map - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

See appendix for description of urban tissue types

Fig. 4.27 - Tensta-Rinkeby integration backbone - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Fig. 4.28- Akalla-Husby-Kista integration core - Source: Image by author, background Bing maps, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

4.4 Barkarbystaden

An entire new city

4.4.1 City 'building' in Barkarbystaden

In close proximity of the Järva area, the biggest new real estate development project of Stockholm is under construction, namely the Barkarbystaden project (Municipality of Järfälla, n.d.). This project is located in Järfälla, a municipality adjacent to that of Stockholm and therefore not under the same jurisdiction as the Järva case site area. Barkarbystaden is located on the site of a former military airport, of which its runway will partly remain on the eastern side. A total of 18.000 dwellings are expected to be completed by 2030, in addition to the creation of 10.000 jobs. As shown, the metro line from Akalla will be extended to Barkarbystaden and the current Barkarby residential area on the other side of the E18 highway. The station is expected to open in 2025 and in the mean time busses will run to the Akalla metro station (Nobina Sverige AB, 2019). In the next twenty years the area is expected to host 40.000 new inhabitants. Also part of the Barkarbystaden development is the transformation of the Veddesta location, which is located opposite of the E18 highway and is currently in use as a commercial and industrial site. This area will be a mixed residential and working area, more directed to the service economy rather the industrial character it has now.

4.4.2 Critique - City as an island

The new development in Barkarbystaden attempts to innovate in terms of public transport and high quality amenities. However, the project has several handicaps. First is its obvious disconnect from the rest of the city, the large-scale nature of the project requires space and this space has been found on a former airport site which in itself is usually quite remote from nearby residences. As a result, the city becomes an island in itself despite the metro line connections. The new Stockholm bypass is separating the Järva area from Barkarbystaden as the viaduct prevents any physical connection between the two areas, meaning the area is encompassed by infrastructural borders (see fig. 4.30). In light of the segregation processes in Stockholm as well as the prevalent neoliberal planning paradigms, it is the question whether Barkarbystaden will be a city for everyone. It brings numbers in terms of new dwellings, but does it bring affordability? Does it enrich the public realm? In the central parts the project does not reach the 15% open spaces recommendation set by UN habitat (Spacescape AB, 2017). The images in the currently built streets of Barkarbystaden show primarily very wide streets with blind facades, as the ground floors have been raised from the street. In that sense, one could question whether this new city will actually provide city life or if the project is merely a suburb hidden in a shell of urban blocks.

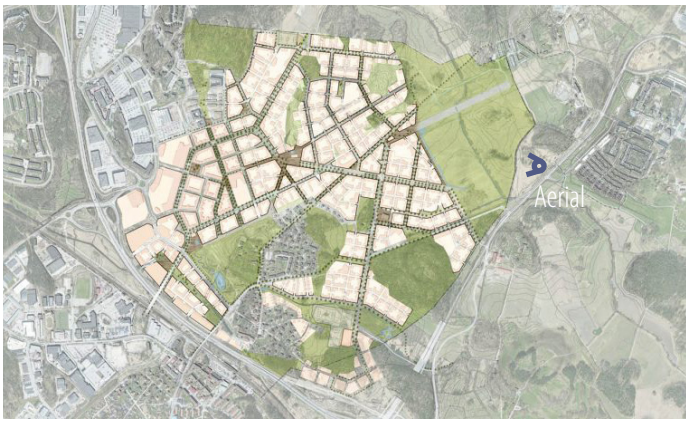


Fig. 4.29 - Barkarbystaden plan layout - Source: Tovatt Architects & Planners AB (2014)

Fig. 4.30 - Viaduct/Tunnel barrier - Source: Trafikverket (2018), image adapted by author

Fig. 4.31 - Barkarbystaden aerial - Source: Tovatt Architects & Planners AB (2014)

Fig. 4.32 - Barkarbystaden street - Source: Google streetview

4.5 Space syntax

Angular integration analysis

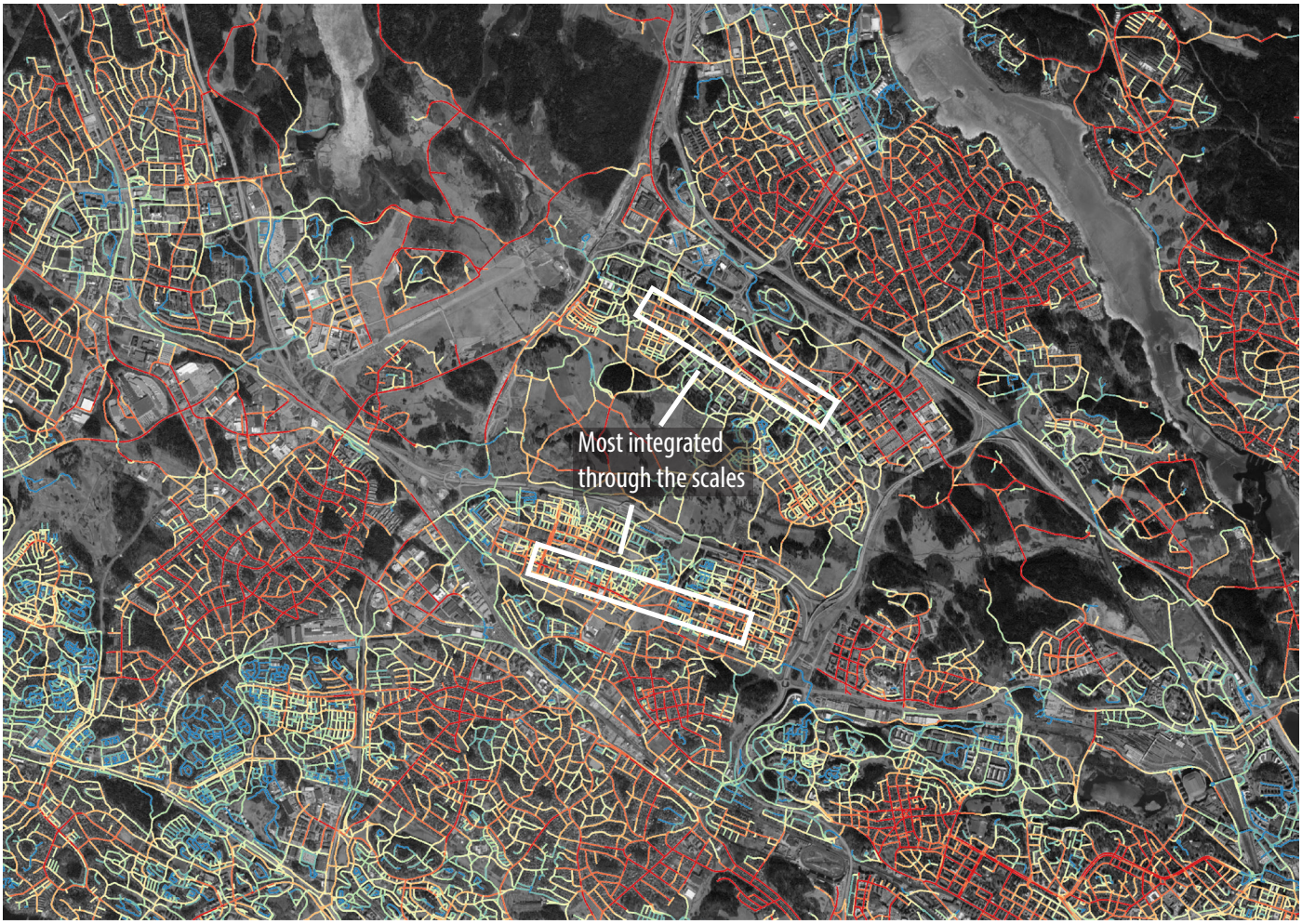


Fig. 4.33 - Angular integration (weighted length) non-motorised network - 800 meters
Source: data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

**See appendix for analysis at different walking distances.*

4.5.1 Local angular integration

The figure depicts an angular integration analysis of the non-motorised network in the Järvafaltet area. This type of analysis investigates the shortest 'angular distance' between a street segment and all other streets within a set range, in this case 800 meters to investigate pedestrian movement. Angular distance means the 'real-time distance' it takes to walk measured in accumulated steps, taking into account the turns one has to make to reach a certain segment. The benchmark for a change of degrees to be recognised as a turn is 30 degrees.

When performing this analysis, more grid-like urban tissues color red whilst cul-de-sac urban tissues colour blue. This makes sense, as grid like structures require less turns to reach other segments in the grid. Cul-de-sac layouts however consist of dead-end streets and if these streets have a larger angular step depth they will mean they are hard to reach for local pedestrians. Looking at the different neighbourhoods on the intermediate scale, the integration of the neighbourhoods locally seems to be average with some larger differences in sub-districts of the neighbourhood. Larger main streets have fairly good local integration, mostly because they are serve as a set of axis. Some smaller typologies (f.e. courtyard housing) at the edge of Tensta and Kista show lower degrees of integration.

Following the global network analysis of the car nework, sub-districts with poor local integration but good global integration, this makes them prone to criminal activities like burglary (Hillier & Sahbaz, 2011). Additional analysis of for example angular choice can give more meaning to possible design interventions with regards to street connections or new programmatic additions.

4.5 Space syntax

Angular choice analysis

Fig. 4.34 - Angular choice (weighted length) non-motorised network - 800 meters
Source: data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

**See appendix for analysis at different walking distances.*

4.5.2 Local angular choice

The figure depicts the angular choice analysis of the non-motorised network in the Järvafaltet area. This analysis shows the through potential for segments in the street network. Again the parameters are the same as in the angular integration analysis, 800m walking distance with weighted lengths. The analysis indicates the 'betweenness' of the segment.

However, it is to be noted that this analysis does not consider other contextual factors. One important factor that is not account for are height differences in the neighbourhood. Walking uphill might mean people will change routes, while this analysis runs the street network map as if it was flat. Furthermore, the context of the environment is not regarded. A street without any public functions can have a large through potential, but without possible destinations the likeliness of people travelling through the street is still quite slim. Therefore it is important to recognise that does not give a one-on-one representation of where people are walking, rather it shows the potential for movement based on the betweenness of one segment in relation to all other segments in the network.

4.5.3 Analysis through the scales

In the **appendix**, a set of analysis on different scales can be found to verify which of the segments is the most integrated and which has the highest through potential on all different scales of movement. This gives a direction of which segments are the most important and therefore could serve as an anchor in the strategic approach.

Angular choice and angular integration analysis have been run on the Non-Motorised Network (NMS) at walking distances of 250, 400, 800, 1500, 3000 and 5000 meters.

4.5 Space syntax

Attraction reach analysis

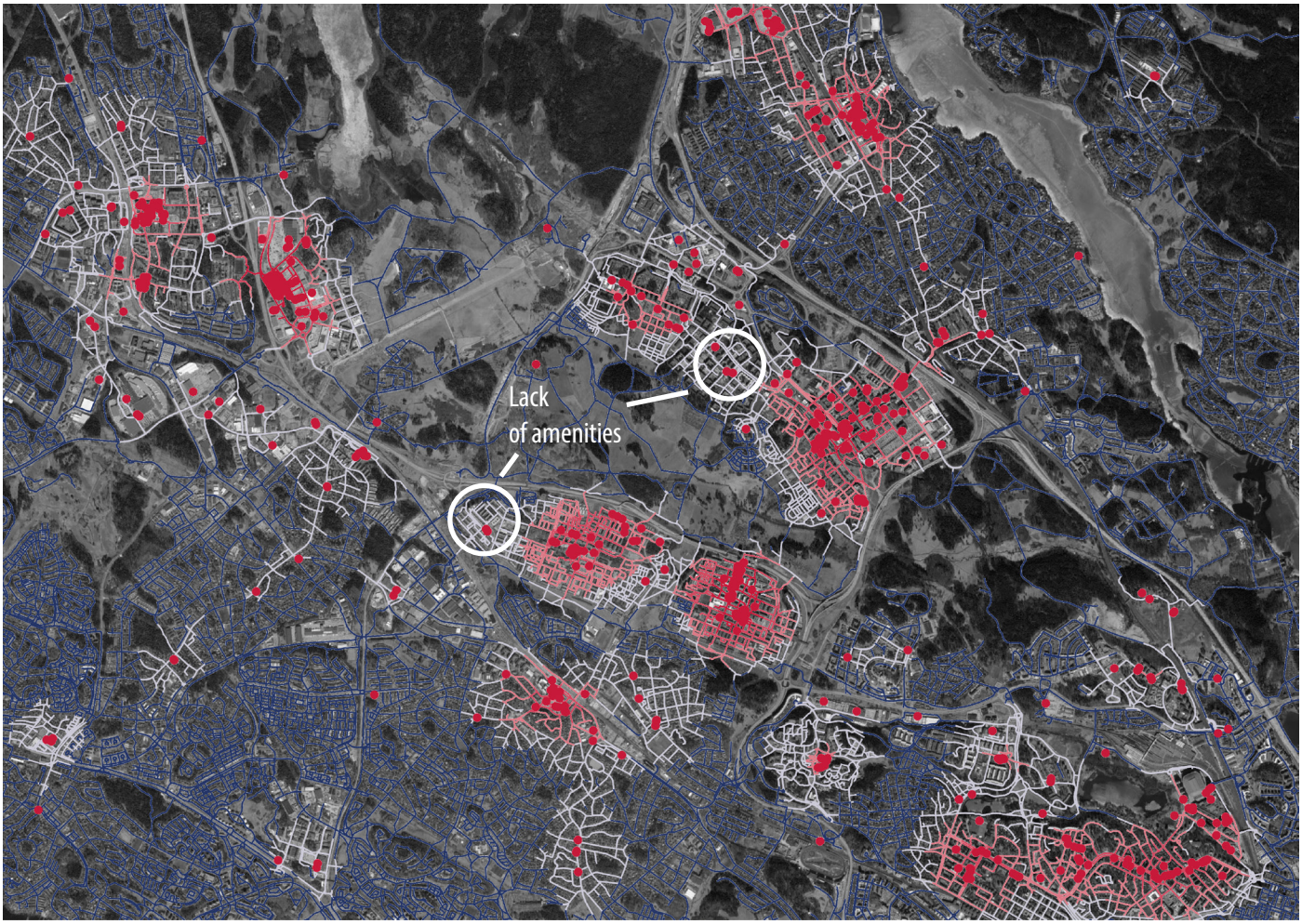


Fig . 4.35 - Attraction reach retail + food/drink facilities (weighted length) non-motorised network - 800 meters
Source: data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

4.5.4 Local attraction reach

The map above shows the locations of retail services and facilities like restaurants, cafés and bars in the case site. Then, the reach of these activities is shown in an angular walking distance of 800 meters. It is important to note the limitations of this analysis, as it shows a general reach of amenities. The actual site specific context in addition to the combination of services is what makes a local district succesful or not.

What stands out is that there are some in between areas or areas on the outskirts like the Hjulsta sub-district which are very low in services and require more extensive walking to the nearest services. Also in Husby the reach of current amenities is low. In nearby (more affluent) areas such as the Barbarkby handelsplats, the Kista Gallerian mall and the Sundbyberg centrality the density of amenities is quite high. Other areas on the map show zones that have no amenities at all. Most of these areas however consist of single-family zoning typologies, mostly inhabited by more affluent residents who have good access to car transport and nearby shopping centers.

The strategic means to improve accessibility to resources are twofold. The first is to try and attract investments where the amenities are scarce by adding density and diversifying the services in place. This is also key for generating local economic opportunity, and increasing the number of local jobs (Jacobs , 1961). The second is improving the accessibility of existing amenities in nearby locations. This could mean extending public transport services or adding extra streets in the network.

4.6 Case site conclusions

SWOT - Järvafaltet

Previously a SWOT analysis was performed to summarize the research on the Stockholm metropolitan area as a whole. To distinguish the local site specific characters from the regional chracteristics, a local SWOT analysis is executed to recognise next steps for the project;

4.6.1 Strengths

1. Strong community life - local reports on for example the neighbourhood of Tensta show that one of the most appreciated qualities of the district is the rich community life (Interpeace, 2014; KTH, 2015). Ethnic networks can form strong interpersonal connections, especially among people of the same background.

2. Rich in green spaces - In accordance with the 'freeing the ground' paradigm discussed before, buildings form solitary units in a continuous landscape (Levy 1999, as cited in Minoura 2016). This has downsides, but also can be seen as a strength as it brings abundant nature into the living environment of the neighbourhood.

3. Traffic safety - Traffic flows are hugely separated in all neighbourhoods with split level crossings for vehicles and pedestrians. This ensures improved traffic safety and a very child friendly environment, as children are able to walk to school without having to deal with cars.

4. Metro connectivity -Despite that it is located at the end of the blue line, both sides of the Järvafaltet are connected to the subway system going into the city centre ensuring that there is a direct public transport connection.

4.6.2 Weaknesses

1. Lack of public and retail services - There are very little retail facilities available in either of the deprived areas, as well as public representation from the municipality whom for example in the case of Spånga-Tensta moved a large number of their offices to the Spånga area (Interpeace, 2014). This reduces local employment prospects and creates sentiments of abandonment. Furthermore there is a lack of sport facilities and extra-cirricular activities (Interpeace, 2014).

2. No housing career - Due to the neighbourhood planning style from the sixties and seventies, some of the neighbourhoods like Tensta and Rinkeby have a poor mix of dwelling types and tenures (KTH, 2015). Both neighbourhoods are dominated by small public housing apartments.

3. Low perception of safety - Outsiders perceive the neighbourhood as unsafe, the neighbourhoods have long stretched unconstituted pedestrian routes. Local integration in the street network is not very good and in combination with high global integration it poses higher risks of crime and burglary as it allows for perpetrators to work invisibly with vast opportunity to 'escape' (Hillier & Sahbaz, 2011).

4. Spatial separateness -The neighbourhoods are disconnected from the rest of the Stockholm urban fabric, separated by green corridors which consist mostly of deserted grasslands. This makes it unlikely for non-locals to pass through and adds to the feeling of disconnect and unsafety. It also makes the areas more prone to 'flipping' in terms of socio-spatial segregation which they have clearly become victims. (Interviewee #3)

4.6.3 Opportunities

1. Developments in Barkabystaden & Kista - Nearby urban developments (and an increase in value) can function as incentives for developers to renew their interest in areas close by. Creating connections between these areas and deprived neighbourhoods can also result in better access to resources.

2. Expansion of (public) transport modalities - Again, metro expansions are planned as well as a new highway tunnel connection to the south of the city. All of these can provide opportunities for new development in Järvafaltet.

3. Possibility for collaboration with local associations - Because of the community life in the area, there is an extensive amount of local associations which can be of great importance in the participatory process as well as their provision of local knowledge for urban planners.

4. Open space availability - The lacking connection between buildings the Million programme estates now is often viewed as a weakness. At the same time in this area (where it also likely that many properties are owned by MHC's or other housing cooperatives) there is a lot of open space which also provides opportunity for adding social capital to the neighbourhood.

4.6.4 Threats

1. Gentrification - New (private investment) can be of great value to the Järvafaltet area, at the same time it poses a threat of (super)gentrification which will only move migrants out of the area once again. Large scale demolishing of existing volumes with expensive new constructions and tenure types can be detrimental to the quality of the area.

2. Renoviction - In accordance with gentrification, it is imminent that renovations will lead to 'renoviction'. In this case renovations become too expensive or extensive to maintain low rents for the tenants. In this case, a sharp increase in rent can force current inhabitants to be evicted (TheLocal, 2017).

3. Low attractiveness for investment - The stigmatisation of the area through politics and media as well as the geographic location of the Järvafaltet at the edge of the municipality threatens the propensity for any type of investment to take place, especially from private investors. A trust and sense of security in the reliability of a project will be necessary to convince developers to join.

4. Persistent stigmatisation - Stigmatisation is as said a threat for the attraction of investment, but also for the attraction of future residents and future visitors. Any project will be subject to cynicism and resistence. It is key to come up with ways of communication that convey a message that convince the public that there are ways to find new and effective solutions.

SWOT Analysis - Järvafaltet area

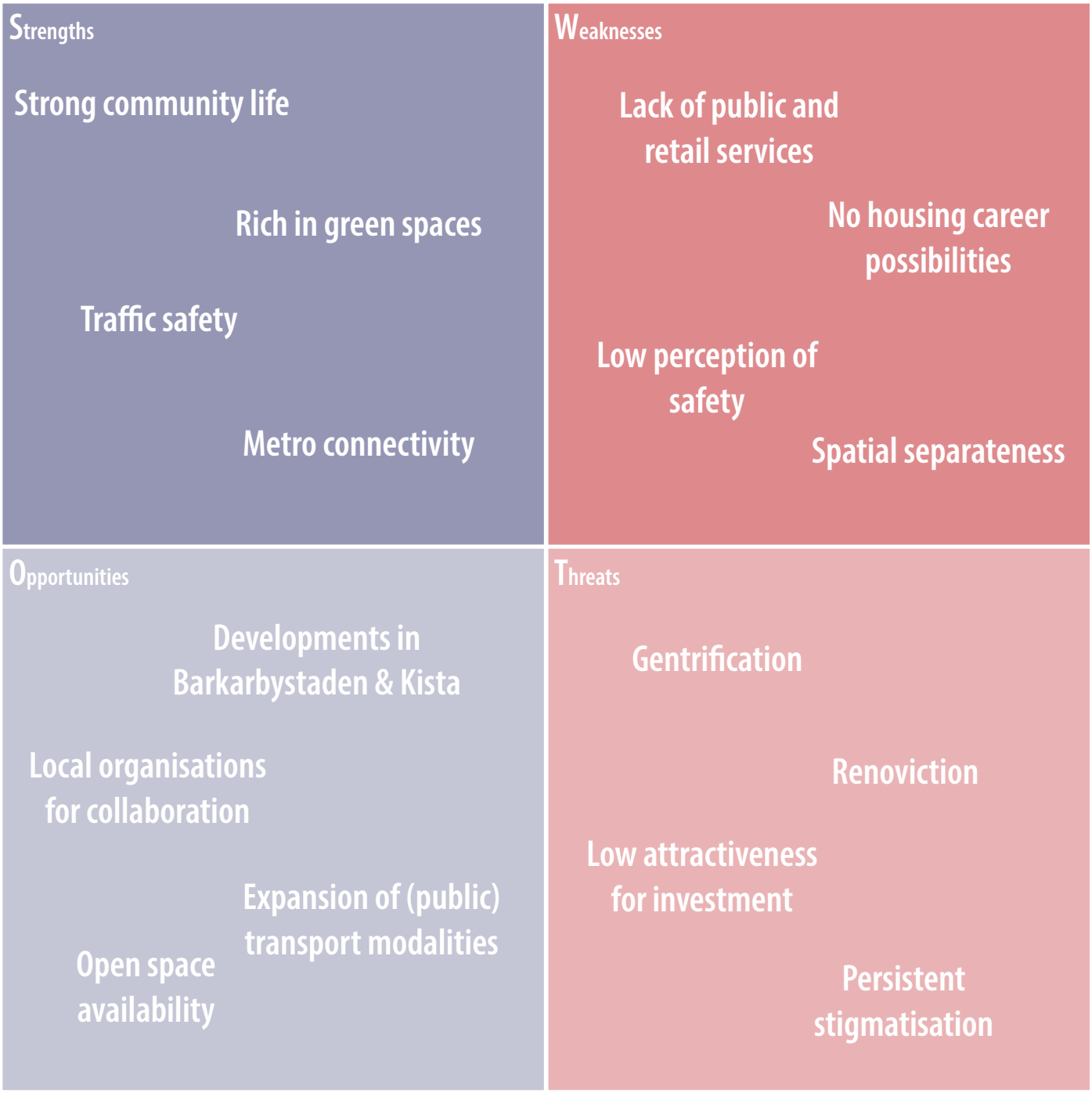


Fig 4.36 - SWOT Analysis - Source: image by author

4.6 Case site conclusions

Main issues - Järvafaltet

Lack of hope

Spatial separateness

Low perceptions of safety

Little possibilities for housing career

Low economic opportunity

Lacking educational and community facilities

Fig. 4.37 - Main issues - Source: Icons by author

4.6.5 Main issues

The main issue what all other problems boil down to is that there is a **lack of hope** for these neighbourhoods and the people that live there. There is **no belief** that the current environment will provide success to the population of the Järva area, both from the institutional side as from the side of the residents. This is evident through perpetual measures that have symbolized **abandonment** like the moving of public offices to the Spånga district as well as closing the local high school. The complexity of the different sub-issues is so high that it seems easier to resort to such measures. Because people have no hope and feel like they have very little to lose, they also **engage in crime** more easily.

The spatial disconnect of the neighbourhoods in relation to the rest of the Stockholm region causes **issues of accessibility to services**. Furthermore it makes the areas more **prone to segregation** (due to the previously explained flipping mechanism) and it also fuels the **poor reputation** of the neighbourhoods as 'parallel society structures', as separate entities that do not 'belong' to the city.

The **stigmatisation** and reporting of crime in the neighbourhoods have made non-locals afraid to enter the neighbourhoods. Furthermore the built environment provides conditions which increases the propensity to crime in a sense that there are many unconstituted streets or zones which have very **poor social control.**

The current stock of housing is very **monotone in size and tenure**. People with increased resources are forced to leave if they become upward mobile in terms of socio-economic status or if their family grows. This leaves the neighbourhood deprived, when people with increased resources keep moving out whilst new migrants with low education levels move in. The lack of diversity limits the economic possibilities of the residents.

Unemployment levels are soaring, up to **40%** in some parts of the case site area. Many migrants lack the education to participate in high-skilled jobs, and competition among lower-skilled jobs is high. Furthermore the areas themselves offer **very little local employment opportunities** as commercial spaces and **public amenities are limited**. The nearby ICT hub does not provide jobs that are accessible for the population of the vulnerable areas.

The area has plenty of pre-schools and 'grundskola' (the obligatory school in Sweden), but has **no schools that provide an entry level requirement for a university**. The Tensta Gymnasium, the only school in the area which offered such a requirement, has been closed in recent years because of issues with education quality. Also recently some community centers or initiatives have been under pressure of closing.

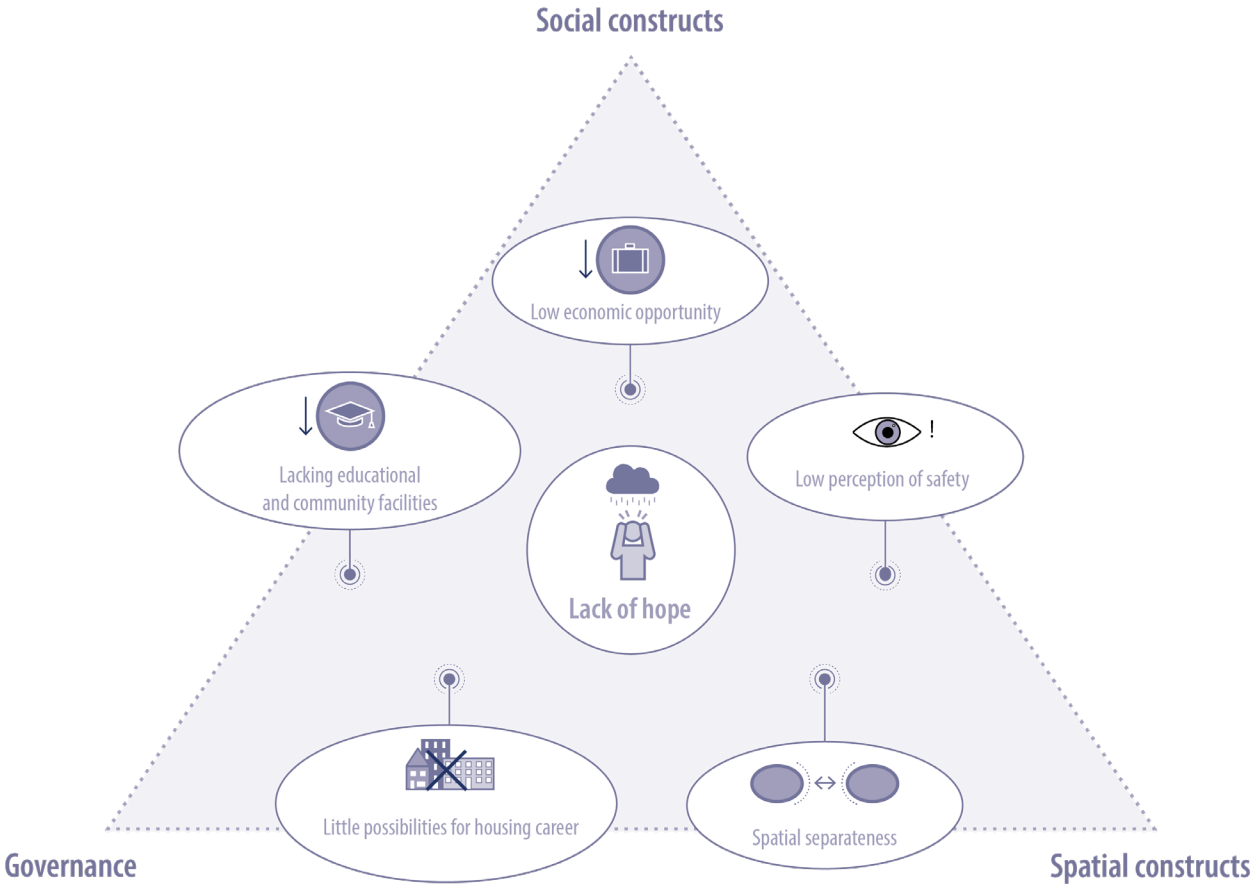


Fig. 4.38 - Layers of main issues - Source: Image by author

4.6.6 Linking problems and layers

In the foregoing diagram, the summary of problems has been linked back to the three layer approach described in the conceptual framework and methodology. This is a reflection of the performed analysis and aims to identify the root of the problem in either (1) institutional organisation and policy, (2)social facilities and circumstances and (3)spatial layouts.

Clearly all problems have interrelations between these layers and can never be fully attributed to either of these single layers. This explains the triangular shape of the diagram which aims to illustrate relative positions of the issues. The lack of hope is the central, most abstract issue which stems from the different sub-issues in place and epitomises the spiral of decline described in the conceptual framework and the 'wicked' character' of this issue.

In the next step, linking interventions to these layers can help recognise where the start can be made to break the spiral of decline in these vulnerable areas. Linking these to the different scales of multi-level governance can operationalise the strategy, by identifying the stakeholders that are involved with the proposed design and policy interventions.

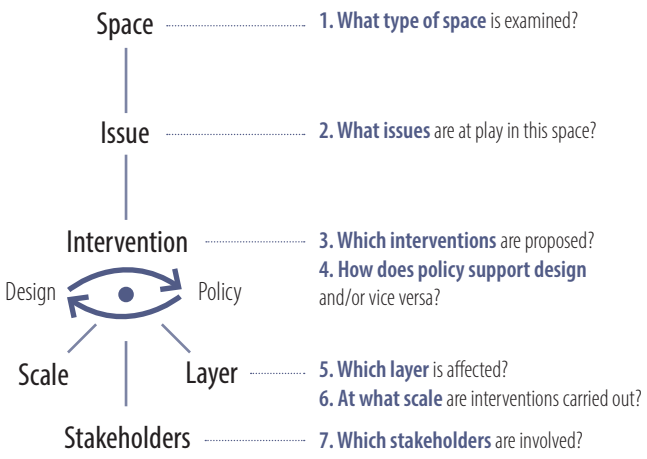


Fig. 4.39 - Linking aspects of the comprehensive approach
Source: Image by author

Fig. 5.0 - Student housing in Tensta
Source: Image by author

5. Strategic design

Introduction

Local scale road map

This chapter elaborates on the strategic framework proposed to achieve the project goals, consisting of a set of supporting policy and design interventions applied in the case site area. Interventions are fundamented by the analysis in the previous chapter and further supported by findings from fieldwork. The chapter consists of the following parts:

1. An additional piece of **theoretical underpinning** to fundament the design approach and idea of how qualities and weaknesses of the case site are interpreted in relation to the issues concluded in the previous chapter;
2. Based on the theory, a sequence of large scale **strategic actions are tested** and proposed;
3. A set of policies is proposed that act as the required parameters under which enable the **strategy implementation**;
4. The approach for the local scale design is elaborated and a set of sites is chosen based on a **typology of concept spaces**;
5. An **overview table of proposals** as a reference for the reader to explain applicability and transferability of interventions in the different case sites;
6. Elaboration of spatial design of site 1 - **Tensta centrality**;
7. Elaboration of spatial design of site 2 - **Spånga cricket ground**;
8. Elaboration of spatial design of site 3 - **Husby Norgegatan**;
9. Description of how policies and interventions are **phased** through time;
10. Description of **stakeholder engagement** for the intermediate scale and the design sites;
11. An indicative **mainstreaming of the approach** and how it could function in other areas of the region and what that would mean for the development of Stockholm Metropolitan Region.

5.1 Design principles

Translating analysis into design

5.1.1 Design stance and approach

This section will act as a transition between the analysis, its conclusions and the strategic design. It will function as an intermediate step to elaborate the foundation on which the design will be based.

5.1.2 Identity of Million programme estates

First of all, the strategic design aims to **maintain the identity** of these areas as modernist neighbourhoods. During the field trip it become clear from multiple stakeholders that up until now, the response towards the alleged 'failure' of these neighbourhoods has been abandonment. This has taken shape either through the closing of public facilities or development eradicating of modernist neighbourhood characteristics. These decisions have most probably been taken with the best intentions in mind.

However they did not have the desired effects nor did they consider the possibility that despite their reputation and issues, these areas were not built to fail and also still possess some spatial assets.Therefore I argue for an approach that **reinterprets the intended qualities** of the Million Programme estates instead of condemning them as outright failures. This means that the intended goals are maintained, but the means how to reach them are reconsidered.

5.1.3 What were the intended qualities?

As described in section 1.3, the Millions programme estates were meant to comprise certain qualities. They were meant for the Swedish 'nuclear' family (two parents with two children) and therefore were traffic-separated and consisted of ample open green space (Billinghurst, 2015). They were also intended to cater to people with different income-types and to provide everyone with affordable housing, creating a mixed community in an attractive green environment (Hall & Viden, 2005).In the past fifty years since the programme was built, new lessons on urban planning and design have been learned that can explain why some of the intended qualities did not come to bloom.

Fig. 5.1 - Children in Gullinge, Tensta in the 1970s - Source: Svenska Bostader (n.d.)

At the same time already in 1961 in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs called for a reconsideration of the conventional planning paradigms at the time (which were also at play in Sweden) which according to her were destroying urban diversity and (economic) vitality of cities (Jacobs, 1961).

One could argue that her argument lacked foundation given the fact that Jacobs was an activist without an educational background in urban planning, nor were her claims supported by empiric or scientific evidence but were rather based on individual data. Also the different cultural-historic context of American cities compared to European cities is to be recognised when examining Jacobs' argument and therefore again **require reinterpretation** to a different time and place.

Despite all these limitations, it is fair to say that many of the principles she advocated have beared a large degree of accuracy since her work has been published given the fact that it has become one of the most cited and most influential works in urban planning. Reinterpreting the principles and projecting them onto the Järva case site can help explain the shortcomings of the Millions Programme planning era and also identify possibilities for regeneration of the vulnerable neighbourhoods.

5.1.4 Jacobs' principles for city diversity

In her work from 1961, Jacobs' outlines four principles for generating city diversity which according to her are key to a succesful city neighbourhood:

1. '*The district must serve* ***more than one primary function,*** *preferably more than two. They must insure the presence of people at different schedules and are in the place for different purposes';*
2. ***'Blocks must be short.*** *Streets and opportunities to turn corners must be frequent';*
3. *'Districts must* ***mingle buildings that vary in age and condition****, including a good proportion of old ones. Mingling must be fairly close-grained;*
4. *'There must be a* ***sufficiently dense concentration of people****, for whatever purpose they may be there. This includes dense concentration for people who are there out of residence'.*

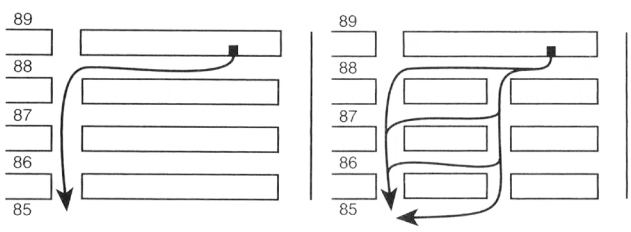


Fig. 5.2 - Short blocks - Source: Jacobs (1961)

Given these principles, the neighbourhoods in Järva do not meet any of the four criteria set by Jacobs. (1)They are largely monofunctional and are primarily residence-based. Because the area lacks employment opportunities, people are not out on the street at different times. (2)Blocks and pedestrian routes are long-stretched and the road network has a large degree of hierarchy. (3) As Jacobs already predicted, '*neighbourhoods build-up all at once change little physically over the years as a rule*', and equally so has this been the case in Järva. (4)Lastly, because of the unbalanced schedule of people going out in combination with the lacking street activity, the concentration of people is relatively low to support cultural facilities. Even more so because the area does not attract any visitors due to its spatial separateness. In her view, the cataclysmic expansion of cities through neighbourhood-unit planning offered no possibilities for the creation of city diversity. This because cataclysmic change is a self-fulfilling prophecy for what she called 'the Great Blight of Dullness' (Jacobs, 1961), where urban decay sets in as a result of, for example, large scale economic or demographic changes through time.

5.1.5 Why is city diversity important?

One might wonder why 'city diversity' is so important and how it links to the problems described in the analysis conclusion. As Jacobs' elaborates on in her book, city diversity is needed to provide economic opportunity for a city or district. It fosters interaction and safety, which are the prime drivers of a flourishing district. Funny enough, the two also reinforce eachother. To create interaction, safety is needed and safety is created through interaction and the establishment of trust that, you will be safe on the streets among strangers. This refers back to the concept of co-presence, the 'being' in space and society among different groups of people and still feeling safe (Jacobs, 1961; Legeby, 2013).

Fig. 5.3 - Conditions for economic opportunity - Source: image by author

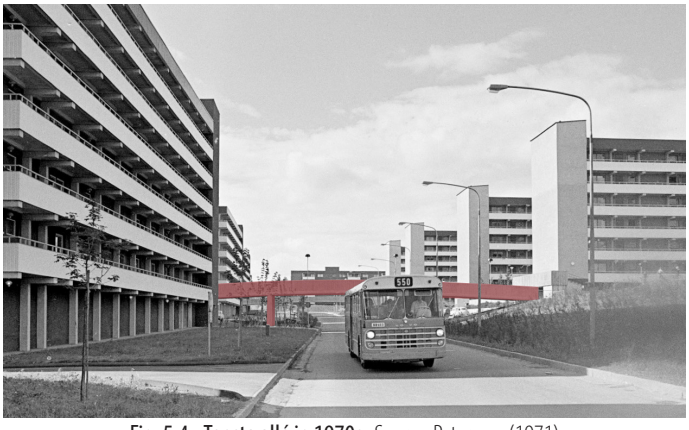


Fig. 5.4 - Tensta allé in 1970s- Source: Petersens (1971)

5.1.6 Reinterpreting city diversity in Järva

As said the neighbourhoods in Järva were intended to be flourishing communities, however currently the opposite seems to be the case. People are afraid of people (see section 4.1). The lack of economic opportunities, the lack of connection with the surroundings and the abandonment of educational institutions has lead to increased fear. It has become a place to leave. Jacobs (1961) proposed four set of measures to reinstall the potential of city diversity: **1.** *'Extra streets must be added'*; **2.** *'The concentration of people must be heightened'*; **3.** *'Room for new primary uses must be found, public and private'*; **4.** *'But, a good part of the old buildings must remain.'*

What does all of this mean for Järva? It means that there is a need for **increased permeability** of the urban fabric, which is concerned with the potential movement and possibility for social interaction in public spaces. This not singled down to short blocks only, which also have their disadvantages in terms of density and frontage activation (Pafka & Dovey, 2017). **Eyes on the street** are needed through intensified commercial activities and varied new uses that attract a variety of people, to enlarge perceptions of safety and increase opportunity for unintended encounters. This means not only more uses, but also more people through **densification**, that in term also diversifies the homogeneous building stock whilst **maintaining the identity** of the estates as much as possible but improving the perception of the areas and the economic opportunity to start **creating hope** for a better life for the people of Järva.

5.1.7 Reinterpreting qualities in Järva

From this perspective of city diversity, new definitions of the intended qualities are proposed to be achieved in the design, namely the following:

(1) The intended quality of ample open green space is reinterpreted as **the quality of contact with nature in urban life**. Focussing rather on the quality of green in the city and its visibility and functionality, whether or not that takes form in open green space per sé.
(2) The intended quality of pedestrian delight through automobile evasion is reinterpreted as **the quality of pedestrian delight through lively streets with ample possibility for social interaction.** Focussing rather on what makes walking in Järva attractive instead of evading what would prevent walking from being unpleasant.
(3) The intended quality of providing housing for different income-types is reinterpreted as **the quality of mixed-use development that provides urban lifestyles for different population groups.** Focussing rather on a comprehensive idea of several human activities, lifestyles and economic needs instead of a unilateral focus on housing with subdivisions in income.

5.2 Strategy testing

Current situation

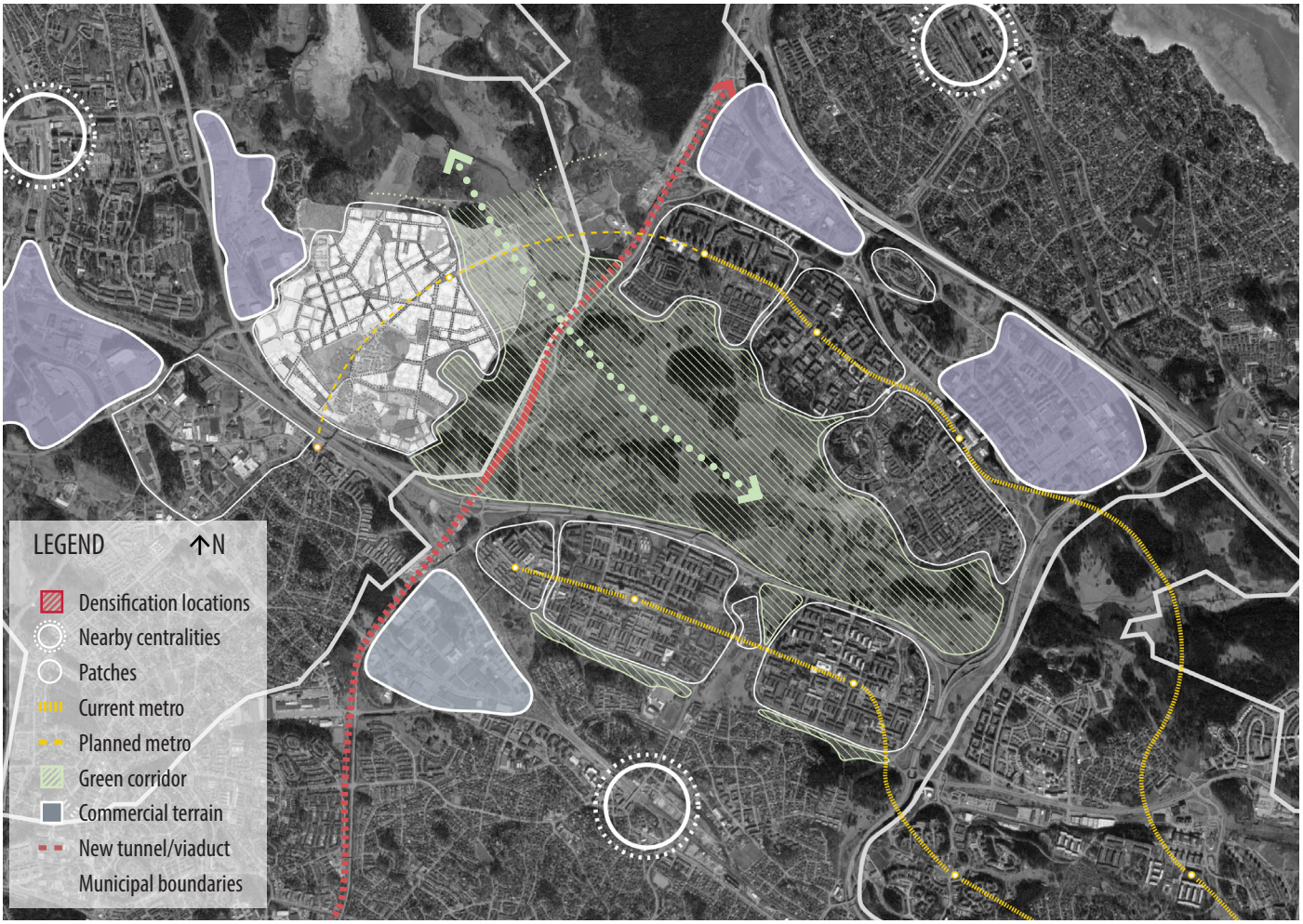


Fig. 5.5 - Current situation - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.2.1 Current situation

Currently the vulnerable neighbourhoods in the area are separated by the Järvafaltet, a green protected area that is of importance to biodiversity and therefore its continuity towards the north should be maintained. At the same time the Stockholm bypass that has been discussed previously in relation to the regional vision is being constructed, and the tunnel comes above ground in the case site area close to Barkarbystaden. There, it transitions into a viaduct and will go underground again halfway the Järvafaltet area to make sure the green connection is maintained (Trafikverket, 2018). However it takes away the possibility to physically connect Tensta with the Barkarbystaden project.

All vulnerable areas in Järva are connected by metro to the city centre, but they have little connection between themselves. Mostly separated by large patches of green, a few pedestrian routes are the only way to get from one place to another aside from the connection by car which also require quite large detours. Nearby industrial or commercial sites are pretty much exclusively separated by infrastructure lines like viaducts or rail lines.

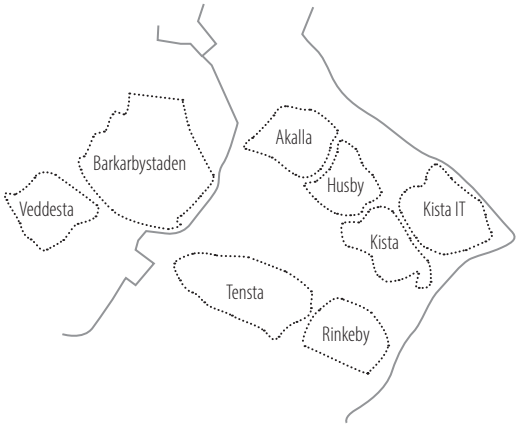


Fig. 5.6 - Current neighbourhood locations
Source: Image by author

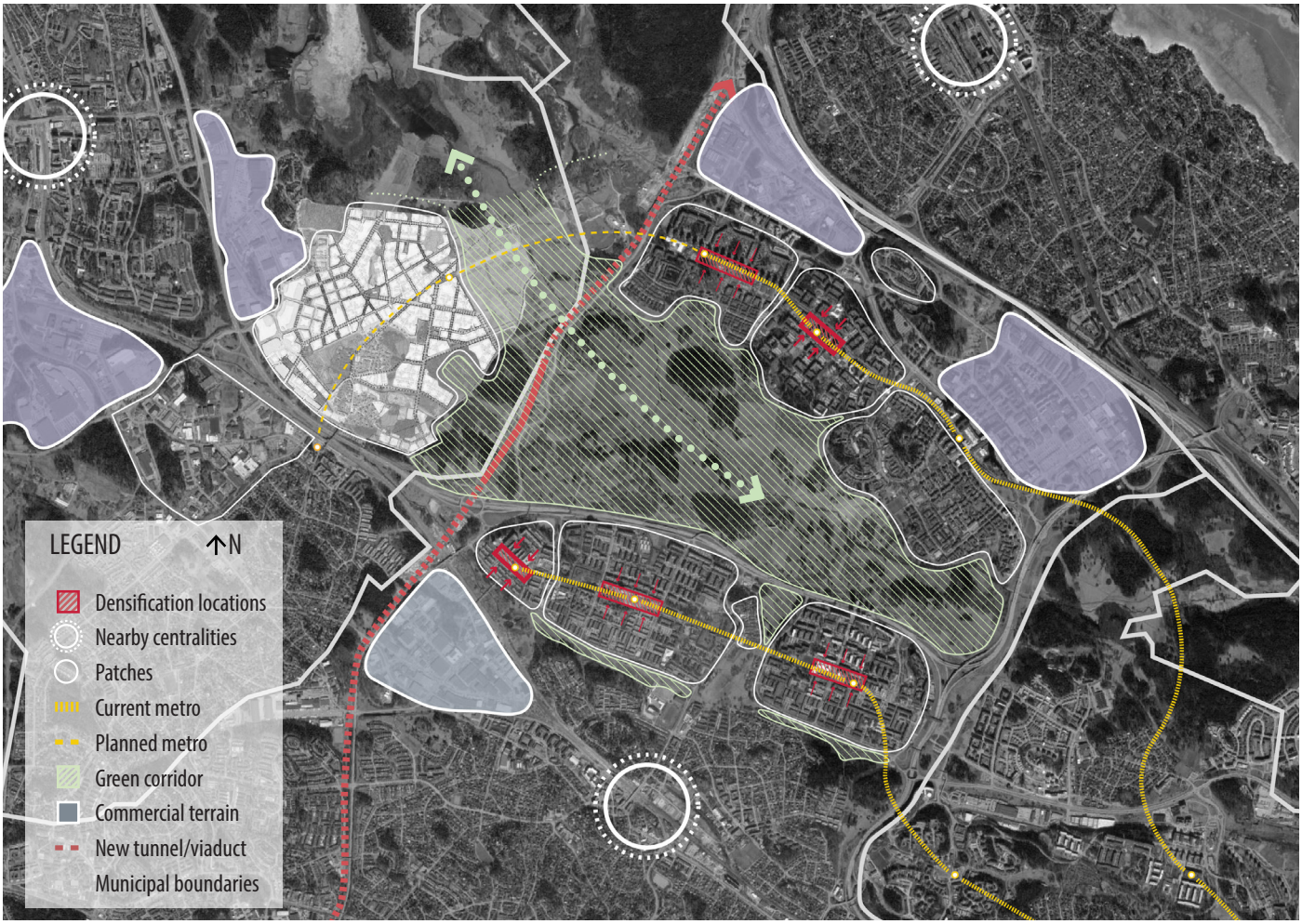


Fig. 5.7 - Point densification - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.2.2 Densifying locations with lack of amenities

In order to generate an improved sense of safety and to create more local job opportunities, more activity on the streets is beneficial to have more eyes on the street and this can be done through increased commercial spaces and amenities. The vulnerable neighbourhoods now largely lack any public services aside from absolute neccessities. This also means that it is not attractive for anyone with increased socio-economic resources to stay in the neighbourhood, let alone the opportunity to move into a larger apartment since most units are all similarly small.

Therefore a start of the strategy can be to start densification in the locations where amenities are now lacking, creating **points of attraction** that can sustain and generate leverage for new commercial development. This then strengthens the quality and attractiveness of the housing and vice versa. Raising densities increases the concentration of people in these areas creating more leverage for more local amenities. This type of point densification which depending on attractiveness might need to be carried out with public funding first can help start generate more attractiveness for private investors to start engaging on the market in these kind of areas.

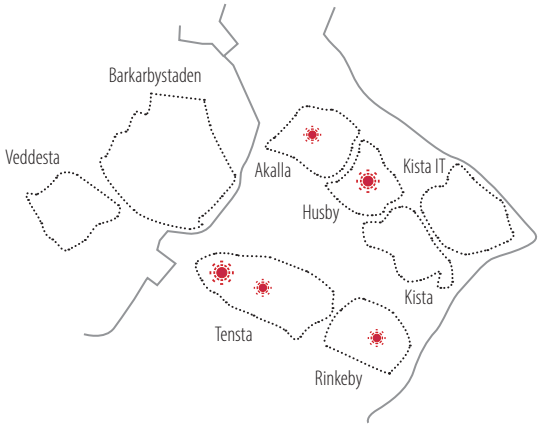


Fig. 5.7 - Generating points of attraction
Source: Image by author

5.2 Strategy testing

In-Between densification

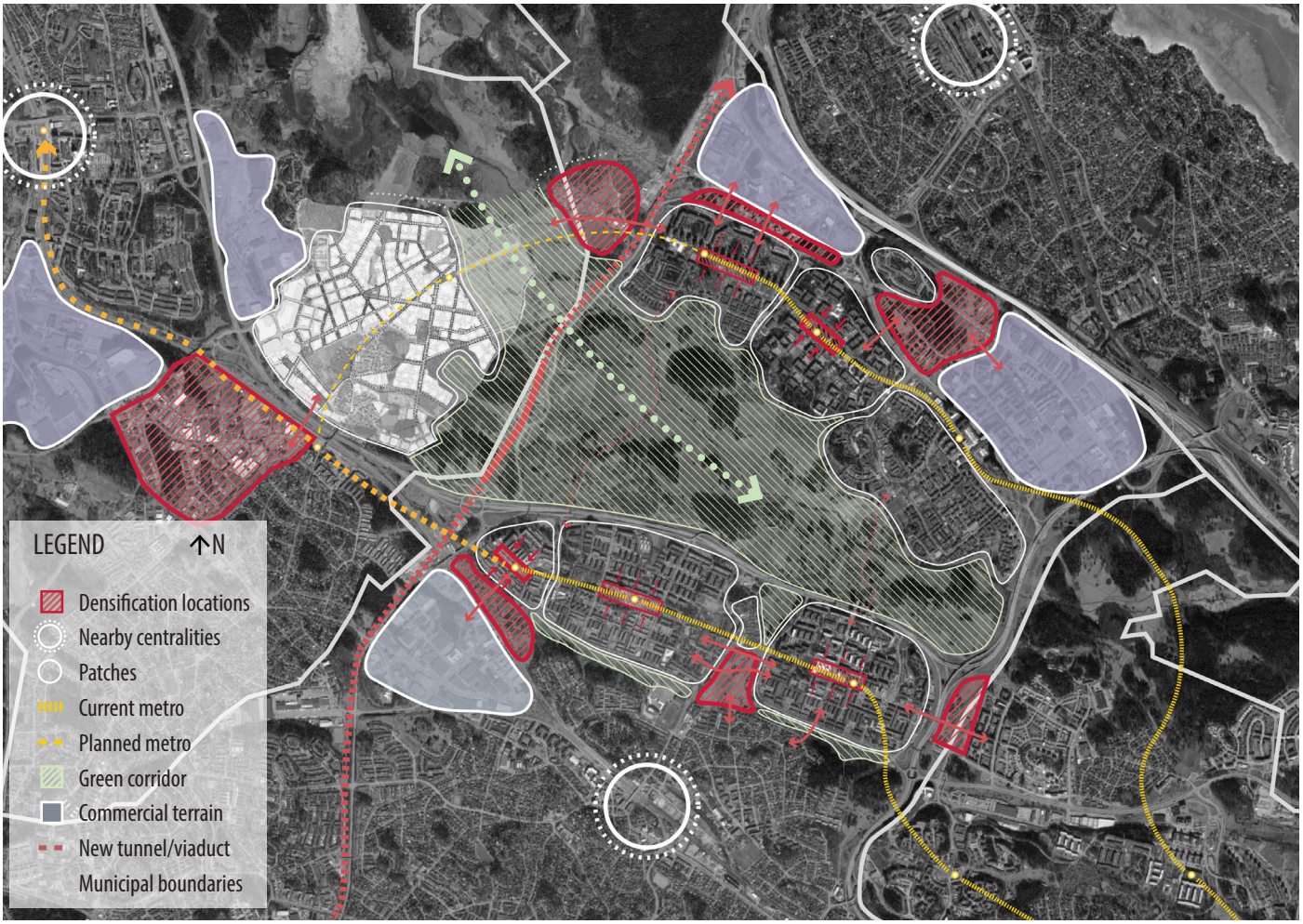


Fig. 5.8 - In-Between densification - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.2.3 Connecting the areas with surrounding urban fabric

If the points of attraction have reached a certain degree of effect where people are willing to travel towards them, the basic condition for movement in the local neighbourhood is facilitated. The areas are spatially very much disconnected from any surrounding urban fabric, especially on the south side where the areas are separated by a deserted green strip which occassionally is filled in with some sporting facilities.

Developing some of these larger plots can help to reduce the spatial separateness of these areas. Since these areas are a bit larger than the plots for the point densification strategy, they are most likely also more attractive for social cooperatives and/or private developers to build larger projects, possibly also with a larger diversity of dwellings in different price ranges. Achieving the above requires safeguarding through alterations in current planning instruments and institutional processes. These areas can then also be used to activate new cross-district routes, that can help start attract people from different sides (non-locals) to get in contact with eachother and to start reduce segregation and help build understanding.

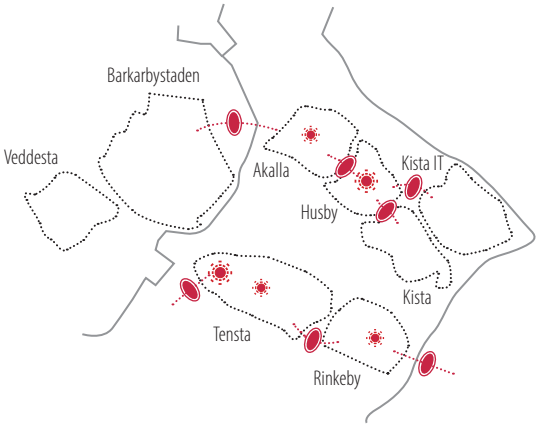


Fig. 5.9 - Connecting neighbourhoods, drawing in non-locals
Source: Image by author

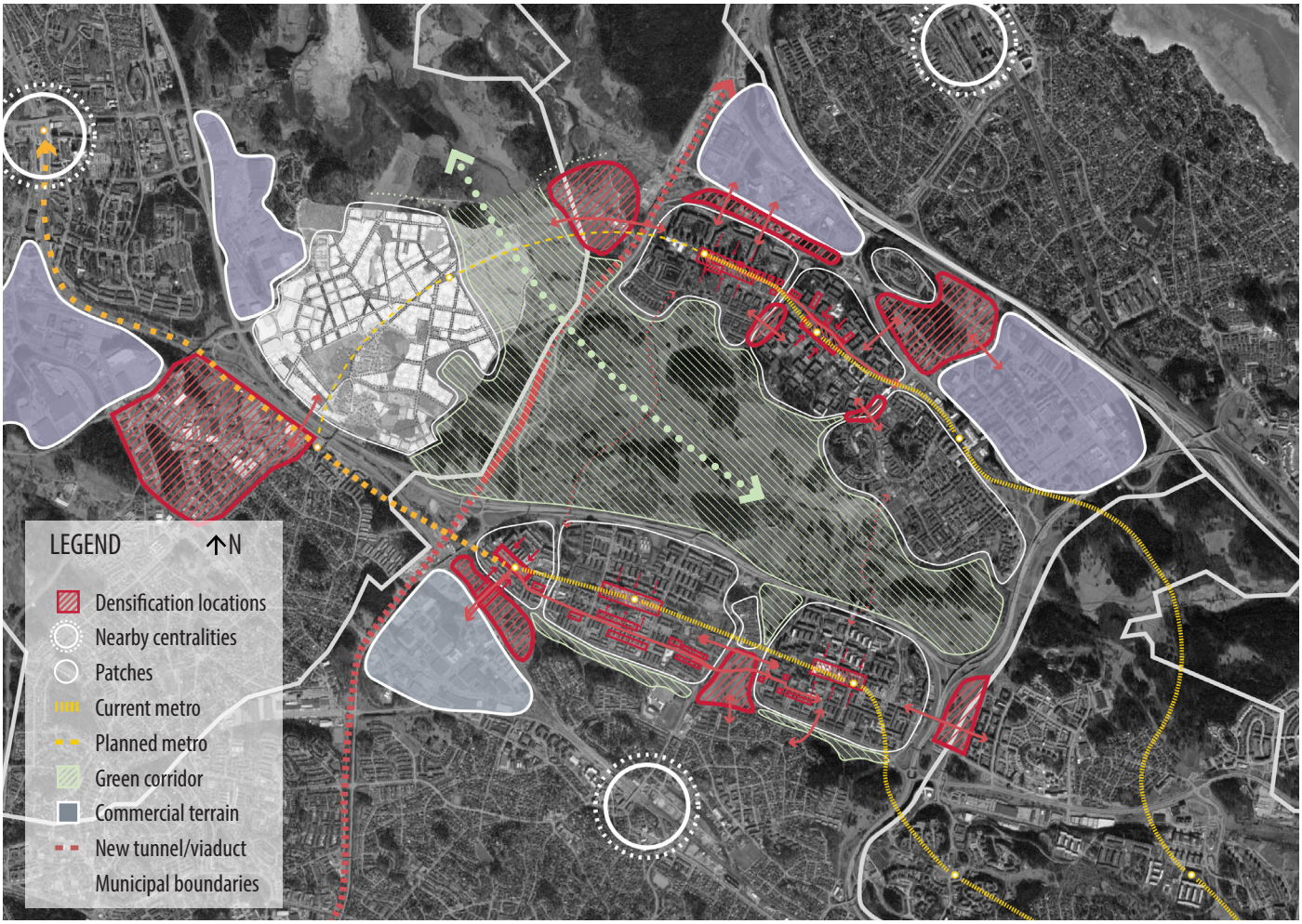


Fig. 5.10 - Line densification - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.2.4 Creating streets and lines of liveliness

When the areas have stronger points of attraction within their current cores as well as transitional areas in between that knit together the different districts (and therefore a higher density), movement along the most integrated lines (See appendix for analysis) is most likely to be effective to set up a new type of pedestrian routes or streets that links together these points of attraction and that bring more people onto the street. Non-locals now have more opportunity, but even more importantly, more reason to venture beyond their own residential neighbourhood.

Renovation along these routes can subsequently be prioritized by MHCs that own property in the vicinity of these lines and new development can be stimulated through the directional use of comprehensive plans. Meticulous execution of plans is required to generate the desired diversity and liveliness, therefore strong parameters need to be set in order to prevent projects being built that neglect their social impact on the environment.

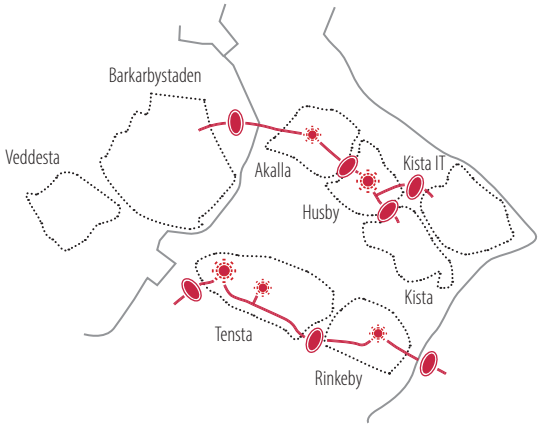


Fig. 5.11 - Creating network of urban streets and places
Source: Image by author

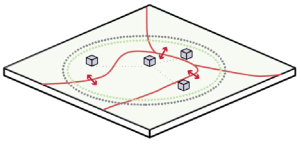
5.3 Strategy implementation

Setting parameters

5.3.1 Operationalising strategic parameters

To come to effective measures on the different scales, a combination of design and spatial policies is not sufficient to facilitate change, because the required conditions in the current planning process are lacking. Therefore it is necessary to reconsider planning instruments as well as certain administrative aspects of governance. The parameters of the current planning system need to be adjusted in such a way that proposed interventions are made possible and are also socially sustainable. Therefore a set of policies below is proposed to set up and consequently safeguard the effectiveness of the interventions. They are aimed at the following goals;

(1)Reinterpreting planning instruments - the usage of comprehensive- and detail plans as tools to stir development.
(2)Optimising governance structures - The administrative borders of territories and the way MHC's are organised within municipalities.
(3)Consolidating knowledge - The distribution and cultivation of knowledge on segregation processes among stakeholders.
(4)Redefining building and land allocation criteria - The constitution of new developments on the basis of their social impact.



Mutual CP in critical areas
Scale: Metropolitan
Layer: Governance
Fig. 5.12 - Source: image by author

5.3.2 Strengthening cross-municipal cooperation

As mentioned, the Stockholm region has been criticized by the OECD for being 'a regional mess' (Interview #4). Public authority has been decentralized to such a degree that all municipalities have ample power over their respective territories and are also primarily concerned with their own interests. This is logical and also needed, but the issues at stake on the regional scale need to be accounted for as well. The approach towards regional issues like segregation and housing shortages has been hard to coordinate whilst they pose problems to each municipality individually. Previous work has warned that decentralized housing policies could result in peripheral areas suffering from under-investment in the public sector, which will decrease their attractiveness and possibly fuel segregation processes (Andersson & Turner, 2014). In some instances municipalities already work together, for example

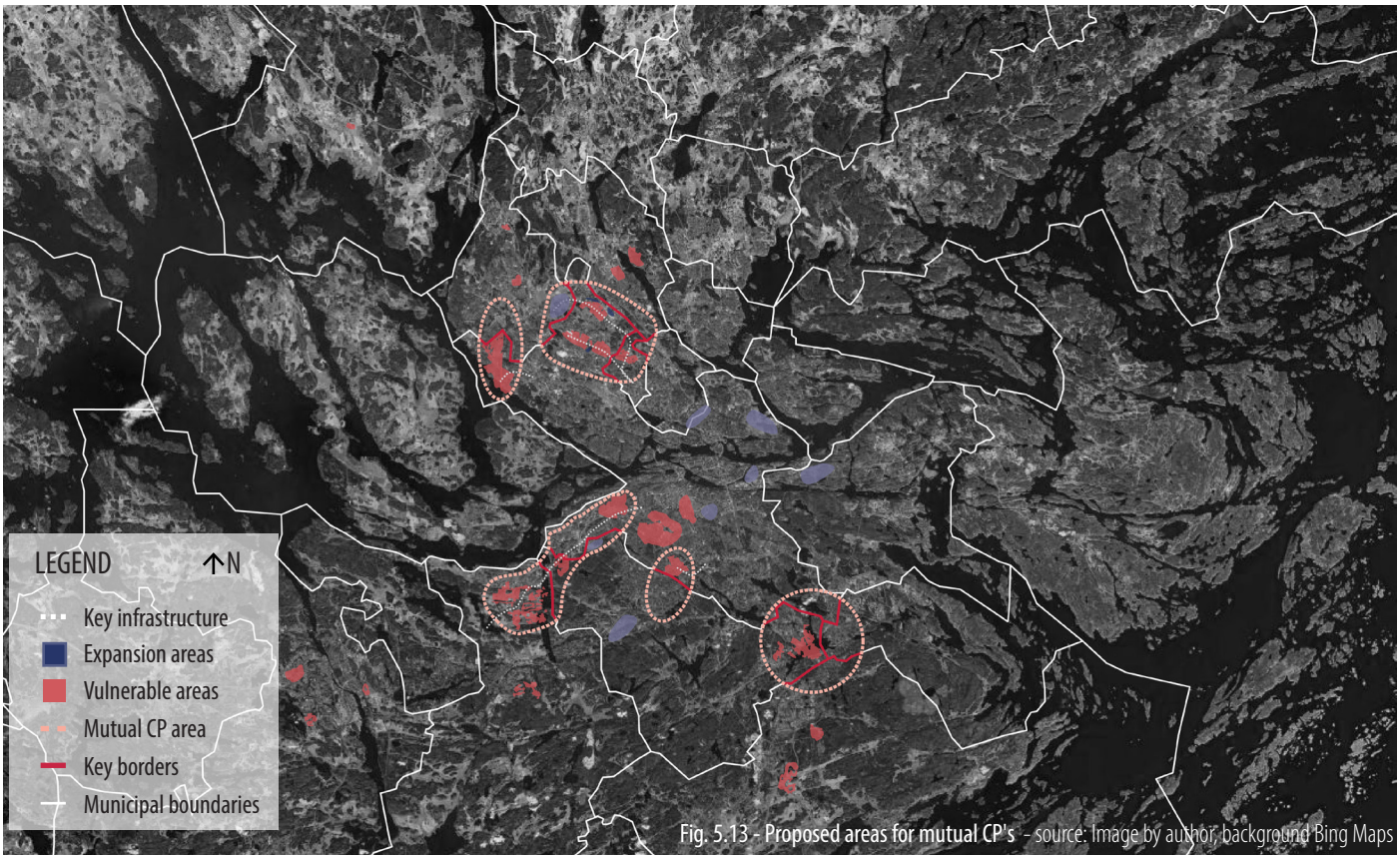


Fig. 5.13 - Proposed areas for mutual CP's - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

in the Hagastaden project previously described which is a collaboration between Stockholm and Solna municipality. However, for the largest part municipalities have been criticized for mainly pursuing their own agenda (Andersson et al, 2010; Andersson & Turner, 2014; Interview #4).

The case site analysis has shown the intricacies that arise when dealing with vulnerable areas in the peripheral zone of Stockholm, where in fact a new urban development like Barkarbystaden is in close proximity to vulnerable areas. However, the developments of the Stockholm Bypass as well as the green corridor of the Järvafaltet effectively prevent any spatial connection to be made between the different areas.

Fig. 5.14 - Restricted connections - Source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

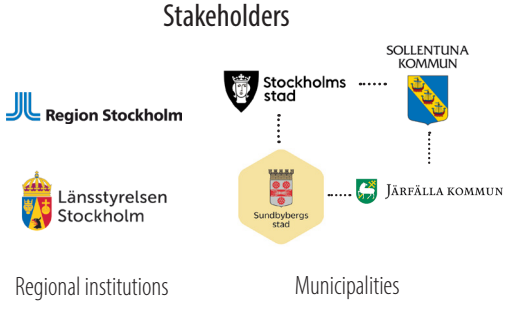
Had the layout of the plan been designed differently or had the tunnel be constructed differently, this would have been a big chance for the districts of Järva to profit from this nearby development. Now this is significantly more limited. The Stockholm bypass lies within Stockholm municipality while Barkarbystaden lies in Järfälla, see Fig 5.14. Besides the expansion of the metro from Akalla into Barkarbystaden, the spatial separateness of the areas does not contribute to more social interaction between groups or an increased attractiveness for investment in the Järva area. Residents from districts like Akalla and Husby might take the metro to go to Barkarbystaden, but probably the residents in Barkarbystaden will not go to Akalla and Husby which still leaves the core issues of the place intact.

A way to increase opportunity for vulnerable areas to profit from nearby development in bordering municipalities and to raise awareness on the regional scalarity that segregation brings along, a mutual comprehensive plan (CP) instead of separate municipal plans assigned to specific municipal boundaries is proposed. This stimulates municipalities to work more closely together and identify how development in separate administrative territories can benefit from eachother. It is proposed that municipalities for certain critical peripheral areas in which vulnerable areas are located consult adjacent municipalities plans to identify possible synergies and set up a mutual CP plan. At first instance municipalities should be let free to approach this with a certain flexibility. However, the inverse cost-benefit relationship between the different subareas is to be considered. Vulnerable areas have more to gain from new developments than vice versa, in fact municipalities might be scared to make connections with the stigmatised neighbourhoods.

This poses a dilemma, because in some cases the regional or general interest of the region as a whole would infer the importance of new physical development connecting vulnerable areas to reduce spatial separateness. It is however also likely that politicians are less keen on suchlike projects, and whether flexibility in the formulation of mutual comprehensive plans is desirable to come to effective solutions.

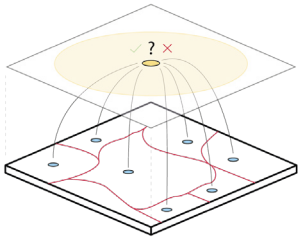
One way to remove the political argument is by imposing mutual CP's in nationally designated areas as well as cross-checks by regional institutions (See next page). It also however the question whether imposing such new responsibility on municipalities will not be met with reluctance and disfavour towards higher institutions, because it restricts their local power. The most likely way to find out what works best is to stimulate municipalities on their own terms first to see if they are willing to cooperate more. Municipalities do have an obvious gain in these potential collaborations, but the question is if that is still the case one of two parties has more to gain than the other. This requires a trial and error process, where flexibility and freedom need to be weighted to a more restrictive approach if that brings better results.

> *"Not every municipality takes it responsibility, they do not want to build affordable housing. Municipalities perhaps have too much power. (Regional) planners do not have the 'sticks' to do anything."*
> ***- Interviewee #8***



5.3 Strategy implementation

Setting parameters



Cross-checking content of plans
Scale: Metropolitan
Layer: Governance
Fig. 5.15 - Source: image by author

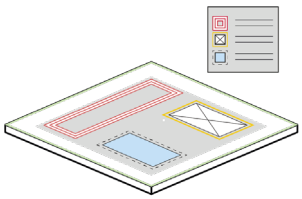
5.3.3 Cross-checking to safeguard multi-level interests

Decentralisation of power has historically been a key characteristic of the Swedish planning system and enabled for municipalities to tailor to local concerns. The regional level of governance has on the contrary historically been lacking, simply because of the fact that Sweden is sparsely populated and regional governance is of little concern for the largest part of the country. However, in the Stockholm metropolitan region the regional level of planning has been growing as apparant through the formulation of the regional vision RUFS 2050 (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015).

There have been calls for a more holistic approach in order to make social sustainability an integrated part of the planning process (Frederiksson, as cited in Lundström et al, 2013; Interview #8). It is proposed that content and alignment of comprehensive plans could benefit from a regional cross-check. As of now, Länstyrelsen Stockholm receives new comprehensive plans and checks them on the legal basis, but does not review the content of the plans (Interview #2). The suggestion would be to have the Growth and Regional Planning Administration (TRF) at Regio Stockholm not only formulate the vision but also make sure that CP's are in alignment with each other as well as in alignment with the regional vision. In particular mutual comprehensive plans would be of extra interest to have cross-checked on the regional level, to monitor social impact on the regional scale more closely. This way municipals plans can also be matched accordingly to the regional vision.

It is proposed to, in an initial stage, let municipalities deal with this point of attention themselves first. This means they can set up mutual agreements on their own terms. This ensures flexibility for their working methods and does not frighten them with more hierarchy in their decision-making process. This set-up will be evaluated over time and be tested based on the effectiveness. If it turns out municipalities are not able to achieve considerable progress themselves, it can be imposed to have a more regulatory approach. Then it is proposed that an overarching institution like Länstyrelsen does not check the legal basis of the plan but also the content and possibly joins at the discussion table for segregation related issues in the region. In order to persuade municipalities to voluntarily engage in mutual CP's, several incentives schemes with appropriate funding could be used. When it comes to interventions central to the topic of segregation, (1)**the state funding distributed by Delmos** could be used. On top of that, (2) **Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) could be used as a funding and operational tool from the EU level** to support the integration of the strategy in the case site and to support transition towards new cross-border cooperation (Urban European Knowledge Network, 2014). At the writing of this project (2020) there will be a new round of subsidies distributed for the period 2020-2026, a real opportunity for the region to apply for additional financial resources.

Stakeholders



Redesigning CPs
Scales: National, Metropolitan
Layer: Governance

Fig. 5.16 - Source: image by author

5.3.4 Redesigning comprehensive and detail plans

The usage of the CP and DPs as planning instruments has been criticized. CPs are supposed to be updated regularly, but no legislation exists to ensure this, nor is it checked when they are updated since municipalities make these decisions themselves (Hedström & Lundström, cited in Lundstrom et al, 2013). Third, they are seemingly used more to attract investors than to guide socially sustainable development (Interview #4). Lastly, a planning process where a legally binding DP is only made in the final stage of a development initiative can be described as adhoc and insufficiently anticipatory to achieving sustainable growth in the region. In Figures 5.17 & 5.18 we see two comprehensive plans from Stockholm and Solna. Not only do they clearly differ graphically, they also seem to convey different messages.

The Stockholm land-use map is a lot more grafted towards zoning, mapping the desirable development and connection but in a very limited way. No distinction is made in desired functions or land use, nor does it show any type of prioritization over which areas would be most strategic. The Solna land-use map on the contrary seems to be primarily mapping current situations

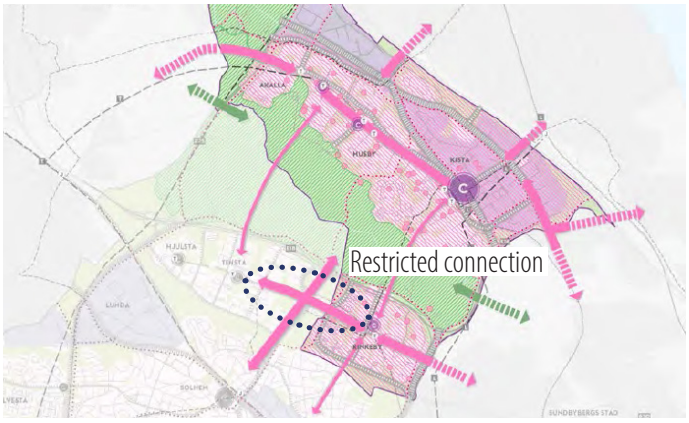


Fig. 5.17 - Part of Stockholm comprehensive plan - Source: City of Stockholm (2016)

Fig. 5.18 - Part of Solna comprehensive plan - Source: City of Solna (2016)

and the location of current development that has already been approved. It appears to more of a thorough analysis of the current situation and its possibilities, but does not take position in what strategic interventions the municipality would like to see happening.

Firstly, In accordance with Hedström & Lundstrom (as cited in Lundström et al, 2013), it is proposed to **(1)change the role of the CP** into an instruments that not only concerns actual allocation of land-use development but also as **a strategic tool to map risks and possibilities** that give citizens insight in the consultation process. In addition to this, it means that municipalities are forced to take a more pro-active stance in their land-use policies. The CP gets a more strategic and anticipatory character.

We see in current plans that zoning does not extend beyond terms of assigning areas for addition, transformation and connection but not what form this should take. It lacks statements on important local conditions. An example of this is the marked connection of the Tensta and Rinkeby centralities. The local analysis however has indicated that there is a big hurdle here in the form of the Spånga churchyard which is a historic site (See section 4.3). This further stress the ineffectiveness of the document when it lacks a prospective approach. This mismatch also seems a result of ineffective administrative division and further strengthens the need for a new division as proposed in section 5.3.5.

A more strategic-oriented CP will assure better preparation in negotiation with potential developers and contractees and this can help municipalities set more clear criteria on what requirements are instated for a project, to the benefit of the city's social capital and sustainable growth. It should also ensure more competition among parties, to improve affordability and reduce construction costs (Höglund, 2018). The strategic CP can be more of a lever for planners to pull to stir development more strongly.

Second, it is proposed to set up clear rules and guidelines that comprehensive plans need to comply with on a national level with regards to **(2)level of detail** the plan entails. This means requirements can be set on aspects such as but not limited to programme, function, building heights and typologies, tenure types. This assures that comprehensive plans are uniform in their appearance and content. Zoned areas are more strongly specified in terms of desired use, supported by a clear argument. This improves legibility both for residents and planning professionals and furthermore it helps to align comprehensive plans amongst eachother. This is especially crucial in larger metropolitan regions like Stockholm.

Third, this means the CP will (3)**gain a legal framework**, on which plans can be tested and also prohibited if they are not in alignment with the zoning requirements. Instead, the detail plan remains the legal basis for the contract between municipality and contractee. It means that the CP can then be used as a way to really steer development by zoning land up front with certain conditions that foster the sustainable growth and city diversity that is aimed for, instead of private parties reacting on a plan and having plenty of opportunity to divert from the plan. This means the municipality gains pedigree in project negotiations.

> *"We can't continue to work the way that we have done the past thirty years. The market will never build apartments for low-income groups. The government must take a role in this system.*
> ***- Interviewee #2***

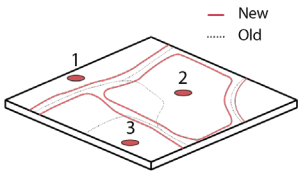
Stakeholders

Boverket

Municipalities

5.3 Strategy implementation

Optimising governance structures



New municipal district division
Scale: Intermediate
Layer: Governance

Fig. 5.19 - Source: image by author

5.3.5 Järva as a municipal district

As of now, the Södra Järvastaden areas have been separated into two different districts, the Rinkeby-Kista district and the Spånga-Tensta district. For multiple reasons this division can be called fairly odd. The division seems to stem from a historical basis which is not in line anymore with contemporary consideration. Spånga used to be a farming village, of which the 12th century church is located in modern-day Tensta (Municipality of Stockholm, n.d.e). Nowadays however, the demographics of Tensta are completely different than that of the Spånga neighbourhood. Tensta is home to many people of foreign background and mostly low-income groups, whilst Spånga is a middle-high income area with mainly native Swedish inhabitants. This creates conflict in decision-making as well as accessibility of information. In 2007 the district offices have been moved from Tensta to Spånga which have signalised abandonment to the local population of Tensta (Interpeace, 2014). Furthermore the distance and travel time towards the new office is quite long for people from Tensta, let alone the question if people actually know where they can find the municipal office if they struggle with the language. This is also the case for residents of Rinkeby, whose municipal office is located at the other side of the Järvafaltet area. They have to take a 20 minute bus ride or take a 30-40 minute walk to get there.

By incorporating Tensta into the Rinkeby-Kista district and setting up a new sub-district office in-between Tensta and Rinkeby the accessibility and visibility of the offices in the Södra Järvastaden can be greatly improved. This new district division is more suitable to current day conditions because it respects the present demographics and does not linger on the historic relations between zones. This does not mean the Järva area should separate itself from surrounding municipalities and districts, in fact the opposite should be sought after. The strategy proposed also deals with this aspect of spatial separateness. Nevertheless, singling Järva into a separate district should help provide parameters for a more focused and undistracted approach from the civil departments.

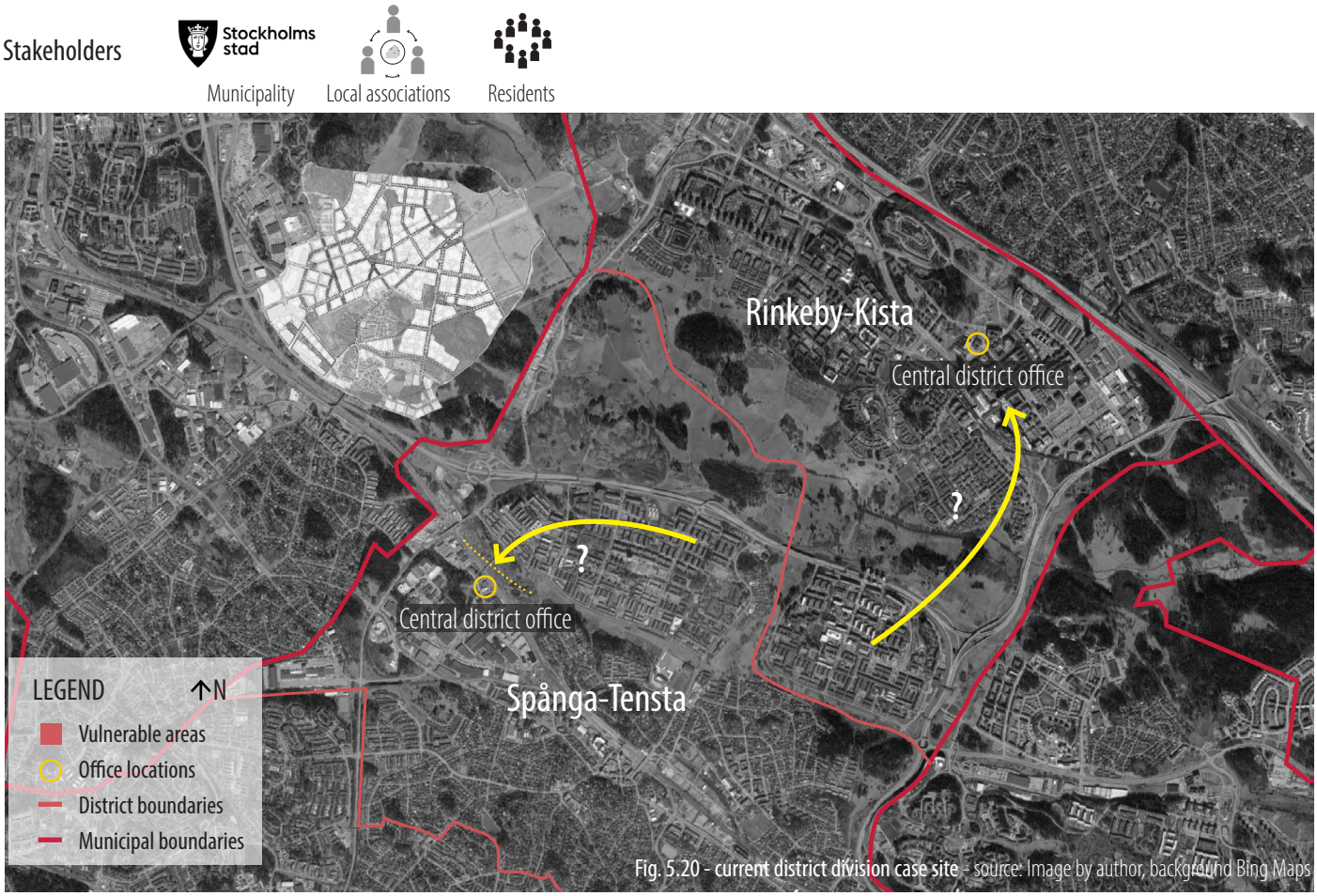
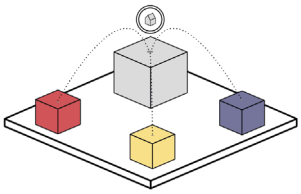


Fig. 5.20 - current district division case site - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps



Area-based MHC
Scale: Intermediate
Layer: Governance

Fig. 5.21 - Source: image by author

F5.3.6 Focalised public housing assets

As of now, the municipality of Stockholm owns a set of different municipal housing companies that construct and manage public housing assets. These operate within the Stockholm municipal boundaries but at very different extents and locations. In other instances in Sweden, the centralization of public housing into a single area-based unit has been successful at formulating an incremental, long-term approach when it comes to directing public funding in vulnerable areas. An example is Gårdsten in Göteborg, Sweden's second largest city. This is also an area from the Millions Programme era, very much separated spatially from the rest of the city and with similar issues to the Järva area. In 1997, the municipality set-up an area-based MHC named 'Gårdstenbostäder' which has been widely credited for their contribution and efforts to the neighbourhood. Since last year, the area is no longer listed in the heighest severity category and crime rates have decreased by 20% in the last two years (GöteborgDirekt.se, 2019). They have also put residents in the board, to make sure the experiences of the local communities are represented (Source: Interview #3).

Examples that provide likewise results are worthwhile investigating their transferability to the situation in Järva. The solidification of a new stakeholder representing the future development potential in the area and furthermore maintaining a local head office in the neighbourhood can improve transparency in decision-making and support public participation. This new MHC of 'Järvabostäder' could become a central spider in the web of stakeholders that catalyzes development and is able to synergize input from different actors and levels of scale. In accordance with the other listed strategic policy, this MHC could also provide job opportunities for locals which will be indispensable at providing local knowledge and expertise on the lifestyles of Järva's inhabitants and the value of public spaces.

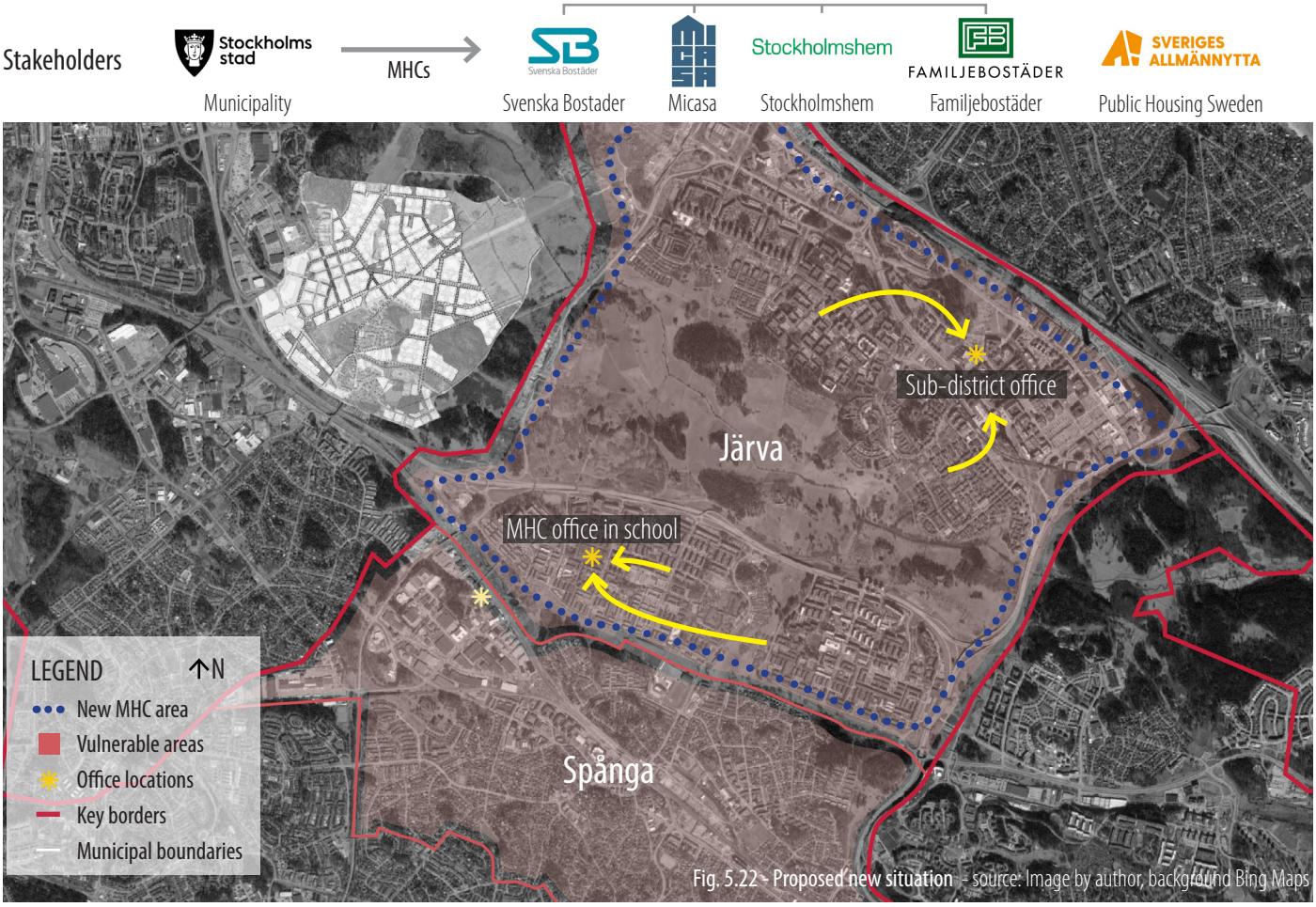
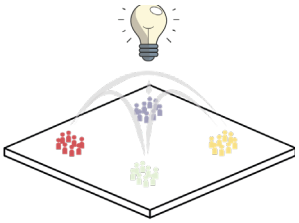


Fig. 5.22 - Proposed new situation - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.3 Strategy implementation

Consolidating knowledge



Segregation knowledge platform
Scale: National, metropolitan
Layer: Governance, social

Fig. 5.23 - Source: image by author

5.3.7 Increasing awareness in socio-spatial interrelations

The analysis has concluded that the understanding of the interrelational aspect of segregation processes is insufficiently developed or is not yet adequately represented in the planning process. Therefore it is important to increase the knowledge on how segregation comes into play and to raise awareness of its consequences if it is not tackled effectively.

At the moment the Delegation against Segregation organisation (Delmos) is a small governmental agency with about ten employees. They have been tasked with the division of governmental grants to regions, municipalities and non-profit institutions to fund initiatives that combat socio-economic segregation. At the same time they have been struggling in recent years with uncertainty of funding following recent parliamentary elections and even a pending closure of the agency (Interview #7). Therefore the first recommendation would be to capitalize on the potential of this organisation and **(1)use funding to expand its capacity** so it can actually start acting as a 'spider in the web' in between all the different stakeholders. On one side this means increased information input from NGOs, labour and research agencies. Currently the agency has been working on the setting up of a knowledge network among municipalities across the country. This type of collaboration is a very good step, but to deal with segregation in metropolitan regions the regional perspective and scope of action is needed as well. This also means the awareness that segregation is a regional issue that also concerns municipalities whom in itself have no segregation related-issues, usually the wealthier ones simply because different people live in different places (Nilsson & Hagred, as cited in Lundstrom et al, 2013). It requires a common effort and willingness to participate. **(2)Participation in a regional municipal network** could in that sense perhaps be more effective to deal with the contextual aspect of segregation in Swedish metropolitan regions.

Furthermore, Delmos has been working on a follow-up system to monitor

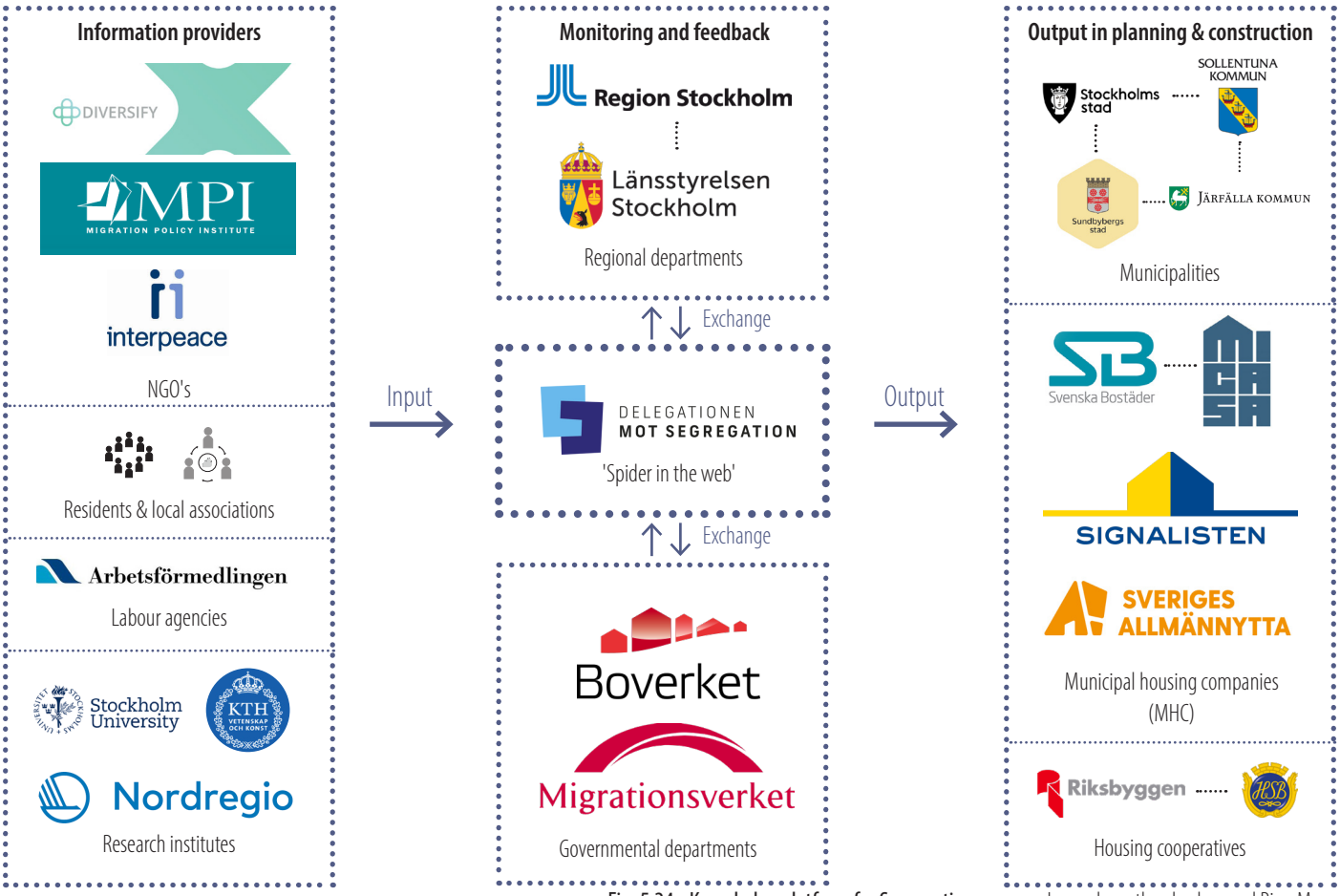


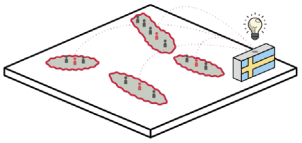
Fig. 5.24- Knowledge platform for Segregation - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

the development of segregation in Swedish society. This could possibly be **(3)linked with the data provided by the Södertörnmodellen project** in which KTH, Nordregio and Region Stockholm take part (Södertörnmodellen, 2019). This project has social sustainability as a key focus, which links to a large degree with the concept of segregation (see section 2.1). Importing data on segregation in this model as well as further using it as an open-source information tool (as it already is now) for the region, municipalities and related stakeholders could help better inform decision-making.

Lastly, it is important to not only make stakeholders aware but to improve awareness in general (also among the public) how segregation affects how we live and how it widens inequalities in society. Currently Delmos already has a website where information is shared. It is proposed to **(4) expand this website to a cross-institutional knowledge-sharing platform**, where (research) literature on segregation can be published, best examples of projects can be showcased and where interviews with experts and residents can be recorded. Stakeholders like NGOs and researchers can use this as a platform for their work whilst at the same time serving as an educational webpage. Aim is to make the concept of segregation less abstract and more understandable for the public, and for institutions to have quick access to information and data. This could help effectuate the planning process, so that Delmos is not required to attend a multitude of meetings with their limited human resources. It can furthermore provide visibility to the evaluation process of the follow-up monitoring system and the Södertörnmodellen previously described.

All in all it means that Delmos becomes **a more comprehensive agency** that becomes a central knowledge institute on segregation, rather than just a monitor and distributor of grants. Their input can than start to more significantly influence the elaboration of individual projects as well as inform urban policy by ministeries like Boverket. This can catalyze change on different levels of governance and among different stakeholders. Step by step these small changes can start accounting for a better understanding and consideration of segregation and its interrelational aspect as an **integrated part of the planning process**.

"There is a tendency to use social sustainability in the context of individual projects, both from a personal perspective but also spatially, you take one area here and there. It is still far away from being integrated in the planning process"
- Interviewee #8



Hiring local area managers
Scale: Local
Layer: Social

Fig. 5.25 - Source: image by author

5.3.8 Public characters as points of contact

In order to make well-informed decisions, municipalities and local district offices require on-site knowledge to know what is at play in vulnerable areas like Järva. However, most of the workers at the municipality are outsiders themselves to the area and have an outsiders perspective. The apparant disconnect between residents and institutions (municipality on the one hand and security forces on the other hand) has lead to mutual distrust and has created the feeling of a tokenistic approach towards these areas. People need to be informed first in order for them to participate. Because of poverty and lack of language skills sometimes these groups are hard to reach.
Jane Jacobs described **the need for self-appointed public figures** in neigbourhoods, because their effect on social interaction is multitude. She argued that '**word does not move around where public characters and sidewalk life is lacking**' (Jacobs, 1961). This means for public authority that the ability for public characters to stand up have to be shaped by, again, adding to city diversity and active street life. Furthermore it means that those public characters that are in place need to be capitalized on, and that hiring them onto the district board and/or local planning offices (also for MHCs) is of vital importance to bridge the gap of communication between the vulnerable inhabitants and the different levels of decision-making. By appointing these public figures as 'area managers', they become the first person of contact for initiatives of new development in the area but also for residents who want to be informed on running projects. This is a way of working already applied elsewhere in Europe, for example in municipalities in the Netherlands.

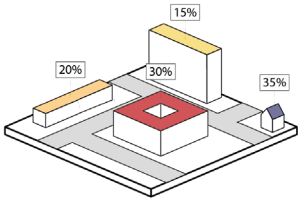
Stakeholders

Stockholms stad — Municipality
Local associations
Residents

"The people are not really involved in the decisions that the municipality may take. There is a real feeling of disconnect. Often the workers from the municipality do not even live in these areas, even they are outsiders and they don't really know what it's like to live in Tensta. Hiring more people from the community could help a lot."
- Interviewee #11

5.3 Strategy implementation

Building and land allocation criteria



Housing policy reforms
Scale: National, Metropolitan
Layer: Governance

Fig. 5.26 - Source: image by author

5.3.9 Setting improved conditions for affordability

As explained in section 2.1, the housing market in Stockholm (and in Sweden in general) is dealing with issues regarding construction and affordability. These issues are leading to housing shortages and segregation, as the city is becoming more and more unaffordable for low income-groups (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2019; Interview #2, Interview #10). Moreover, not every municipality is contributing to this regional issue with more affluent municipalities being very reluctant to build housing for lower incomes (Interview #2, Interview #4). Short term initiatives like modular construction homes, for example the 'Snabba hus' project, have been realised but these are not permanent or long-term solutions (Svenska Bostader, n.d.). A reconsideration of housing policies is needed.

The first proposal is for a nationwide legislation that allows regional authorities (In this case Länstyrelsen Stockholm) to (1)**set percentages on price classes in dwellings in different municipalities**. These percentages can be adjusted according to the local situation to tackle the shortage of housing in the different segments and to achieve a more equal balance. These could be incorporated in the new comprehensive plans to guide new development. The most important parameter would be the price ranges since affordability is of primary concern. In current public projects the division seems to be around 40-20-40% for low- middle and high segments. This seems like fairly good division when taking in account high construction costs (Housing Europe, 2019). However for private development percentages will probably be tilted towards more expensive properties. Also more middle segment housing is desirable to make a full housing career possible. A 40-30-30% balance would seem to be most ideal, however there will always be a trade-off. A way to compensate for lower revenue of private companies can be achieved if the municipality is willing to settle for less profit from land allocation. Stockholm could consider this strategy to better mix the city in terms of dwelling types.

The second proposal is the exploitation of a new rental-ownership idea which is now used as an experiment among social cooperatives, namely **(2) the 'Hyrköp' concept**, literally translated as 'rental-buy' concept. Within this agreement, tenants rent a property for an agreed amount of years after which they gain the possibility to buy the ownership rights. Why this concept? In fig. 5.27 the difference between the construction models of tenant-rental rights and tenant ownership are compared. Rental properties could be provided at lower rates, but they are very hard to finance because they require a lot of investment up front whilst the tenant-ownership model is financially more secure and requires less bank loans to realise. As a result, pretty much all construction currently is build according to this latter model. The affordability is a lot lower, because now the tenants need to bring in the money first. This is problematic for a number of reasons. Mortgages in Sweden requires buyers to bring 15% of the total sum to the table in cash (Grundström & Molina, 2016; Interview #10). Because rents are high, people are usually not able to save up this amount within reasonable time. The Hyrköp concept would help alleviate this stress for potential buyers and allow them to save some money. This model is mostly aimed at the middle-incomes that are able to save up money over time. However, rental properties will always be needed to sustain universal entrance to housing, in particular for the lowest income groups. Now that private developers and cooperatives are resorting to this second model, the only party left constructing new *Hyresrätter* models are MHCs. However, they are not able to deal with the huge demand, as the municipal queues at the moment are as high as ten years in some cases (Interviews #2, #6 and #8). It is strongly recommended in this project that the government

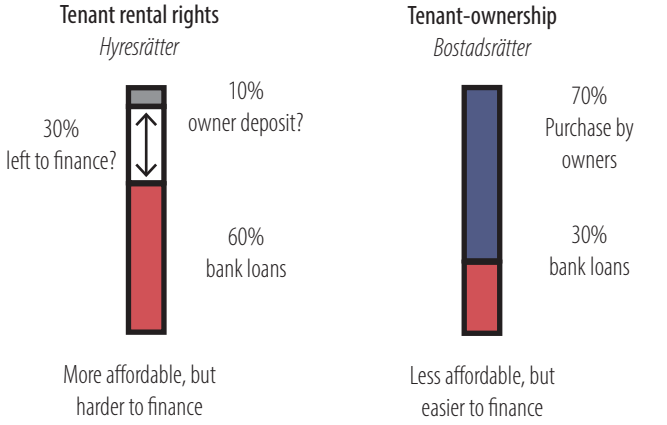


Fig. 5.27 - Construction models - Source: Image by author based on Interview #10

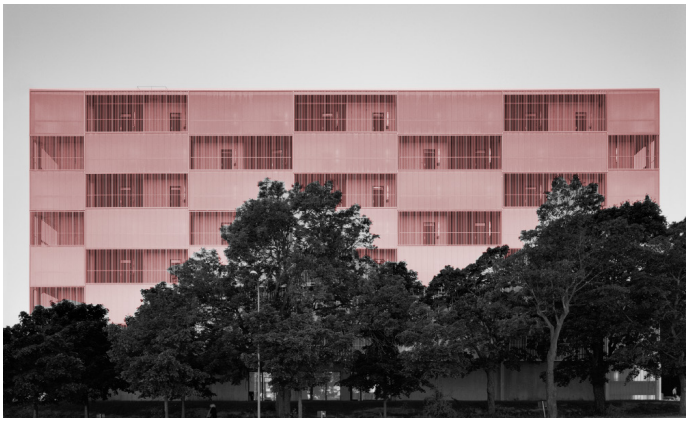


Fig. 5.28 - Snabba Hus - Source: Andreas Martin Löf-Arkitekter (n.d.)

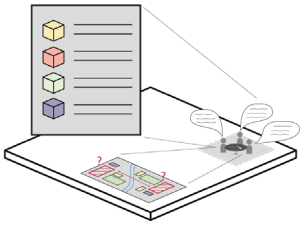
thoroughly (3)**considers and investigates the need for a social housing sector**. The current market system now leaves the role of the MHC redundant if their supply is universal since they are not by any means equipped against the monetary artillery of private developers. Therefore a social housing sector would remove the argument of unfair competition previously used against subsidized housing. Other social housing models like the model used in the Netherlands can be considered (Housing Europe, 2019). All in all, the policies are aimed at manoeuvring as efficiently as possible in the current market-based system and protecting the current instruments the authorities still have to improve affordability and consequently prevent segregation through a lack of choice and housing supply.

Stakeholders

Boverket
Boverket

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm
County Board

Stockholms stad
Municipalities



Social impact assessment
Scale: National
Layer: Governance

Fig. 5.29 - Source: image by author

5.3.10 Social sustainability integrated in the planning process

The planning process in Sweden has not been able to answer segregation concerns effectively so far, and has been criticized for using economic, architectural and environmentally-based solutions to tackle segregation (Buser & Koch, 2014). Environmental impact assessments are strongly regulated, whilst social factors are not yet fully integrated in the planning process (Lundström et al, 2013; Interview #8). To achieve a balance between people, planet and profit, a social impact assessment is proposed that can be used as a reference towards economic and environmental assessments.

So how should such a social impact assessment work? Naturally this is a **two-sided approach**, with the municipality and its coordinating role on the one hand and the contractors and their executive role on the other hand. It should require contractors to think about the social impact of their plans before they submit them, and at the same time allow municipalities to check and assess whether the planned proposal is suitable for the site specific context. It is assumable that not all developing parties are fully equipped to be able to oversee the consequences of their intervention on all different scales and across all different fields. This is logical and not a reproach, it simply means collaboration is needed in formulating a joint approach.

For the executive party or contractors, this requires them to along with their proposal deliver a set of information or argumentation on several different aspects. The first would be a (1)**sound overview and argumentation on the target groups** they aim to attract and how this fits the comprehensive plan set by the municipality. The second would be (2)**a vision or reflection on how people would live here and how they use the space.**

For the municipality it means performing (3)**analyses to evaluate the urban design on different scales** with tools like the PST tool in GIS. Examples are:
- the connectivity of the network in relation to its surroundings, to prevent spatial separateness in new projects;
- the position of amenities in the project, to make sure they are well-reached and are strategically located to prevent run-down of safety, interaction and local employment opportunities;
- the relation between the density of people and the services provided to make sure that the size and catchment of amenities is realistically supported.

In short, it means investigating and testing whether it will be likely that the design will realise the proposed vision on use of space. Furthermore it could be useful as well to see how the area attracts or deters non-locals and whether or not this is desireable.

All in all, the project is evaluated on its potential to generate diversity (and therefore indirectly economic opportunity) as explained in section 4.6. However, this assessment should present a strong focus on social aspects and should only in a later stage be combined with economic and environmental assessments, to make sure the information is understood separately and in relation to other considerations.

This impact assessment is supported by the other set of policies proposed in this project. For example, the open-source information platform on segregation in combination with the Södertornmodellen can provide private parties with heaps of information that they can utilise and strengthen their proposals from a social side. The new functions proposed for the planning instruments will help to clarify what a municipality expects and desires from certain projects in certain locations. By changing the functions of planning instruments and resorting to a more anticipatory model, this hopefully also creates increased competition which will be to the benefit of affordability and quality of the project. Lastly, the reforms in housing policy can make new housing more accessible to lower-income groups and therefore reduce propensities for segregation in new projects.

Stakeholders

Boverket
Boverket

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm
County Board

Stockholms stad
Municipalities

5.4 Typology of design spaces

Places with the highest potential

5.4.1 Defining concept spaces

Within the time frame of the project it is not possible to completely redesign the entire case site. However, it aims to create a work of reference that can also be utilised in other vulnerable areas other than the case site. This ensures that some degree of transferability will be possible to other areas as well, whilst considering what is general in the region and what is specific in the case site. Therefore this project opts for an approach that aims to capitalize on the potential of a certain set of spaces that are prevalent and characteristic for vulnerable areas in the region, and the spaces in the case site act as the example to show the potential of these spaces when reconsidering the original qualities of the Million programme estates.

Five different types of spaces are identified, namely centralities, community spaces, pedestrian routes, parking garages and in-between areas. All of these spaces have a different atmosphere and character, each with their own functionality and potential. Through overlaying data from the network and the current functions in the area, several sub-locations can be identified that provide the highest strategic potential where development should be focalised. Through linking the data from the network, the composition of the urban fabric and the location of the defined spaces, potentials of the different spaces can be connected to come to strategic interventions. This is showcased in three smaller design sites which will be elaborated in the next section.

Types of spaces

1. Centrality

2. Community spaces

3. In-between areas

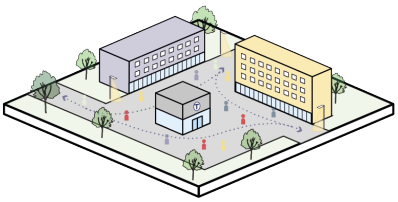
4. Parking garages

5. Pedestrian routes

Fig. 5.30 - Source: Images by author or from Google streetview

1. Centralities

Spaces of encounter



Description

Areas around modes of transport that connect the neighbourhood on the metropolitan scale or that serve the use as a local service center that facilitates the basic amenities for residents. (supermarket, chemists, local shops etc.) These spaces are places where (unintended) encounters occur between local residents.

Current issues

Some of the current centralities in the area lack the conditions to facilitate city diversity and opportunity for social interaction, for example through a lack of amenities, their position in the network or simply by insufficient density in the district. This is a missed opportunity to generate local employment and social capital, especially since the metro connection to the city is there.

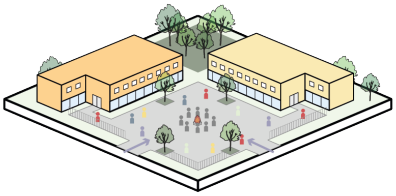
Fig.5.30 - Centrality
Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Desired qualities

A centrality possesses the conditions to facilitate the highest degree of 'urban life' in the suburbs. It is preferable that it has a wide range of amenities, provides some employment and has a good connection with the public transport system. It should have facilities to meet up for a quick drink or meal, but also a wide range of shops that will prevent people as much as possible from having to travel large distances to get specific products. It provides a balance between indoor and outdoor facilities, to ensure the possibility for lively streets in both summer and winter. Public spaces are well maintained, have sufficient seating elements and are locally accessible on foot.

2. Community spaces

Spaces of gathering



Description

The environment in and around educational institutions, like schools and libraries plus community homes and sports facilities. They are characterized by facilitating opportunities of gathering; both formal and informal events can be organised in these spaces at set times, making them accessible to all residents.

Current issues

At the moment already some schools have been upgraded in terms of physical appearance. However the only high school in the whole area has been closed. Furthermore some community houses have closed and those which are still open are located in unbeknown places.

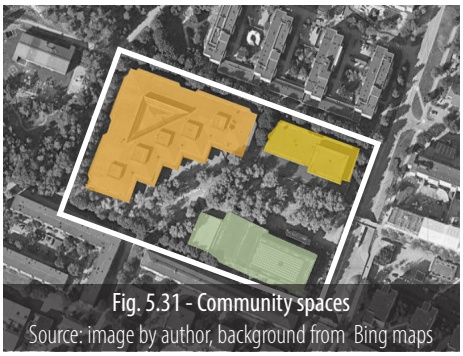


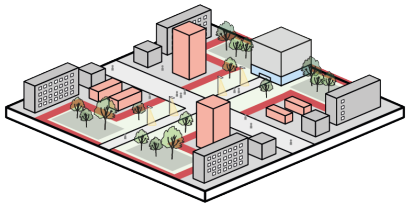
Fig. 5.31 - Community spaces
Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Desired qualities

It will be beneficial if these types of environments will serve as a common ground for all walks of life. A place which is easily accessible for all ages and serves activities for all groups. This requires a strategic use of indoor and outdoor space (due to the weather). They can become places of expression and activity, a place for children to go after school, for students to study or adults and elderly to read, play sports or get together. It is desireable that community organisations as well as planning offices of municipalities gain increased visibility and hold office in the same building to improve communication and transparency in decision-making.

3. In-between areas

Spaces of transition



Description

Areas in between neighbourhood mostly without clear use, purpose or zoning, mostly deserted grassland or forestland. They form a site of transition; they belong neither to district A or B, but are rather undefined and mark a border between zones.

Current issues

Most of the in-between areas are deserted meadows with a few pedestrian connections, but these connections lack incentives for through movement and the meadows itself are largely undesigned and not really suitable for any type of gathering. Spatial separateness is the consequence.

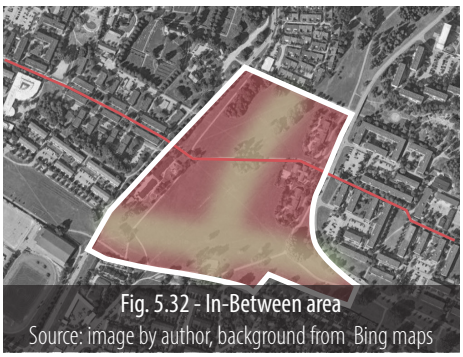


Fig. 5.32 - In-Between area
Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Desired qualities

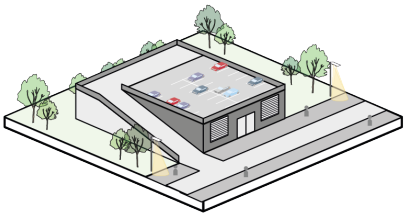
These areas are often a clean slate for new development, and can act as the connecting link between different neighbourhoods which are now spatially separated. This provides opportunities to establish a better mix of dwellings, as well as potential work spaces for residents. Creating a public magnet to attract non-locals from nearby (as well as visitors from elsewhere in the city) can also help bridge the gap of understanding between the segregated neighbourhoods.

5.4 Typology of concept spaces

Places with the highest potential

4. Parking garages

Spaces of stasis



Description

Areas around modes of transport that connect the neighbourhood on the metropolitan scale or that serve the use as a local service center that facilitates the basic amenities for residents. (supermarket, chemists, local shops etc.) These garages are characterized by a form of stasis; they have remained largely untouched since they were built.

Current issues

Many parking garages are semi-elevated, leaving blind facades towards parking areas on the ground floor. Most of these garages are made of hard concrete and deteriorated, which makes experience of the environment quite harsh and unpleasant. Spaces like these are often experienced as unsafe.

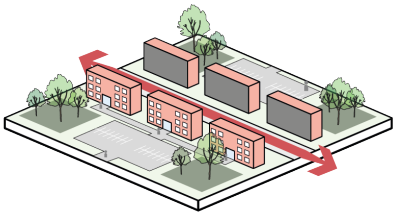
Fig. 5.33 - Parking garages
Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Desired qualities

It can be very interesting to see what potential the parking garages have to create inner district densification whilst at the same time activating the ground floor with public functions like local workshop spaces or shops. The garages are often located along the main traffic axes, making them quick access to the motorised network. Those which are located along the main pedestrian routes can also activate those corridors for public life purposes and increased perception of safety. The 'softening' of the facades with other materials like wood can also help eradicate uncanny feelings when walking past these garages at night.

5. Pedestrian routes

Spaces of movement



Description

Long stretched unconstituted pedestrian routes along the backside of residential blocks, often crossing car arteries with bridges. They form the primary connection between different sub-districts and facilitate movement on local and intermediate scale. The routes are where movement from one place to another takes place by foot.

Current issues

Most routes are going along the backside of buildings, leaving them unconstituted and in combination with poor lighting this means the routes feel unpleasant and unsafe to take. They also lack seating elements or connection with public spaces to foster any kind of activity.

Fig. 5.34 - Pedestrian routes
Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Desired qualities

At the moment these routes solely have a pedestrian design, but are stretched over distances which are more on an intermediate scale which is seemingly more suitable for modes of transport like bicycles when it comes to cross-district movement.
Furthermore these routes should be of use to residents at all times of the day and throughout the seasons of the year. It is desireable if these routes become not only places of movement but also of encounter and interaction.

Fig. 5.35 - Case site locations i.r.t. concept spaces - source: Image by author, background Bing Maps

5.4.2 Identifying spaces in the case site

Now that a set of concept spaces has been constituted, these typologies can be located in the case site in combination with the proposed strategies on the intermediate scale. Due to time limitations of the project it is clear that not the whole case site area can be elaborated on in detail. Instead three concept sites across the Järva area have been selected and those have been marked in Fig 5.35:

5.4.3 Concept sites

1. Tensta centrality (*Centrality - Community space*)
The central shopping area in Tensta, which is in proximity to an area with the abandoned high school, a sportshall and the Tensta Library.

2. Spånga cricket ground (*In-between area*)
This grassland is an open space between Tensta, Rinkeby and the southern neighbouring area Spånga, currently in use as a cricket ground.

3. Husby Norgegatan (*Pedestrian route - parking garage*)
The central most integrated street in Husby which is bordered by a couple of parking garages. On the other side of the road is the local shopping area.

The listed case sites above have been chosen in such a way that all concept spaces are elaborated in the local scale and that it is possible to show how spaces interact with eachother. It is important to say that interventions proposed per concept space are not exclusive to these spaces and require consistent, context-specific decision making. Rather, they are 'shown' at the location they are most relevant for the design.

5.4 Typology of concept spaces

Places with the highest potential

5.4.4 Synergies between spaces - Norra Järvastaden

In Norra Järvastaden, the most integrated route is the Norgegatan-Danemarkgatan, marked in red in Fig 5.36 Currently this route is separating pedestrian and automobile flows, and has little to no amenities or public function leading onto it, let alone any entrances. Along the route are several possibilities to densify and/or add functionality to change the street in the potential integrator it could be in the area. Another possible strategy could be to redesign the street network in such a way that a new route south of the street becomes the main integrated street, connecting with the Husby centrality.

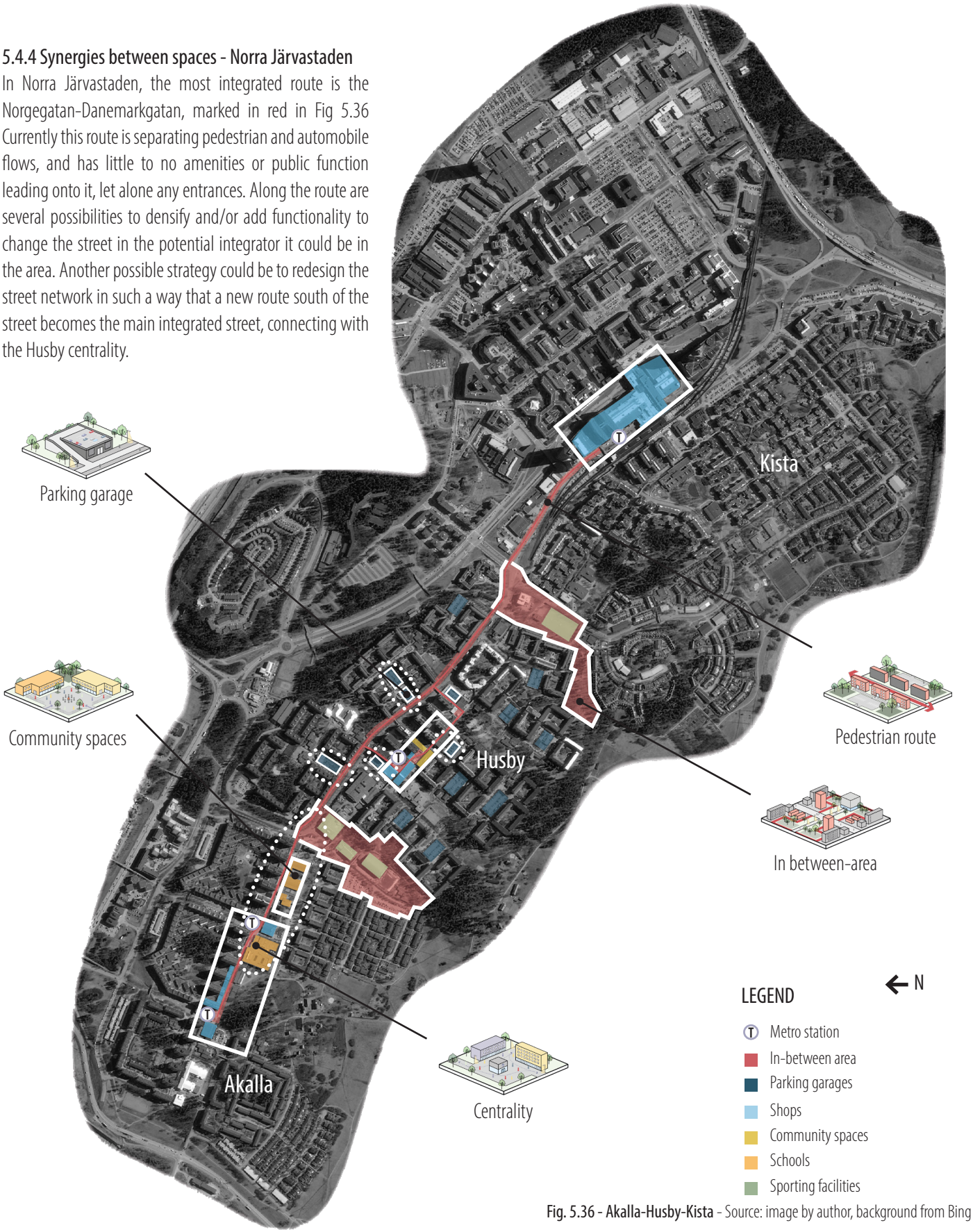


Fig. 5.36 - Akalla-Husby-Kista - Source: image by author, background from Bing

5.4.5 Synergies between spaces - Södra Järvastaden

In Södra Järvastaden, the most integrated route lies south of the current centralities. A direct line from and to both centralities is as of now quite fragmented by the Spånga churchyard which 'blocks' a continuous connection. This site is of cultural-historic value and therefore will probably be hard to modify. The southern route passes through an in-between area which at the moment also already has two kindergarten facilities at the edges.It is also in the vicinity of several parking garages. At the moment this route is a long-stretched pedestrian path with very little entrances and lacks any public services. Once the centralities and the in-between area have become larger magnets of attraction, this route has the potential to transform into an street with more activity that fosters social interaction and safety.

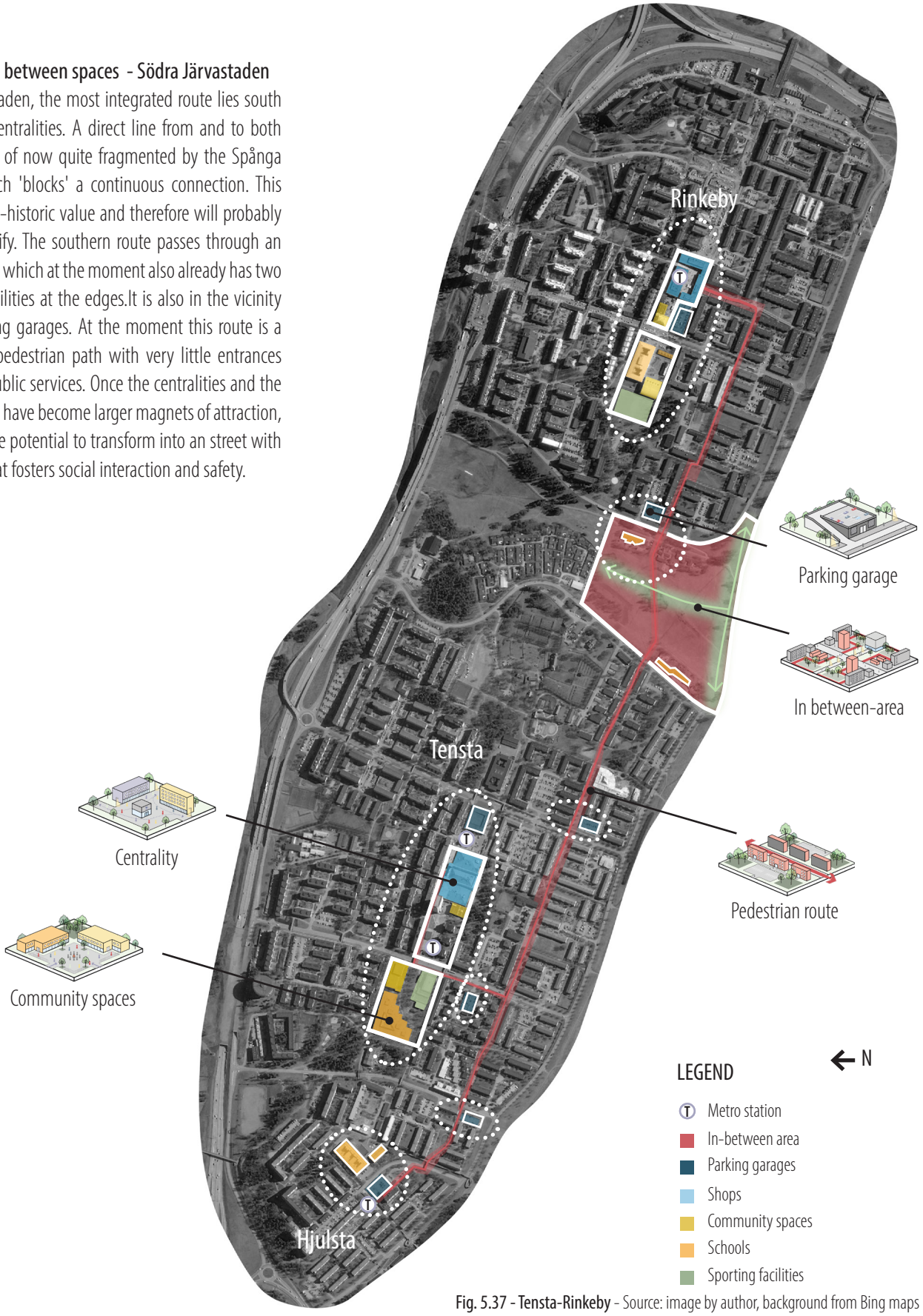


Fig. 5.37 - Tensta-Rinkeby - Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

5.5 Proposal overview per site

Reader's reference table

5.5.1 Table of proposals

The following table provides an overview of the proposals on the intermediate scale and local scale. It functions as a reference for the reader, to see the interchangeability of certain interventions.

The top table recaps the previously elaborated policy interventions that provide general changes to the governance system. They therefore apply to the metropolitan scale, hence to all three case sites.

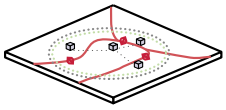
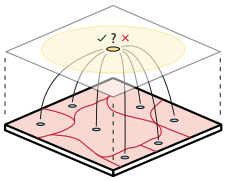
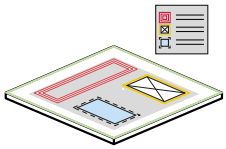
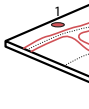
The bottom table summarizes briefly the main proposals per case site without elaborating on site specificity.

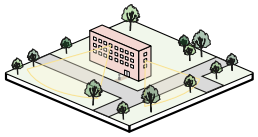
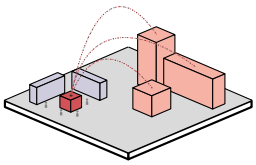
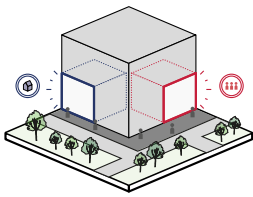
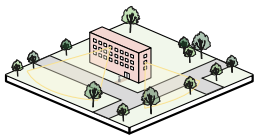
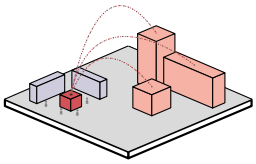
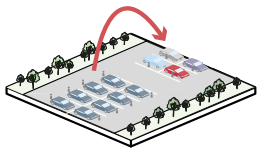
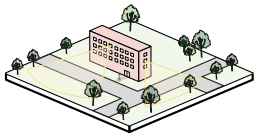
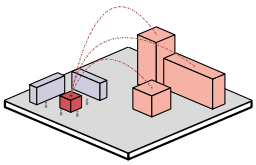
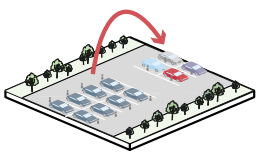
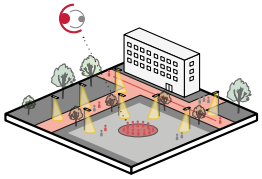
Why is this done? Proposals are elaborated per case site where they are most important and where they are deemed most relevant to the concept spaces as described in the previous section. Some however are used and applied in different sites. To avoid repetition of explanations and confusion regarding the use of certain interventions, this table shows which proposals apply to which case site.

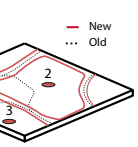
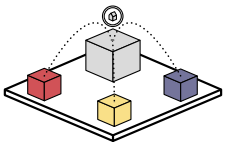
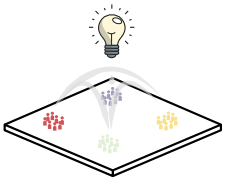
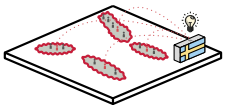
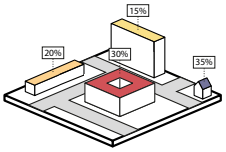
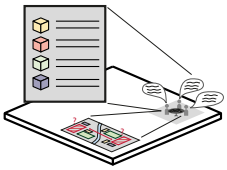
Per case site, it is explained which out of the five concept spaces have the prime focus. The three sites cover all five spaces:

Site 1 - Tensta centrality - Centrality & community spaces
Site 2 - Spånga cricket ground - In-between area
Site 3 - Husby Norgegatan - Pedestrian route & parking garages

Example: Site 3 has a focus on the pedestrian route as a concept space. However, the reader will find that these routes are prevalent in the other two sites as well and that interventions from site 3 are made accordingly in sites 1 and/or 2. Then for the sake of clarity these interventions are explained more in-depth later on in the report in the section on site 3.

	Reinterpreting planning instruments			Opt
General policy	 Mutual comprehensive plans	 Cross-checking CP's	 Redesigning CP's	 New ac

	Policy interventions		
Site 1 - Tensta centrality	 Entrance policy	 CSR programme	 Offices in school building
Site 2 - Spånga cricket ground	 Entrance policy	 CSR programme	 Car-sharing concept
Site 3 - Husby Norgegatan	 Entrance policy	 CSR programme	 Car-sharing concept
	 Nightwalk initiative		

timising governance structures		Consolidating knowledge		Building and land allocation criteria	
					
dmin. borders	Area-based MHC	Knowledge platform	Hiring local managers	Mix percentages	Social impact assessment

Design interventions

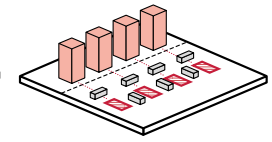
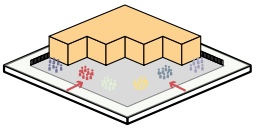
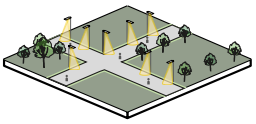
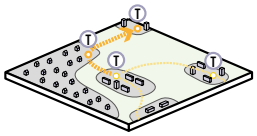
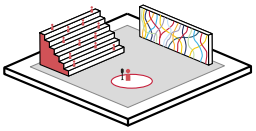
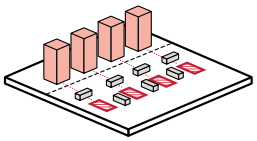
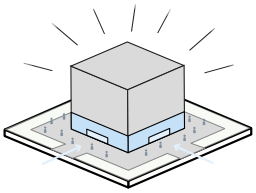
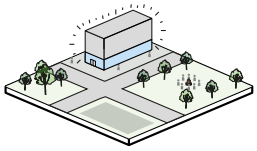
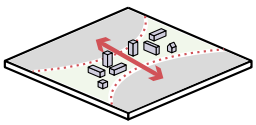
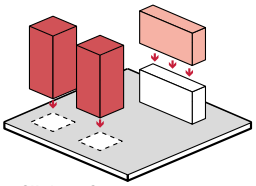
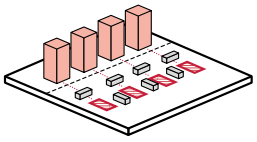
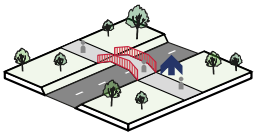
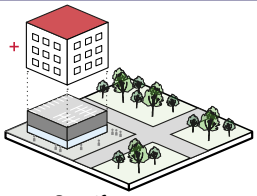
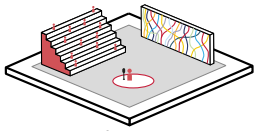
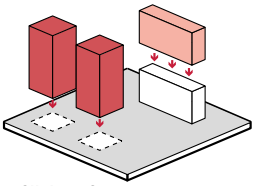
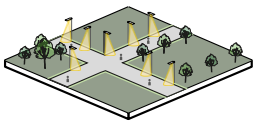
				
Engage cooperatives	Community school	Improve route illumination	Extend metro line	Spaces for expression
				
Engage cooperatives	Millions programme museum	Presence community space	Densify in-between area	Infill densification & renovation
				
Engage cooperatives	Upgrading bridges	Densify on garages	Spaces for expression	Infill densification & renovation
				
	Improve route illumination			

Fig. 5.38 - Overview of interventions - Source: Image by author

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

5.6.1 Tensta's point of attraction

The centrality of Tensta is an area closed in between the two main traffic arteries of the neighbourhood, Hagstråket and Tenstastråket. Along the Tenstagången street, an all-pedestrian street, most of the neighbourhoods amenities are located, mostly in the Tensta Centrum shopping mall. This mall serves the basic needs of the residents with facilities like two supermarkets, local clothing boutiques, hairdressers and a few restaurants. There is also a local citizens office of the municipality on Tenstagången called 'Medborgarkontor'. Furthermore there is the Tensta Konsthall, a local art gallery which is accessible from the east side and has its space underneath the shopping centre.

On either side of Tenstagången there are entrances to the Tensta metro station which run down to both ends of the track. The west entrance is situated on a small slanted square and the east entrance comes out at the widest end of the Tenstagången, where the street in dimensions forms more of a square instead of a street. This square is home to a market with plenty of local food vendors.

On the other side of the Hagstråket we find a cluster of several buildings with a high community potential. As discussed before, it has the now deserted building of the Ross Tensta Gymnasium, the Tensta Library and the Tensta Sim- och Idrottshall, the local sports centre which is also used by nearby primary schools. It has both indoor sport halls as well as a swimming pool.

In a nook of the Tensta Centrum there is the Tensta Blåhuset ('the blue house'), a community centre exploited by Stockholm Stadmission, a division of the municipality concerned with the faith of vulnerable individuals. The current building (entrance) is quite hidden and hardly recognisable from the street, and the building quality is running down. This institution is also under pressure according to local media, as the lease of the building was set to be terminated at the end of 2020. The lease has been extended to December 2021, but the Stockholms Stadsmission is not intending to further exploit the community home after that (StockholmDirekt.se, 2019).

5.6.2 What is troublesome?

What we see now in the current situation is an indoor shopping mall which fulfills in the basic needs of people. However, because of its inward orientation the outside streets remain largely unpopulated or lively. Part of this planning culture has to do with the weather, as the winters are not pleasant to walk outside as much as it would be in other countries. Obviously it has got to do with the planning paradigms of the post-war era. Recreation, work and residence were to be separated.

Result is a local mall which can only suffice the basic needs of the residents and does not provide any opportunity that city life in the Stockholm City Centre would bring. Its isolated position as well as current demographics mean only a very small amount of strangers are visiting this area.

5.6.3 New qualities

Reinterpreting the quality of walkability in this area as mentioned in section 4.6 is important in Tensta. The current Tenstagången is a wide street with plenty of potential to become a more attractive area for interaction and safety. Raising density around it and opening up the ground floors will help balance activity indoors and outdoors. Its connection with the metro station, the Tenstaplan and the high school area makes it an attractive combination of education, employment and public amenities. Densifying and adding new sizes and tenures of housing can diversify the population and finance a redesign of public space with more flexibility of use and with more coherence. This way activities will gain conditions that suit their use better.

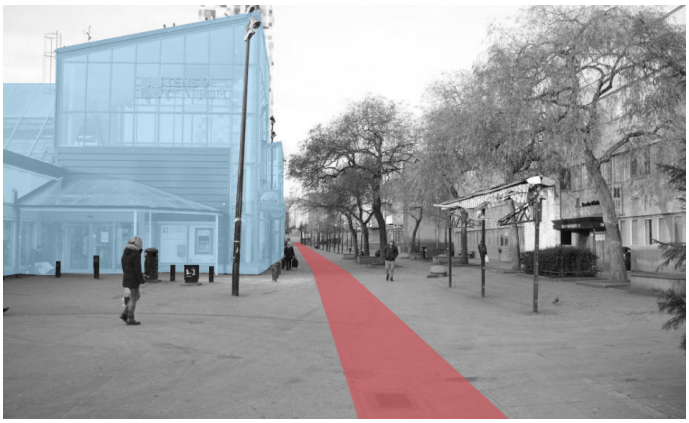


Fig. 5.39 - 1. Tenstagången central street - Source: Carlsson (2018), edited by author

Fig. 5.40 - 2. Tensta Library - Source: image by author, background from Bing maps

Fig. 5.41 - Tensta centre aerial - Source: Bing Maps

Fig. 5.42 - Tensta centre functions - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

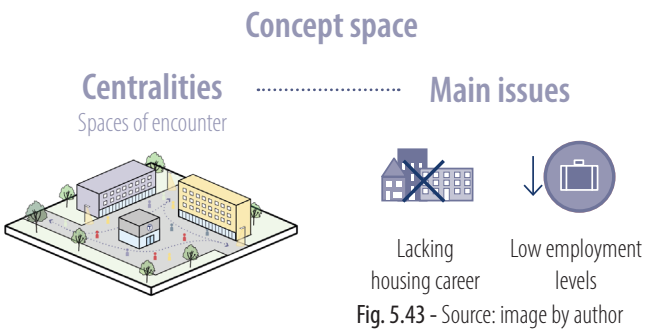
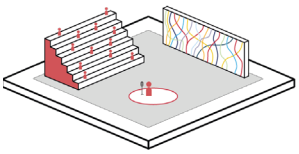


Fig. 5.43 - Source: image by author

Centralities - Centralities in Järva are usually turned inwards, in the form of in- or outdoor shopping centers with local shops. They however usually lack a larger variety of amenities as well as the density to support more public resources. Because of their inward nature they do often not facilitate the street life that fosters interaction and safety. Heightening the concentration of people through densification and providing more spaces for commercial activity can help Tensta capitalize on its center to become a real place of encounter.

Interventions



Spaces for public expression
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

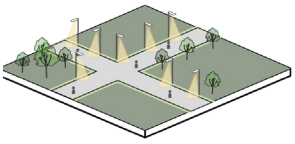
Fig. 5.44 - Source: image by author

5.6.4 An urban theatre in Tenstaplan square

As it stands, in the whole of area but also specifically in Tensta the number of cultural facilities is limited. There is the Tensta Konsthall art gallery underneath the current shopping centre, but it is quite small and its presence in the surroundings is limited due to its discrete location and entrance. Furthermore there are no museums, attractions, theaters or performance centers in the Järva area, except for one cinema in the Kista Gallerian shopping mall. At a certain point after density has been increased it can be viable to start developing these kind of cultural institutions. At the same time, outdoor public space can also facilitate this role if smartly designed. There are many examples of 'urban stands' which can be used as seating elements during regular days and as seats during outdoor performances. This way adaptive spaces can be created.

Tenstaplan, the square on the east side of the Tensta Centrum could be very suitable to transform into such a space which can embody the function of an 'urban living room'. This could be a reference point to help people orientate in the neighbourhood as well as be a place to meet up and enjoy a coffee. Kungsträdgården in the city centre, although very different in scale, function and location has a similar quality which could be worth emulating in Tensta. There, the space is used differently throughout the seasons. In the winter, an ice skating rink attracts visitors and tourists to the area. In spring, the blooming trees lining the central space are particularly picturesque, as are the autumn colours in fall. In summer, the space is often used for public performances, street artists and simply for people watching. On a smaller scale, reinterpreting these qualities could lead to a very valueable space. The potential is there, as it has a very central location close to the shopping centre, and the entrance to the metro station is located on the square. Raising density and upgrading the new community center next to the square can generate enough propensity for people to venture onto the space. Using the height differences in an intelligent way, stands can be created facing an open floor which can be used for a variety of activities and initiatives like pop-up sport events, public performances and exhibitions but also activity like the local market can be relocated here. (Note: In the other sites, the execution of the concept of spaces for public expression are explained individually)

Stakeholders



Improving illumination of routes
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.45 - Source: image by author

5.6.5 Safer routes for short distance travel

Around the centrality and on outleading pedestrian routes (this therefore also counts for the pedestrian route concept space) many paths are poorly lit. Especially in winter this is troublesome as these routes are also already lacking constitution and therefore are likely to be perceived as unsafe. Travelling from home to the centrality can become an unpleasant experience. A small and short-term intervention the municipality can carry out is to place new lightning along these routes. The materials should be sturdy to make them less prone to vandalism as was observed during the fieldwork (see section 4.3). This could also mean attaching lighting to buildings at heights where they are unreachable from the ground. This is already done on some routes, but the frequency of armatures could be increased. Certain routes can be prioritized through informing with local associations and the appointed area managers.

Stakeholders

Fig. 5.46 - Concept spaces Tensta centrality - Source: Bing Maps

Fig. 5.47 - Tensta centre shopping mall - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

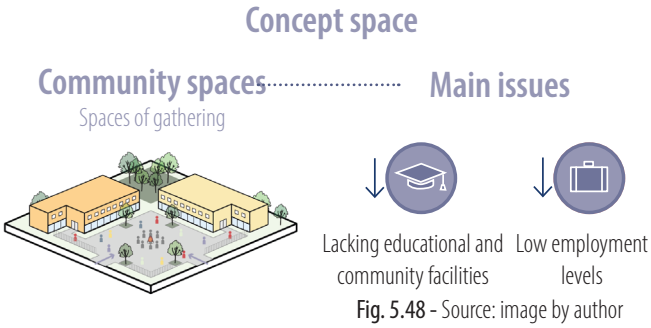
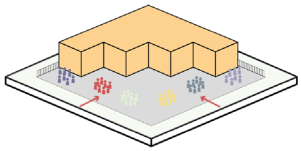


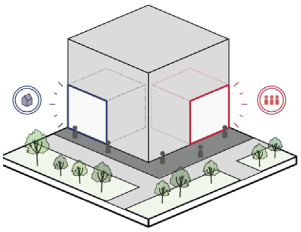
Fig. 5.48 - Source: image by author

Community spaces - Current educational facilities are under pressure, with the local high school closing and leases of existing community facilities ending. This development further endangers the socio-economic position of Järva's residents, whilst school and community homes have tremendous potential to strengthen professional skills and widen the social network. Smart short- and long-term proposals maximize the use of current facilities and expand their role as a central point of gathering and activity in the community.



Community school
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.49 - Source: image by author



Local planning & housing offices
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.50 - Source: image by author

5.6.6 School as a place of activity throughout the week

Now that the Tensta Gymnasium building is closed, the surrounding area is also more and more deserted. The building itself is of good architectural quality, but is now seemingly left to wither. On the long-term it is very diserable to open the school again, especially if new developments also lead to an increase in potential students.

It is proposed to see if experiments in Tensta are possible with the so called '*Skolan mitt i byn*' concept ('The school in the middle of the village'), a education- and organisational concept which is on the rise in Sweden but also in countries like the Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom. The concept will be referred to as the 'community school'. It is aimed at making the school a central point in the community, where different actors collaborate to create an integral learning environment. This is already the case for most schools in Sweden where day care and school services are usually combined. However, in this broader concept the school space is not only meant for children but also suitable for (young) adult activities (Olofsson, 2019). This could mean that a space is created which is used not only by a kindergarten, primary school and child care facilities but also by libraries, youth clubs, sport associations and community organisations.

This comprehensive approach in combining forces and attracting all different groups of society has several advantages. The first is that the space attracts visitors at different times of the day and throughout the week. This means the school environment has more natural surveillance by people coming from and to their homes. It also helps people establish a social network more easily, as the school then also becomes a place where unintended encounters can occur and social control becomes stronger.

Another argument to propose a community school is the need for parental support as well as improved access to extra curriculatory activities for students (Interpeace, 2014). This intervention can be combined with the policy of hiring more local workers in the social sector who possess language skills needed to help bridge the gap between school officals and newcoming parents with children.

Lastly, the current situation in Tensta, without it being intended that way, has the conditions to shape such an organisation. The Tensta Gymnasium building is situated in between a sports hall, a library and a kindergarten already and is in relative close proximity to the Blåhuset. Developing the terrain in and around this area can set a very attractive learning environment.

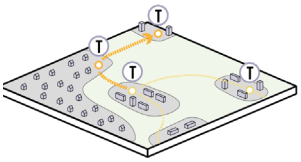
5.6.7 Transparent local planning

In addition to this concept, it is proposed to let the school environment host the local planning and housing offices of the municipality and the area-based MHC, especially now that the school building is vacant it is desirable to let it host other functions for the time being. Its central location in the neighbourhood makes it easy to find for the residents. Again combining this with the hiring of locals to set up local information meetings can help reduce feelings of tokenistic planning and allow residents to feel heard in a more local participatory planning model. Furthermore, it could provide a meeting room or working space for initiatives like the Nattvandring community walks, explained in the next section.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad — Municipalities

SB Svenska Bostäder, Stockholmshem — Municipal housing companies



Extend metro line
Scale: Metropolitan, intermediate
Layer: Spatial, Social

Fig. 5.51 - Source: image by author

5.6.8 Increasing concentration of people

To create more diversity, social interaction and mutual understanding we need a higher concentration of people in the Tensta centrality. This is done through the point densification strategy as explained in section 4.7, but also interventions in the intermediate scale can support the goal to get more people onto the streets.

It is proposed to not only extend the line from Akalla into the new Barkarbystaden area, but also extend the line from Hjulsta past the Barkarby station and into Jakobsberg, a nearby district which has a relatively high density compared to its surroundings and really acts as a node in the regional network also according to the RUFS 2050 vision set out by the Stockholm region (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015). This bidirectional connection benefits Tensta in two ways. It gives residents easy access to amenities and local jobs in Jakobsberg and also Barkarbystaden from the Barkarby metro station, but it also means that residents from those areas can come to Tensta and attract more visitors. It improves the mobility of residents on the intermediate scale, which is important as local jobs are lacking and the city centre is a long commute away. Furthermore it is important to 'open the gateways' to the Jarva area for outsiders, and besides connecting the neighbourhoods physically in urban form this also means improving accessibility and generating propensity for non-locals to venture into these areas.

This interventions might require more development along its lines to be financed and might only start to become feasible once Tensta and its surroundings (like the Spanga cricket ground case site) have higher densities to support such an investment. In the set up of the mutual CP plan through collaborating with different municipalities, this could also actually become an incentive to start densification in those areas. As described in section 4.7, the Hjulsta area is in fact seriously deprived and its development could be a means to generate capital for public investments like the metro expansion.

Stakeholders

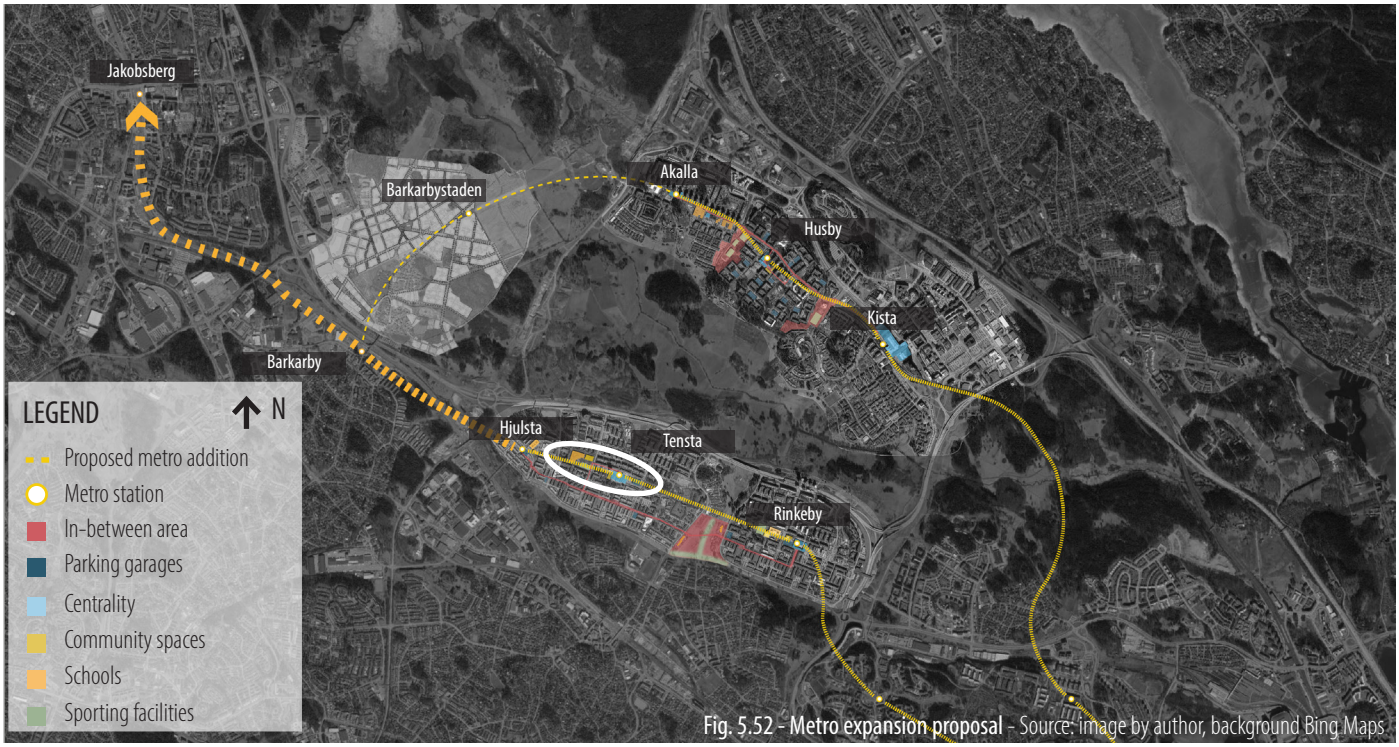


Fig. 5.52 - Metro expansion proposal - Source: image by author, background Bing Maps

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

Fig. 5.53 - Tensta centrality map - Source: image by author

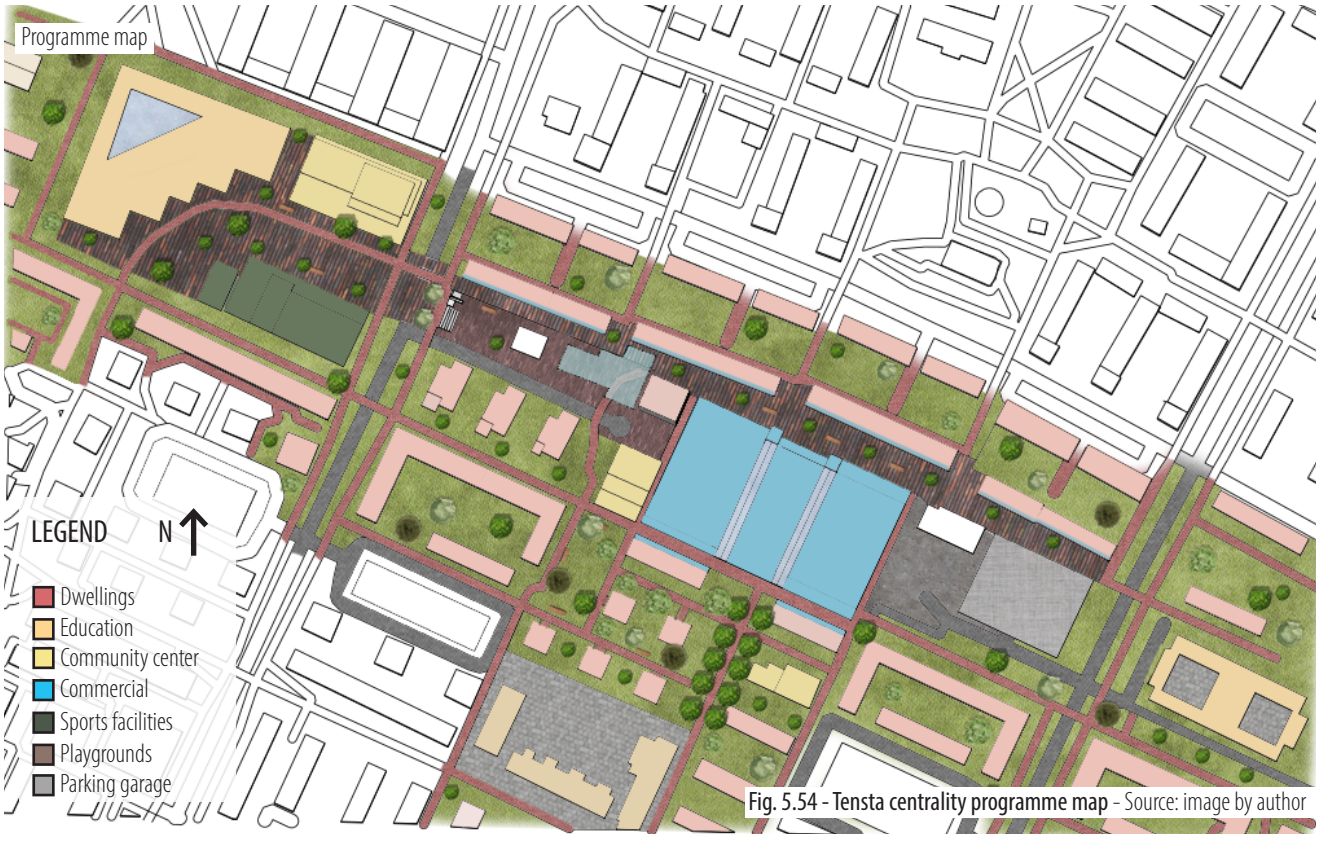


Fig. 5.54 - Tensta centrality programme map - Source: image by author

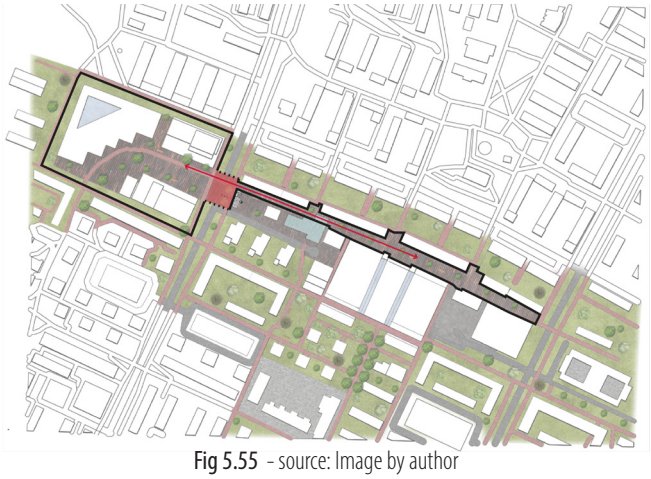


Fig 5.55 - source: Image by author

Design principles

5.6.9 Connecting two sides with integrated public space

The Hagstråket street forms a border between the school environment and the activity in the Tenstagången street. It is proposed to bridge this street with a widened deck to make the transition from the street towards the school feel less of a territorial crossing from one site to another. At the same time, the connection with the lower lying Tenstaplan can be used to create a public stand in the form of stairs, giving a more clear use to the square whilst still being flexible to different types of events and gatherings.

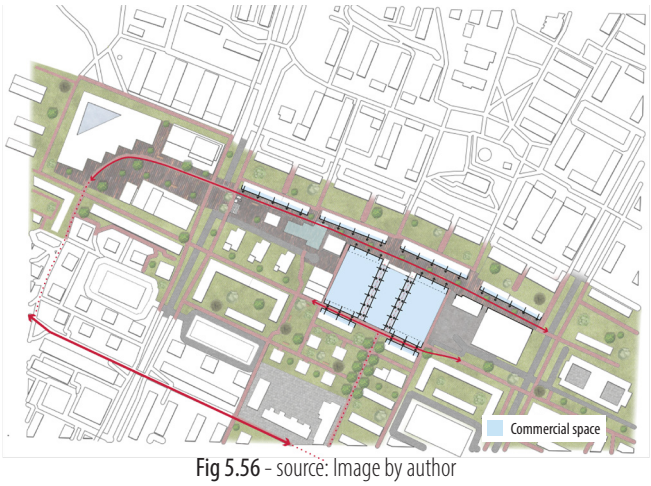


Fig 5.56 - source: Image by author

5.6.10 Balance indoor/outdoor activity

Currently the main activity in Tensta is happening indoors in the shopping centre. In winter this is the more comfortable option for shoppers, but the surroundings of the mall lack active facades to facilitate any kind of street life. It is therefore proposed to densify along the street by adding floors on top of existing blocks and to open up the ground floors for more active use. One side of the shopping mall is filled out with externally faced amenities instead of an inward orientation towards the mall's hallway.

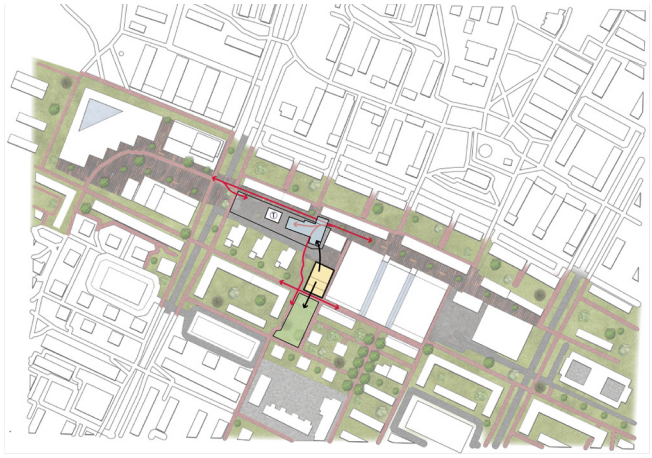


Fig 5.57 - source: Image by author

5.6.11 Coherent sequence of spaces

The flow between the different spaces in the centrality is interrupted by height differences as well as poorly defined use of space. The Tenstaplan lacks a clear use and is not lined by any activity, currently only used as a transitional space for commuters of the metro. The redesign of this space not only means improved spatial quality for the space itself but also for surrounding spaces as the whole area becomes more coherent and inviting. The current community centre has a more clear connection with the square and the green space behind it, so that the building gets a more central location amongst the centralities active spaces.

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

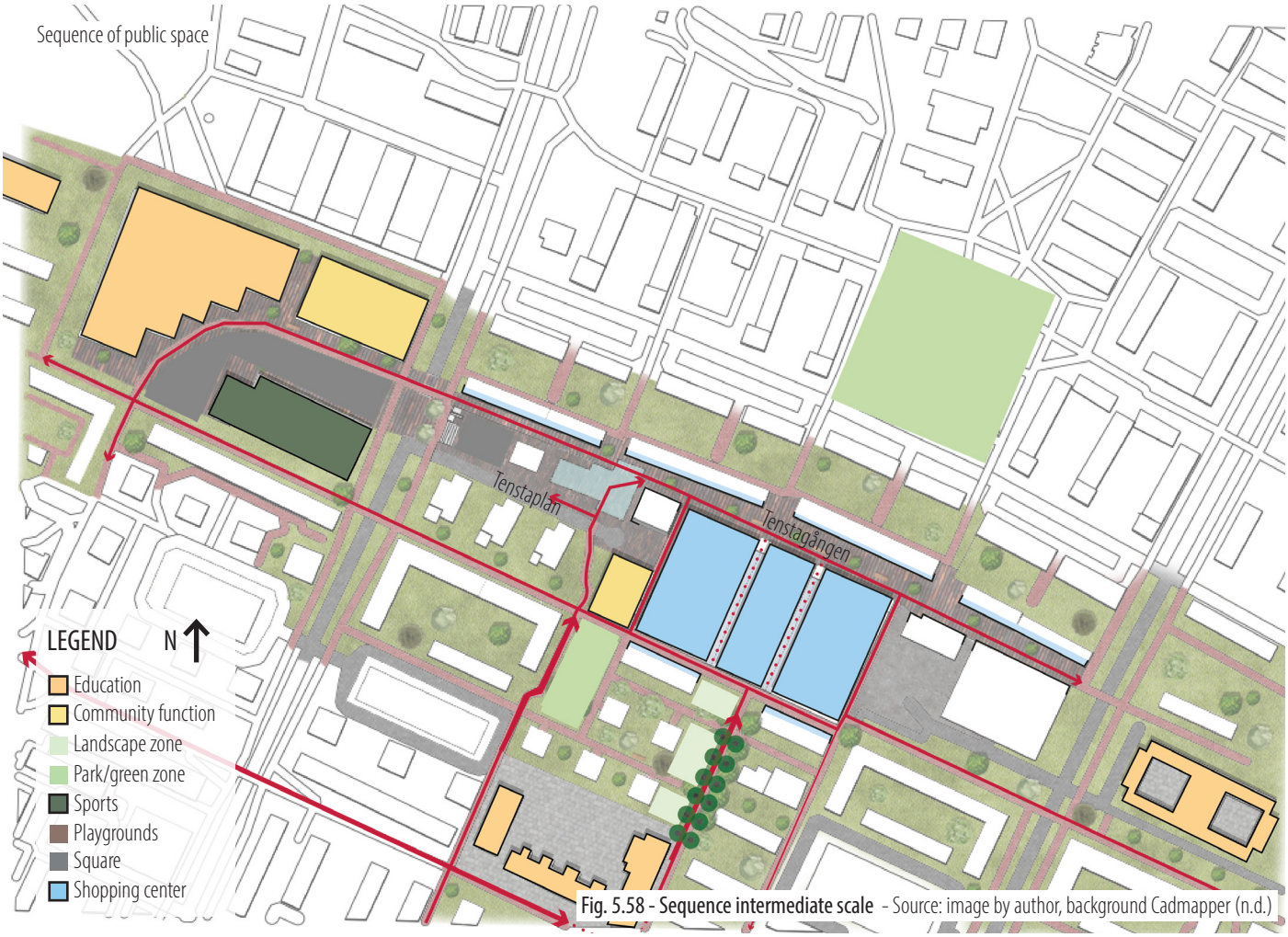


Fig. 5.58 - Sequence intermediate scale - Source: image by author, background Cadmapper (n.d.)

5.6.12 Coherent sequence of spaces

The Tensta centrality is characterized by a T-shaped pattern of spaces. The east-west sequence is important to establish better synergies between the possibilities of the currently abandoned education spaces and the generation of a more active centrality that reciprocates interaction and safety on the street. A more fluid connection through widening the walkthrough potential, but also simple things like the continuation of paving materials helps to achieve a more coherent sequence of spaces, each with its own quality. The Tenstaplan is a crucial space here that facilitates as the main crossroads of the site, because of bypassing pedestrians but also because of the metro station entrance.

The idea of adding commercial space outside the Tensta Centrum results in a narrower Tenstagången, really making it a street instead of a mix up of a street and a square. Currently the market is held at this 'square', in front of the shopping centre. The market is an important aspect of life in Tensta and is a prominent feature of life in the countries that many of the residents orignate from, more so than in Western European countries. In order to give the market more space and still maintain it, it is proposed to move the market to the Tenstaplan which is an actual square already. This will also help to balance activity better between Tenstaplan and Tenstagången. The North-south sequence would be mostly aimed at linking the space with the most integrated route on the intermediate scale as previously described in section 5.4. This is where currently public spaces as stepping stones are missing, as there is no real link between the Tensta centre and this route. Currently the only space there is the Gullingeparken, but this consists mostly of a natural green ridge which has no functional (or even visual) relationship with the intermediate scale route or even the local Gullingeskolan.

The strategy to strength this sequence is to use part of the Gullingeparken for densification, and to use capital from this densification to redesign part of the park into more functional green spaces which also form a coherent

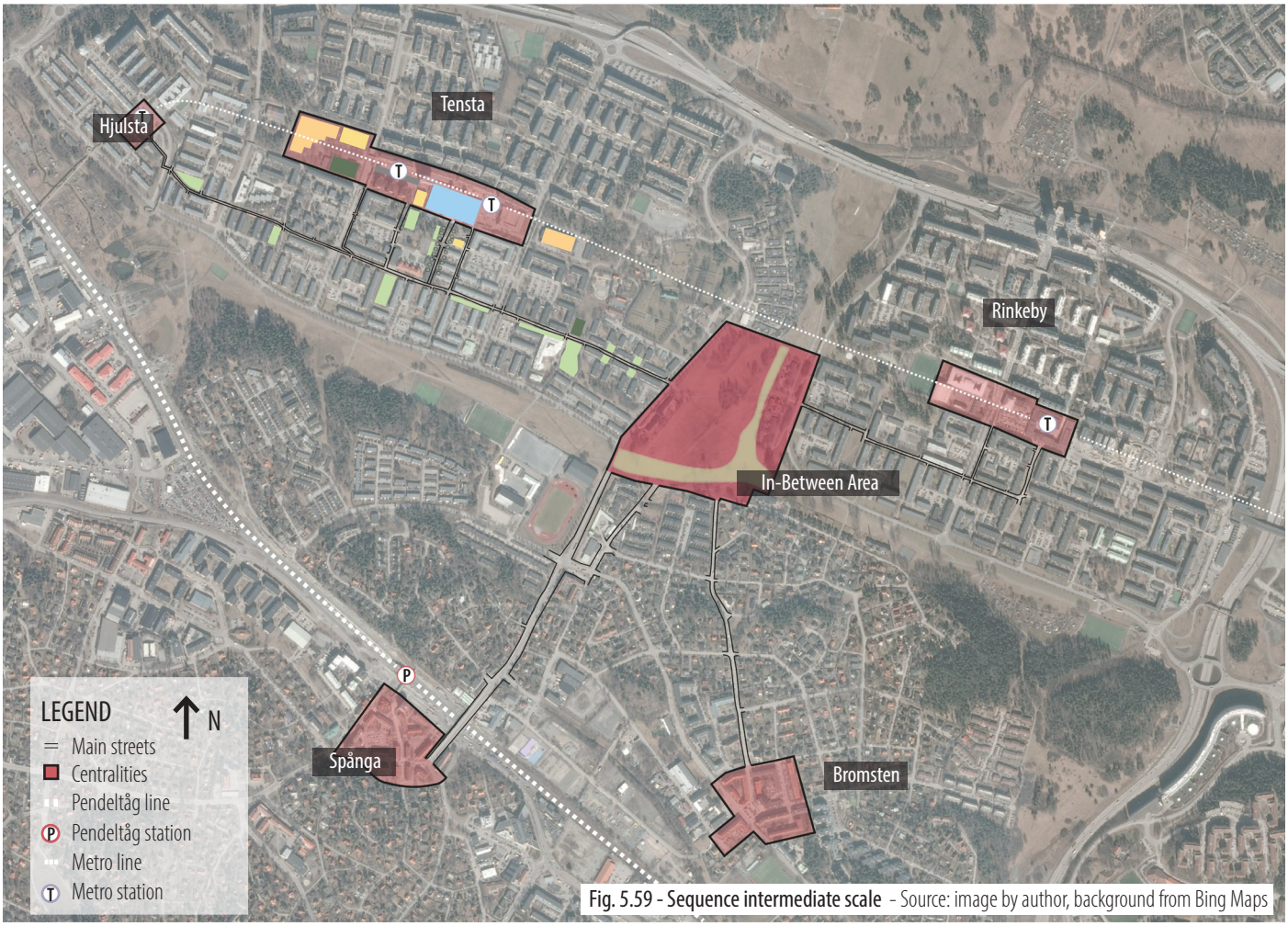


Fig. 5.59 - Sequence intermediate scale - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

and clear connection with the community centre (Blåhuset) and the Tensta Centrum shopping centre. Parking for these dwellings can be incorporated in the nearby existing garage and can be expanded if necessary. By activating the backside of the Tensta Centrum with new shops and making the centre an attraction of activity that also 'radiates' activity on both sides, the connection between the intermediate scale route and the centrality becomes more prominent.

This is done in two ways. A formal lane lined by trees that provide shade and coverage to create walking quality. It indicates a direction and incites a curiosity for pedestrians on the main route to wander what is at the end of the pathway. The pathway stops at the Tensta Centrum. The other is a more informal green space adjacent to the community centre, improving its visibility and central position in Tensta. The space can be used for informal activities like soccer, barbecuing, picknicking and any type of get-together, creating more unintended encounters.

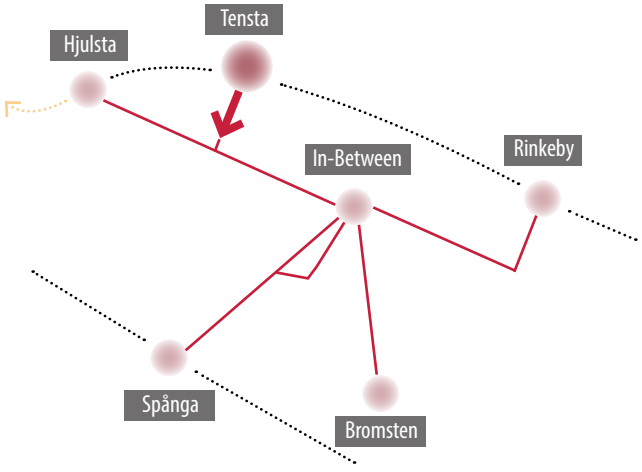


Fig. 5.60 - Tensta's position in network - Source: image by author

5.6 Design site 1 - Tensta centrality

Centrality & community spaces

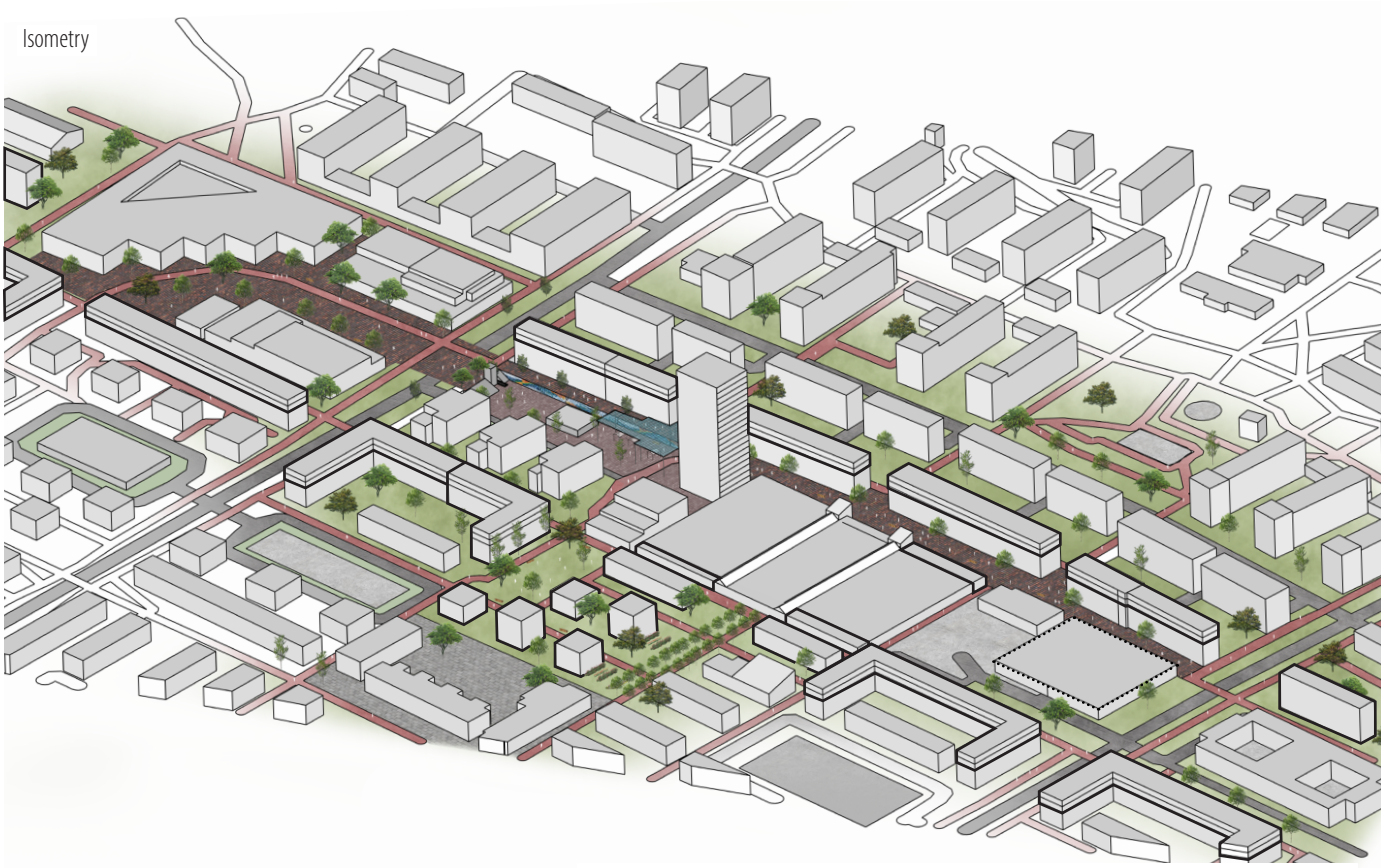


Fig. 5.61 - Tensta centrality isometry - Source: image by author, base from Cadmapper (n.d.)

5.6.13 Coherent centrality with varied activity possibilities

The proposed interventions have focussed on coherence and destination quality, creating a more logical sequence of spaces that facilitate the conditions needed to generate diversity and economic opportunity. The buildings marked with the dark outline are added volumes in the site. As explained on the previous page, the attraction of people (both new residents and non-locals) is key for a thriving Tensta centre. The new spaces derive part of their quality from their improved relationship with the network, taking shape in the form of strategic interventions to strengthen pull factors towards Tenstagången.

Fig 5.62 shows the new proposal for the Tenstagången. Tenstagången has the potential to serve as the main high street in Tensta if it gains more 'street-like' qualities. This means adding activity in its edges and narrowing the passage so that its users will also start experiencing Tenstagången as a real street. As of now it is neither a street nor a square on the eastern side where the market is held. It also has a stronger connection with the Tensta Gymnasium site across the Hagstråket street with a continued 'carpet' connecting both spaces. Two stories are added on the adjacent buildings to increase density.

Fig 5.63 shows the new proposal for the western part of the Tenstaplan. The transition from the square towards the educational space has been formed through a staircase which is used as a public stand as well as a regular staircase on the sides.The stand can be used freely to both formally and informally organise events, becoming a space for expression usuable for anyone who wants to initiate public events. This space could host celebratory events to inaugurate the new school concept.

Additionally, the market moves to the eastern side of the Tenstaplan, which is now an interface between the urban theatre, Tenstagången and the community center (see section 5.6.11) To make this a reference point and to add spatial quality to the market, a canopy is proposed that covers a part of the street and a part of the square where the market will be organised. This canopy is approx. 12-15 meters high and has a modernist appearance in line with the design philosophy of its surroundings. It has geometric lines and a flat roof made of translucent material that allows light to come through. The current transition from the square into the street can be maintained, with the new route from the south extending into the Tenstagången. Some seating elements may need to be moved, but no large scale intervention on the ground itself is needed.

Fig. 5.62 - Street level image 1 - Source: image by author

Fig. 5.63 - Street level image 2 - Source: image by author

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

5.7.1 Knitting areas together, bringing people together

In between Tensta, Rinkeby and Spånga lies the Spånga cricket ground where the second case site for local design is found. A large grassland with a few patches of trees (see Fig. 5.65), currently in occassional use as a cricket ground similarly to the upper patch of the grassland in the northern direction nearing Järvafaltet.

The cricket ground is bordered on the east by the Spånga Kyrkvag, the main traffic artery connecting to the Spånga centrality in the south. On the north edge lies the Sörgarden ensemble, the collection of 76 semi-detached bungalows designed by Höjer & Lundqvist in the early seventies. This ensemble is of cultural-historic value and is therefore to be left untouched (City Museum of Stockholm, 2001). On the west side it is bordered by the Rinkebysvängen, the road that encircles Rinkeby completely. South the area touches upon some row-house dwellings from the Spånga district, where also a small football field and playground are located.

Fig 5.62 shows the relation of the concept site towards other nearby centralities. It is situated at a central location on the most integrated line between Tensta and Rinkeby. Furthermore towards the south there are two main roads which now 'end' at the cricket ground which lead out towards the central areas of Spånga and Bromsten. This area has very good accessibility apparant from the nearby subway lines as well as the Pendeltåg (commuter rail) station Spånga and really has the potential to 'knit' together these different neighbourhoods.

5.7.2 What is troublesome?

What stands out is the lack of connection between the different neighbourhoods, which characterizes the in-between area concept space. Tensta and Rinkeby only share two pedestrian connections, of which one is obstructed because it leads onto the Spånga churchyard and loses its continuity further into the neighbourhood. The other pedestrian path, as a result is the most integrated road on the intermediate scale (See section 4.3 and Fig. 5.67). This area together with the green belt surrounding the neighbourhoods forms a border vacuum, simply by it being a void without much use or connectivity (Jacobs, 1961). The fact that it is bordered by traffic-dominated streets without any uses (or any mixed use in the hinterland of these infrastructures) leaves the area mostly unused. Its green is characteristic of this neighbourhood typology, a green space for the sake of open space.

5.7.3 New qualities

This in-between space connecting cornerstone in between different nodal points, as evident in Fig. 5.67. It has good accessibility to the highway, but also to the metro stations in Tensta and Rinkeby as well as the Pendeltåg station in Spånga. It lies in between two distinct typologies, the post-war Million programme estates and the sprawling single-family home typology typical for the Stockholm suburbs.

This area can set the tone and act as an example of how larger scale development projects can be carried out in the region, where they act as the connecting patch in existing situations. This contrary to developments like Barkarbystaden which are designed as remote islands by themselves and which barely react to their surroundings. A mixed development with different types of tenures and prize ranges can help improve social sustainability in Södra Järvastaden and help to maintain more upward mobile groups as well as provide more affordable dwelling units. At the same time the landscape and its visual continuity can and should be maintained as much as possible.

Fig. 5.64 - 1. Route from Rinkeby to Tensta - Source: image by author

Fig. 5.65 - 2. Spånga Cricket ground - Source: image by author

Fig. 5.66 - Spånga cricket ground aerial - Source: Bing Maps

Fig. 5.67 - Position i.r.t. nearby centralities - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

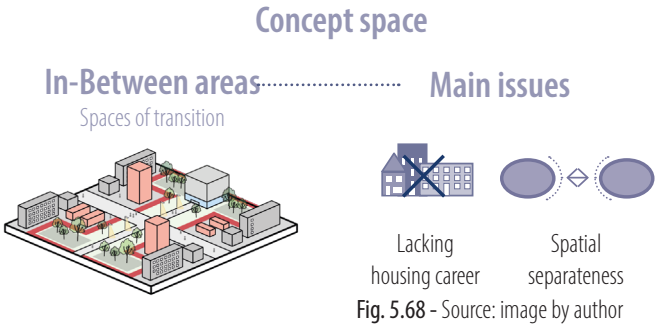
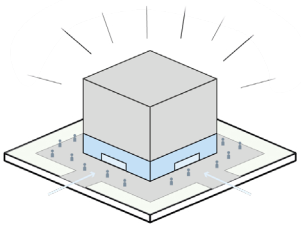


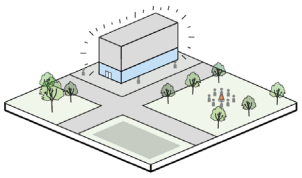
Fig. 5.68 - Source: image by author

In-between areas in Million programme areas were orginally intended to provide open ample green space for its residents to use. However they currently mainly act as physical and functional barriers between Järva and its surroundings, effectively making it even more vulnerable. The goal is to reinterpret the quality of green in a residential environment whilst at the same time using the open space to improve the mix of dwellings and facilitate opportunities for a housing career to improve social sustainability.



Millions Programme Museum
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.69 - Source: image by author



Presence of community center
Scale: Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.70 - Source: image by author

5.7.4 A public magnet for Järva

Järva today comprises one of the biggest legacies of the Swedish Millions programme, which is a very important construct of Swedish society also from a political and historical viewpoint (Interview #5). The current relationship with this era has previously been described as 'colonial' and current neoliberal projects have been criticized for trying to 'build away the past' (Baeten, 2012). This narrative is persistent and although may seem trivial is still hurting the futures of these estates, apparant through the lack of hope that has seemingly cursed the minds of the public. One means to start and hopefully change the mindset on the discourse currently surrounding the Millions programme is the establishment of a Millions programme museum. This museum can become an architectural landmark, situated in this location that can connect the areas with the surrounding urban fabric and also making it easily accessible to outsiders who do not reside in Järva, but who have interest in urban planning and/or history of Swedish society. Furthermore it adds to the cultural facilities of the area, and if executed well adds to the cultural facilities of the city as a whole. Content-wise, collaborating with researchers, locals and ArkDes (Sweden's National Centre for Architecture and Design) could be fruitful. ArkDes already has a section at the Moderna Museet in central Stockholm which during the process of this project presents the exhibition 'Flying Panels' about the construction of dwellings with prefab concrete which obviously has strong linkages with the current Million Programme estates. This is a good example of what this museum could be like. Furthermore it could be beneficial to also add office or working space in this museum to get people in the area at different times while also providing new job opportunities.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad — Municipalities

ArkDes — ArkDes

5.7.5 Better facilities for local associations

As said it appears that in recent times community centers are under pressure of potential termination of leases (StockholmDirekt.se, 2019). It also seems that previous succesful social initiatives as described in the research from Interpeace (2014) have been discontinued. Lastly, current community center buildings and facilities are usually situated in dated buildings which are also not very visible from the main streets for example in the case of the Blåhuset community centre in Tensta and the youth house in Rinkeby.

It is therefore proposed to improve the presence of community centers in the case site. This can mean that the current buildings are maintained, but get a better connection with the existing network or gain better visibility in relation to the network. It can also mean moving the facilities to a more central location, in either existing or new constructions. In the case of Spånga the area is left undeveloped. It is therefore proposed to combine the function of a community center with the Millions programme museum. The building will gain a central place in the development, acting as a landmark. This quality will allow for residents to find and view this building easily. A transparent facade is important to inform by-passers of the activities going on. Providing a new community center at this location will mean its presence is right in the middle of society and that it is well accessible to everyone, at relatively equal distances to all residents.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad — Municipalities

Local associations

Fig. 5.71 - Tensta centre functions - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

Fig. 5.72 - Spånga cricket ground Concept spaces - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

Fig. 5.73 -Spånga cricket ground map - Source: image by author

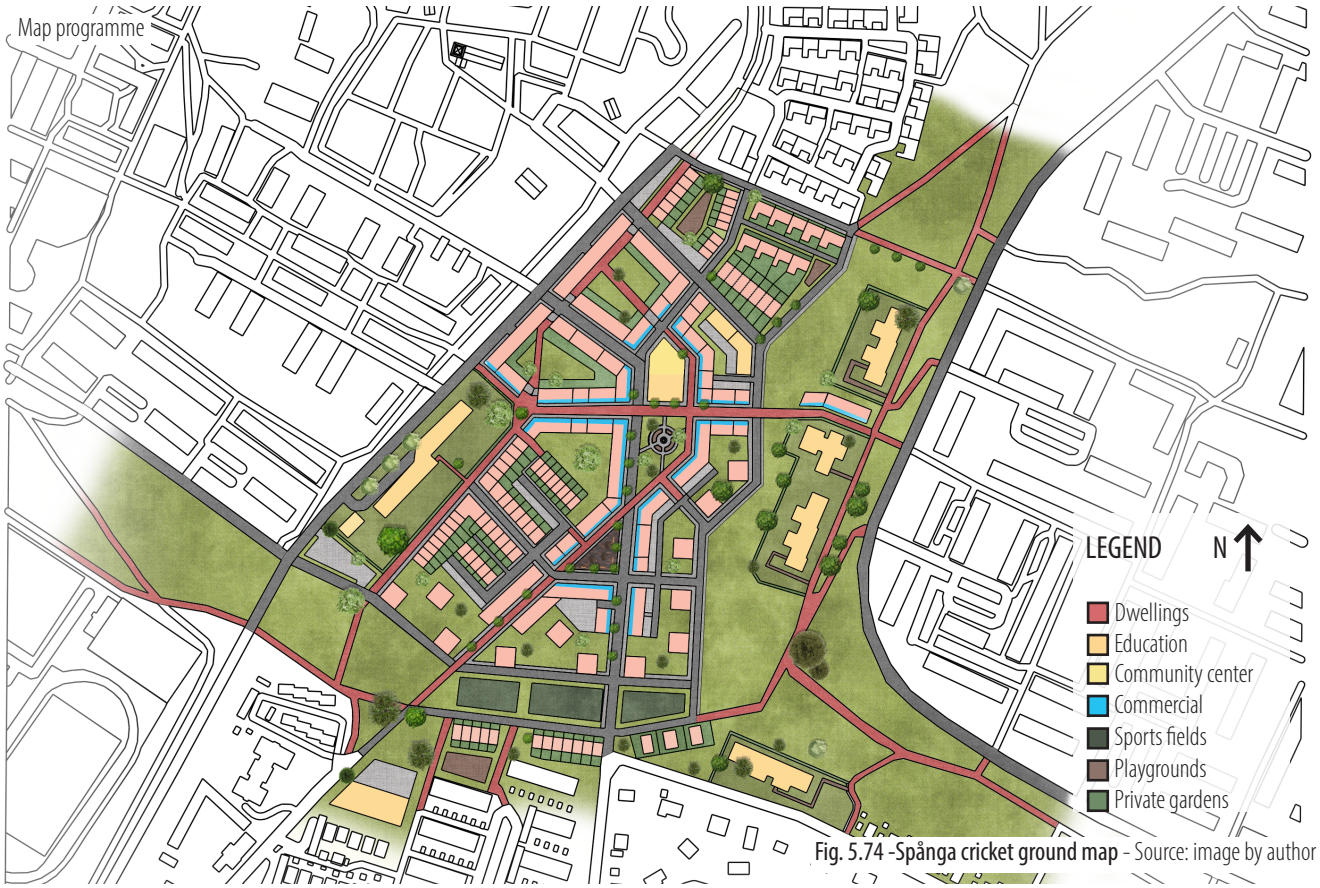


Fig. 5.74 -Spånga cricket ground map - Source: image by author

Fig 5.75 - **Continuing the landscape** - source: Image by author

5.7.6 Visual continuation of the landscape

The proposed development fills out the corner between Tensta and the Sörgården block. This way, the open green connection can be maintained as it is, and the new buildings maintain a visual relationship with the landscape. The most integrated streets are the only ones that 'cross' the landscape.

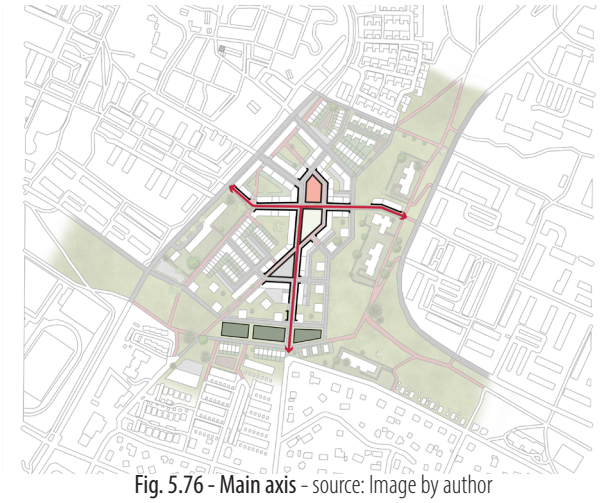


Fig. 5.76 - **Main axis** - source: Image by author

5.7.7 Activity along main integrated axis

The space syntax analysis of the new street layout identifies two main axis, one is the most integrated pedestrian route from Spånga to Tensta and the extended road south to Spånga. One is purely pedestrian, the other is the main artery for cars to reach parking spots in the area. This is a continuous road which is quite narrow and difficult to pass by eachother to minimize speed and nuisance for pedestrians. Along these axis, commercial functions on the ground floor are prioritized to ensure maximum activity and economic potential for these shops and active facades.

**See appendix for excerpt of integration analysis*

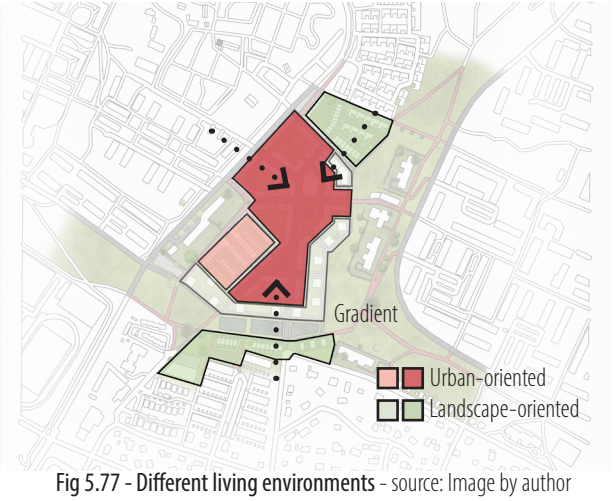


Fig 5.77 - **Different living environments** - source: Image by author

5.7.8 Diverse dwelling types and environments

The in-between area is often a site where the urban and the landscape meet. The relationship between the landscape or urban life and dwellings is multitude and each has its own quality. Therefore, the proposal consists of a mix of living environments, of which some have more innate qualities of urban life and the activity it brings whilst others are more oriented towards the landscape and the connection with nature. The location and density of the proposed environments reacts to the surroundings in such a way that a gradient is created. Lower-densities are situated next to existing low-density areas and higher-densities are situated near existing high-density areas. These areas slowly 'melt' together to make a smooth transition between the different experiences of what is urban and what is still the landscape.

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

Fig 5.78 - **Urban & rural green structures** - source: Image by author

5.7.9 Both urban and rural green quality

Building on the different qualities of different living environments, the different types are still in close proximity to eachother and people can profit from the qualities that both 'sides' have to offer. In the more urban environments the quality of green lies in streets lined by larger trees that provide shade or a park where people can gather for activity or simply sit and engage in people watching. In the more landscape-oriented environments it can mean walking in the landscape and the long-stretched views over the hilly land.

Fig 5.79 - **Entrances** - source: Image by author

5.7.10 Constituted streets with commercial and residential entrances

To maximize safety along the streets, the layout of buildings and the entrances to both commercial activity and dwellings are located in such a way that streets are constituted and are visible from the homes. An example of this is that solitary buildings therefore have two sided entries from the street and the collective space. As stated in 5.7.7, commercial activity is centered along the main streets.

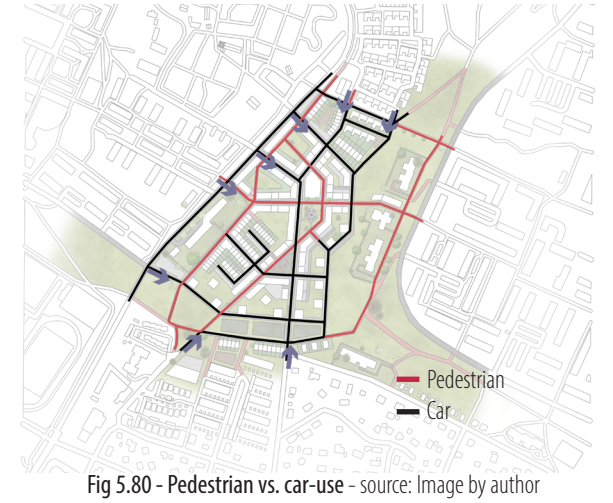


Fig 5.80 - **Pedestrian vs. car-use** - source: Image by author

5.7.11 Balancing car and pedestrian use

The street layout is formed by extending current roads leading on the grounds (according to the arrows on the map), to make sure the network acts as a connecting patch between the three districts. A balance is sought to keep parking accessible whilst at the same time trying to keep the quality of the landscape for pedestrians, both in use and visually. The main east-west road is maintained pedestrian-only, while the main north-south connection also allows cars to ensure that vehicles can reach all dwellings.

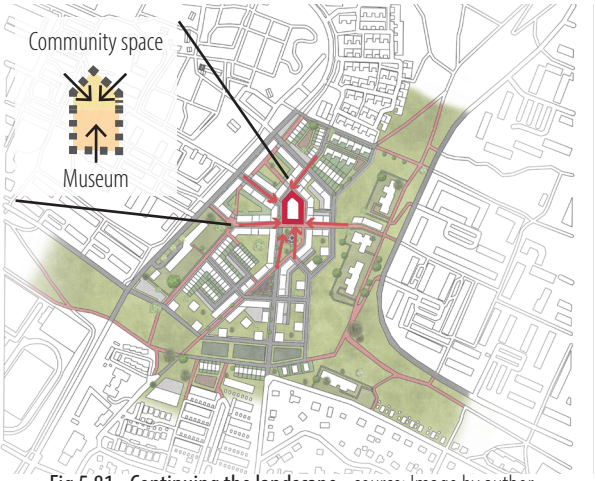


Fig 5.81 - Continuing the landscape - source: Image by author

5.7.12 Museum as landmark

In the center of the development we find the Millions programme museum, which acts as a landmark within the project. It is a building with a clear demarked central location onto the pedestrian route and the park. It is of high architectural quality (it is allowed to stand out in terms of building style) and is visible from the surrounding streets and has a transparent facade which provokes a sense of curiosity for passing pedestrians. Besides the museum it also hosts a community center which has its entrances on the north side to make sure the building has an active facade on all sides. Its central location makes this center well accessible and recognisable.

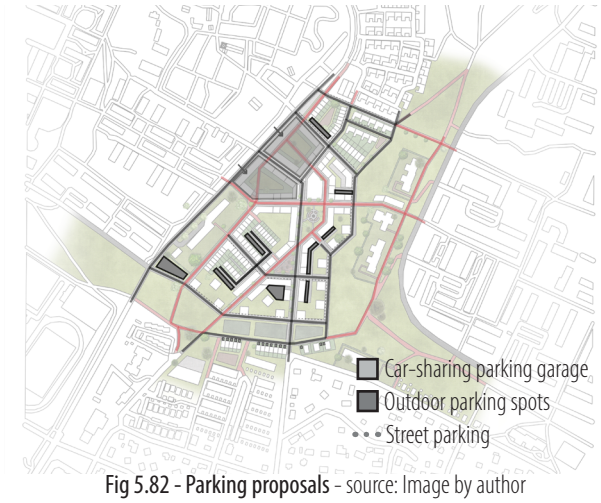


Fig 5.82 - Parking proposals - source: Image by author

5.7.13 Different parking solutions

Parking is solved in different manners in the case site. The urban blocks around the urban center are mostly served by two parking garages that are incorporated in the blocks along the Spånga Kyrkoväg, the main traffic artery. Residents of solitary buildings and adjacent blocks park in spots along the buildings. Streets that allow for parallel parking on the street are marked with the grey dashed line.

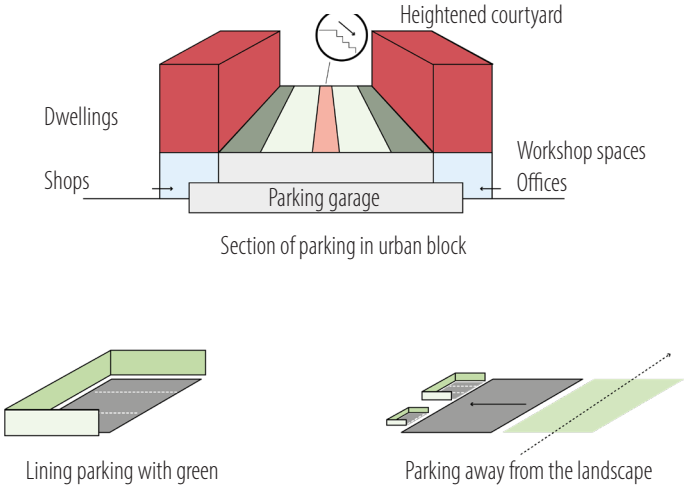


Fig 5.83 - Parking principles - source: Image by author

5.7.14 Parking principles

The diagrams on the left in Fig. 5.83 show some of the principles of the parking solutions. The sections shows the layout of the garage in the block, with shops or workshop spaces (or any other type of public function) lining the street. The garage is semi-deepened and has two layers. Car-sharing according to the proposal from site 3 (see section 5.7) can be applied here as well to increase capacity. Furthermore, parking is done on the opposite side of the landscape, so that the view on its continuity is not interrupted. The parking spots are lined with green to weaken the presence of cars on the street.

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

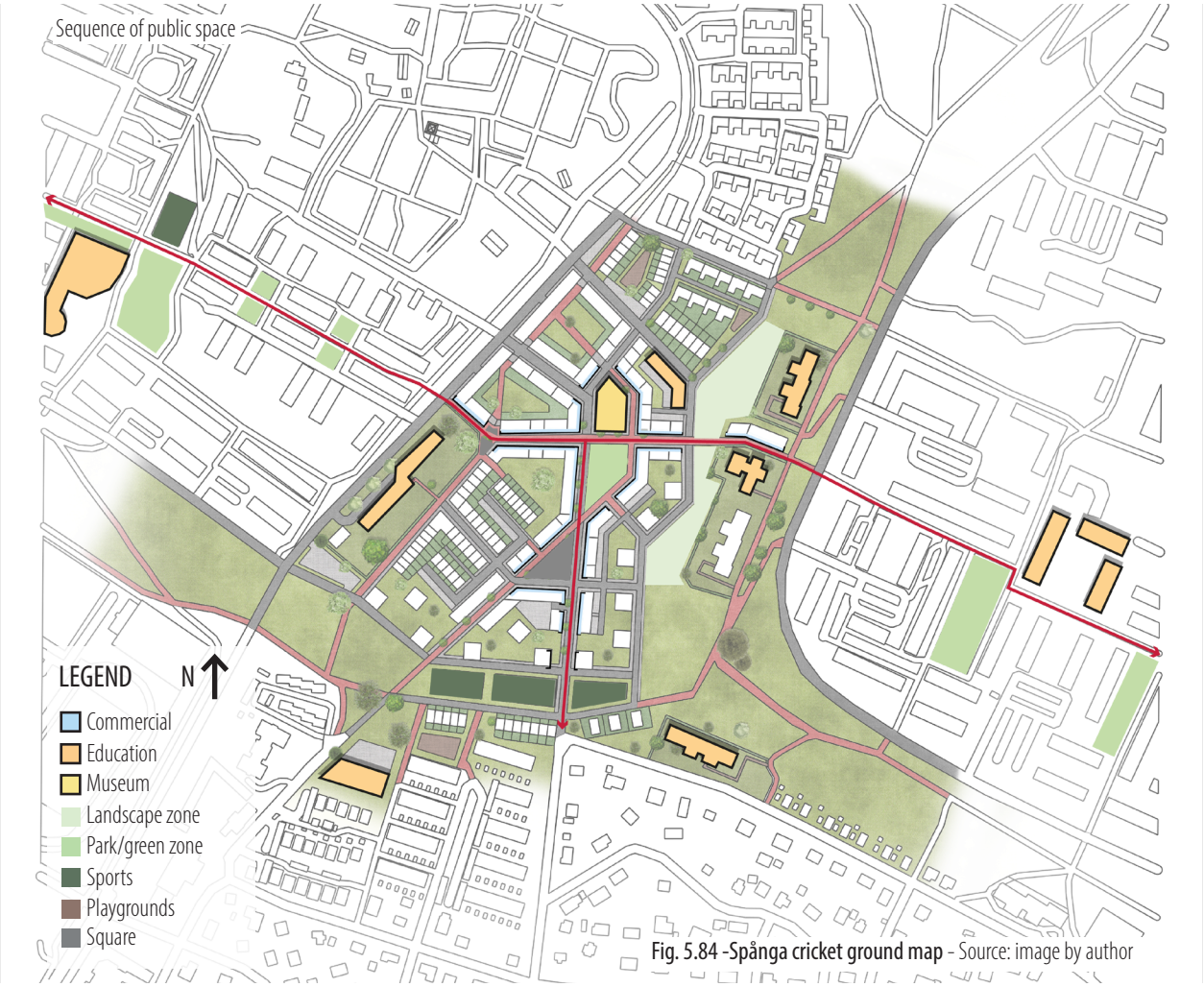


Fig. 5.84 -Spånga cricket ground map - Source: image by author

5.7.15 Spånga cricket ground as a stepping stone of public activity

Given the fact that the Spånga cricket ground is an in-between area it is naturally disconnected from nearby activity, apart from a set of local kindergartens. On the main integrated route from Tensta to Rinkeby (therefore crossing this design site) a sound sequence of public spaces is lacking. There are some open green spaces with potential along the route. However as of now they do not really have the qualities needed to serve as a destination, or to have residents make use of them for a longer duration of time that sustains a certain degree of activity.

So when it comes to the east-west sequence, the spaces in Tensta and Rinkeby are there, usually also lined with some school activity within the neighbourhood. Adding useful spaces with destination quality is key to improve the potential through movement and the economic opportunity of the commercial activity in the site as well as the Millions programme museum. There is a small square in the new design to shorten intermediate steps between public spaces towards Tensta and towards Rinkeby the landscape has a strong pull factor. This seems like a sequence that could be succesful in achieving the presented goal. The open spaces along the integrated route need to be tackled. This could be done in the fourth stage of the phasing, when development along these routes is prioritized. Part of the generated capital should then also go into the development of these spaces.

As said, the goal of the Millions programme museum and the adjacent spaces is to lure the residents from the three different districts, especially from Spånga and Bromsten which as a different population build up than the vulnerable areas and has more native residents. Towards the south the commercial spaces extend towards the edge of the patch and pass by the park, square and football fields which generate activity. The road leads onto one of the most integrated roads in Spånga, also leading out on the Bromsten centrality. Towards the south-west the pedestrian path and car road connect the central area of Spånga. This area has great regional connection through

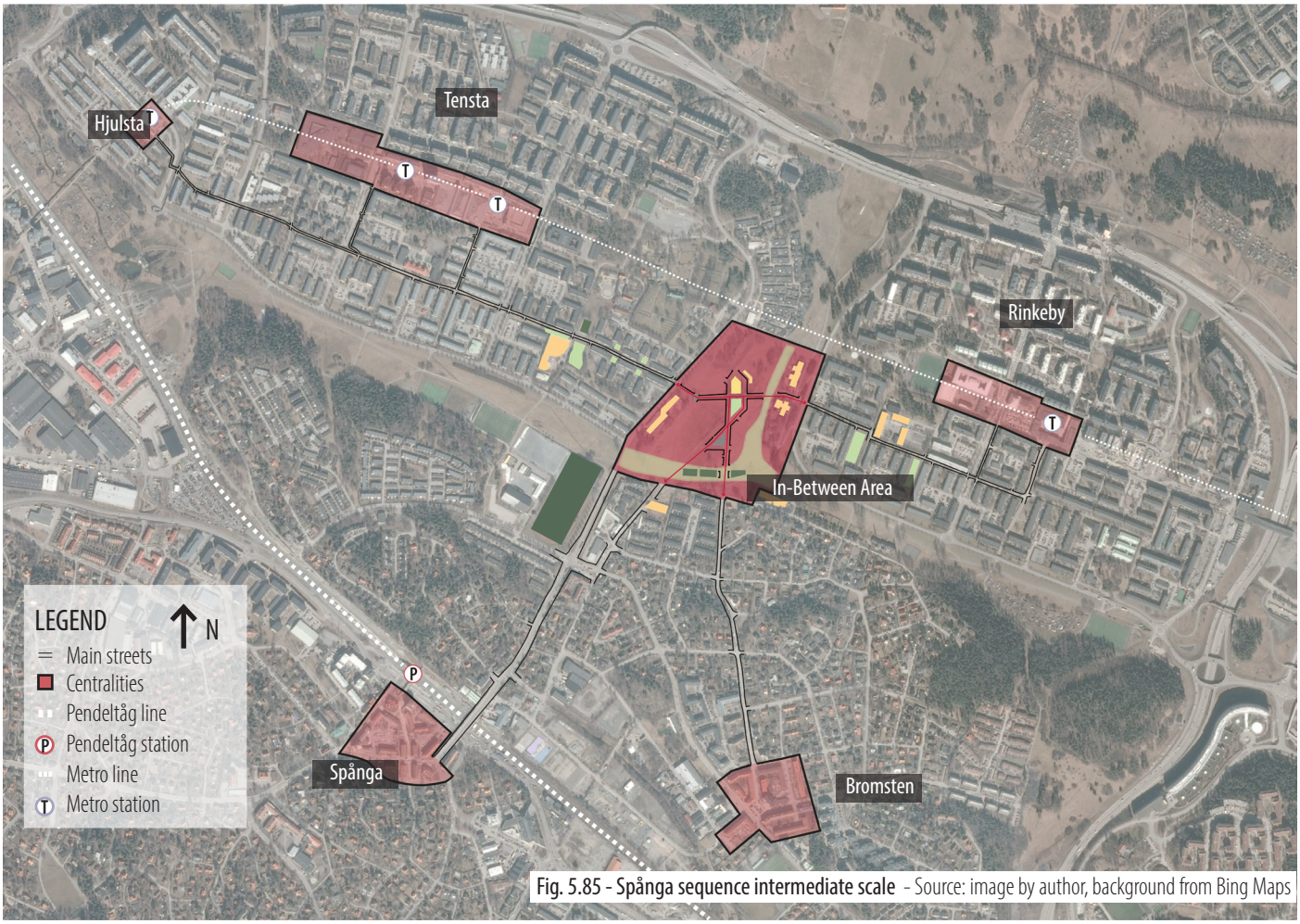


Fig. 5.85 - Spånga sequence intermediate scale - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

its Pendeltåg (light rail) station towards Jakobsberg in the North but also towards the city centre in the south. Ideally, an additional stepping stone is added to bridge this transition from centrality to centrality. Most land in this area however is privately owned by home proprietors. In this case, walkability in the street itself could be prioritized to strengthen this connection.

Besides the Tensta and Rinkeby centralities, there is also a connection towards the Hjulsta sub-center which forms the end of this part of the blue metro line. In the intermediate scale strategy this area is prioritized as it is depleted of amenities as of now, but later when this centrality becomes more vibrant it also has a stronger connection with Spånga when activity moves from a point-based model to a line-based model of streets that carry the design principles from section 5.1.

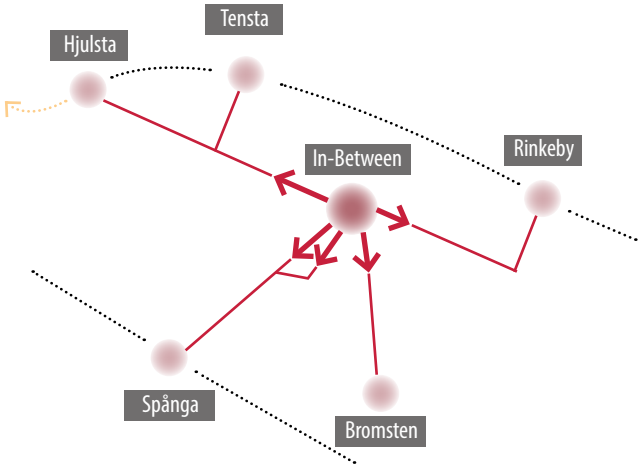


Fig. 5.86 - In-between area's position in network - Source: image by author

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

5.7.15 Living environments - Urban-oriented

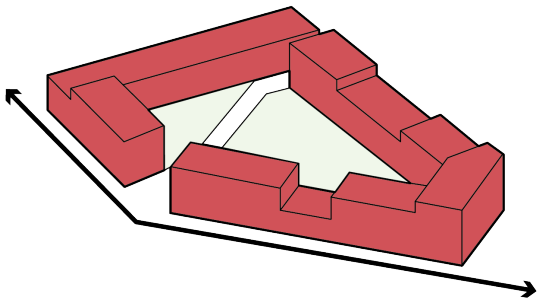


Fig 5.87 - Reference of Annedal, Stockholm - Source: Image by author

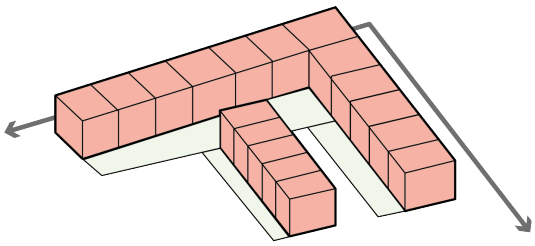


Fig 5.88 - Reference of Utrecht, the Netherlands - Source: Image by author

5.7.16 Permeable blocks with regular and multi-story apartments

This environment is experienced as a continuous city rather than a continuous landscape, it has an urban feel. It has a visual relationship with the collective space in the courtyard and the street life around the open block. They are situated along the most central streets in the area. Apartments have different sizes and can consist of regular apartments as well as upstairs and ground floor apartments with separate front doors in streets where the plinth is not filled with commercial activity. Blocks are around four or five stories in height. Apartments have private outdoor space in the form of balconies as well as collective outdoor space in the courtyards. This environment has a balance between private and collective living, both with owned and shared facilities. Parking is done on the street or in garages.

5.7.17 Target groups

Dwellings for the largest part consist of affordable apartments and/or studios for low- to middle incomes. The density of dwellings per hectare is the highest in this environment. Possible target groups could be students, starting singles and couples.

Legend for diagrams

Least integrated — Least integrated

5.7.18 Terraced house blocks

This environment is experienced as a continuous city rather than a continuous landscape, it has an urban feel. It has front doors on the ground level, with a transitional space (f.e. front garden, small patio) towards the public space. There is a visual relationship with the street. Homes are three or even four stories in height, and have medium-sized private outdoor space. Parking is done perpendicular in parking spaces on the street or through parking spots parallel to the street.

5.7.19 Target groups

Dwellings in this environment are larger in size and have ample space both inside and outside. They are mostly directed towards middle-high incomes and are located slightly away from the more crowded streets but close to the nearby school. Therefore they are mostly suited for families with children.

5.7.20 Living environments - Landscape-oriented

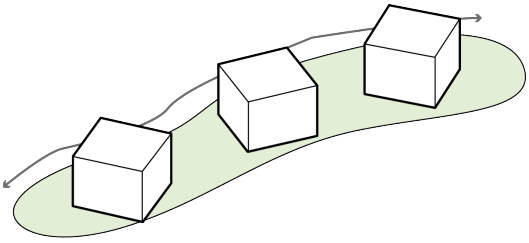


Fig 5.89 - Reference of Tensta, Stockholm - Source: Image by author

5.7.21 Apartments with private balconies in solitary buildings

This environment is experienced as a continuous landscape, where the landscape 'owns' the space and the solitary buildings are elements in the landscape itself. There is a visual relationship with the landscape at a distance. Apartments are of different sizes in the solitary buildings, with private balconies looking out over the continuous landscape. Buildings are around four or five stories in height. Furthermore balconies look out over collective space in between the solitary buildings which provides collective facilities for picknicking, barbecuing, playgrounds and parking of cars and bikes. This is done in collective terrains next to the buildings. The in-between space between the buildings is the space where to meet up with neighbours and organise social events.

5.7.22 Target groups

Dwellings in these buildings can be diversified from both affordable to more expensive, with the more expensive dwellings on the top floors. They therefore could appeal to a wide variety of users like elderly couples who want to be closeby to amenities but still want to live quietly. Other target groups include small families, starters, young couples or newly-working singles.

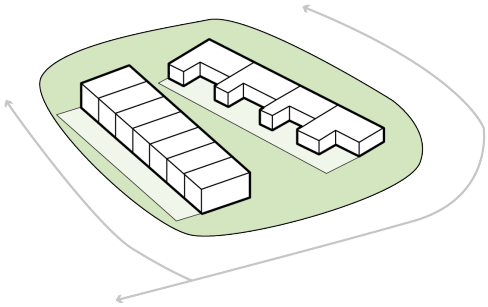


Fig 5.90 - Reference of Jakobsberg, Stockholm - Source: Image by author

5.7.23 Low-rise rowhouses and (semi-)detached family homes

This environment is experienced as a continuous landscape, where the landscape is continuous and the dwellings 'parasite' onto the landscape. They are generally located along the least integrated streets. There is a clear visual relationship with the nearby landscape and its continuity is unobstructed. Dwellings consist of low-rise rowhouses and (semi-)detached family houses or bungalows, usually between one and three stories high. Dwellings have a relatively large private garden at the back and private on-site parking. Living here is calm and quiet, but still is close to the amenities of the urban-oriented environments.

5.7.24 Target groups

Dwellings of this type are very popular with families with children or with elderly couples that seek both the privacy and quietness of the suburbs, but still want to have the benefits of the city. Single-family homes of these kind are very popular and therefore often only affordable for middle-high income groups. The density of dwellings per hectare is the lowest in this environment.

5.7 Design site 2 - Spånga cricket ground

In-Between Area

Fig. 5.91 - Spånga cricket ground isometry - Source: image by author

5.7.25 Two complementary qualities

As described in the design principles overview, the design aims to achieve both urban-oriented and landscape-oriented qualities. Residents can choose the living environment of their preference, which has been diversified according to four types defined on the previous pages. However, they can benefit from both environments as they still are in close proximity.

Fig. 5.92 and 5.93 show a representation of both urban and landscape-oriented qualities from an eye level perspective. The first image shows an impression of what the central space of the development could be like. It shows the museum on the main route from Tensta to Rinkeby, opening up to the park which is clearly enclosed by the surrounding blocks. It has a transparant facade and hosts both the museum and a new community centre for the area.

The residents of the urban blocks have balconies that have a direct view on the park and the museum. It is a place for people to make appointments and meet up, either sitting in the park for a chat or grabbing a coffee in a nearby café. It is a place where intended encounters are likely to occur, as the main integrated streets are lined with public functions like shops, workshop spaces and small offices.

The second image shows the visual relationship between the dwellings and the landscape. It shows the continuous north-south connection of the grassland and how it is lined by a sidewalk which can be used for strolls along the landscape. The grass can be used for picknicks in summer and for any type of activity requiring larger areas of space like frisbeeing, soccer and other team sports.

It is an area where people can escape a bit from the vigor of the centre in image 1. Still, the landscape is watched by by-passing pedestrians as well as the inhabitants of the solitary buildings. Their balconies have a view on the landscape from an elevated standpoint and allows for even longer sightlines now that height differences of the ground have been overcome.

Residents from Spånga (in the south) now have a direct access to this area and can be attracted through the public magnet of the museum as well as the new amenities that are now in close proximity to their before monofunctional suburb. The zone where the landscape forms a spatial separation between the two areas has been given the use of outdoor sport fields. One of the fields is currently already in place, and the sports function ensures that despite the separation this area still has a use that attracts activity and potential visitors.

Fig. 5.92 - Street level image 1 - Source: image by author

Fig. 5.93 - Street level image 2 - Source: image by author

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

5.8.1 The disintegrated network of Husby

For the final of three case site designs, attention is turned to the surroundings of the Norgegatan in Husby in Norra Järvastaden. This case site deals with the concept spaces of the pedestrian route and the parking garage. In addition the role of the nearby centrality in Husby is taken into account.

The Norgegatan is the central traffic artery and in many instances the only connection between the streets of Husby and the rest of the city as a result of the street hierarchy typical for Million programme areas. It lies deepened in relation to the surrounding buildings and is crossed by multiple pedestrian bridges. Parralel to the road there is a heightened pedestrian path, which leads onto the Sibeliusgången street in Akalla which acts there as the main centrality. On the east side the road leads onto the Kista ICT cluster.

On the other side of the Norgegatan, we find the central area of Husby with a small supply of shops, a library, community centre and the metro station. The area is surrounded by a couple of *Grundskola,* which holds education between ages 7 and 16. On the west side where Akalla and Husby's borders meet a couple of sports facilities can be found, including a sports hall, swimming pool and ice skating rink.

5.8.2 What is troublesome?

Furthermore, the area is characteristic of a large number of parking garages. These garages are prevalent in other districts of Järva as well and in other Million programme estates, however in Husby the garages are located quite closely together and are also larger in size. The garages are dugged into the ground, usually with the ground floor having a ground level facade on one end with the other side being below ground level due to the topography of the area. As described in the field work the garages are often large concrete structures with low floor heights and closed facades, forming unpleasant routes from homes to the central shopping area.

Performing spatial analysis on Husby reveals a couple of peculiar findings. Firstly, proves not only to be the main integrator for cars but also for pedestrians. This is perhaps not surprising, but it reveals a certain mismatch of the location of functions and their position in the network. Husby's main amenities are concentrated around the Edvard Griegsgången, a pedestrian route running parallel to the Norgegatan. However, on the larger scale it has very odd connections to the network especially where the route starts and ends. In Akalla, the route crosses a road and then ends on the terrain of a school which also has two seemingly random buildings hosting a restaurant and a waste collection point. Towards the east the route extends into Kista where it ends onto a large road without clear continuation to other pedestrian paths.

5.8.3 New qualities

The proposed quality of walkability and its reinterpretation to a quality where walking is not pleasurable because it is separated from traffic, but because it allows you to meet other people in a safe and attractive environment is of primary importance in Husby. It links streets and public spaces in a more effective way, where the strategic position of commercial activity is strengthened and additional eyes on the street improves perception of safety. Parking garages have the potential to become an asset to Husby instead of a nuisance for pedestrians. They are located right within existing urban fabric and could be used as a strategic location for densification which could improve plinth quality and diversity in building ages.

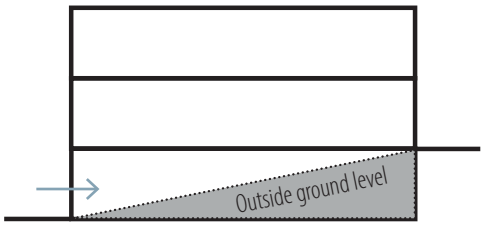


Fig. 5.94 - Parking garage diagram - Source: Image by author

Fig. 5.95 - 1. Norgegatan pedestrian route - Source: Image by author

Fig. 5.96 - 2. Nidarosgatan parking garage - Source: Google Streetview

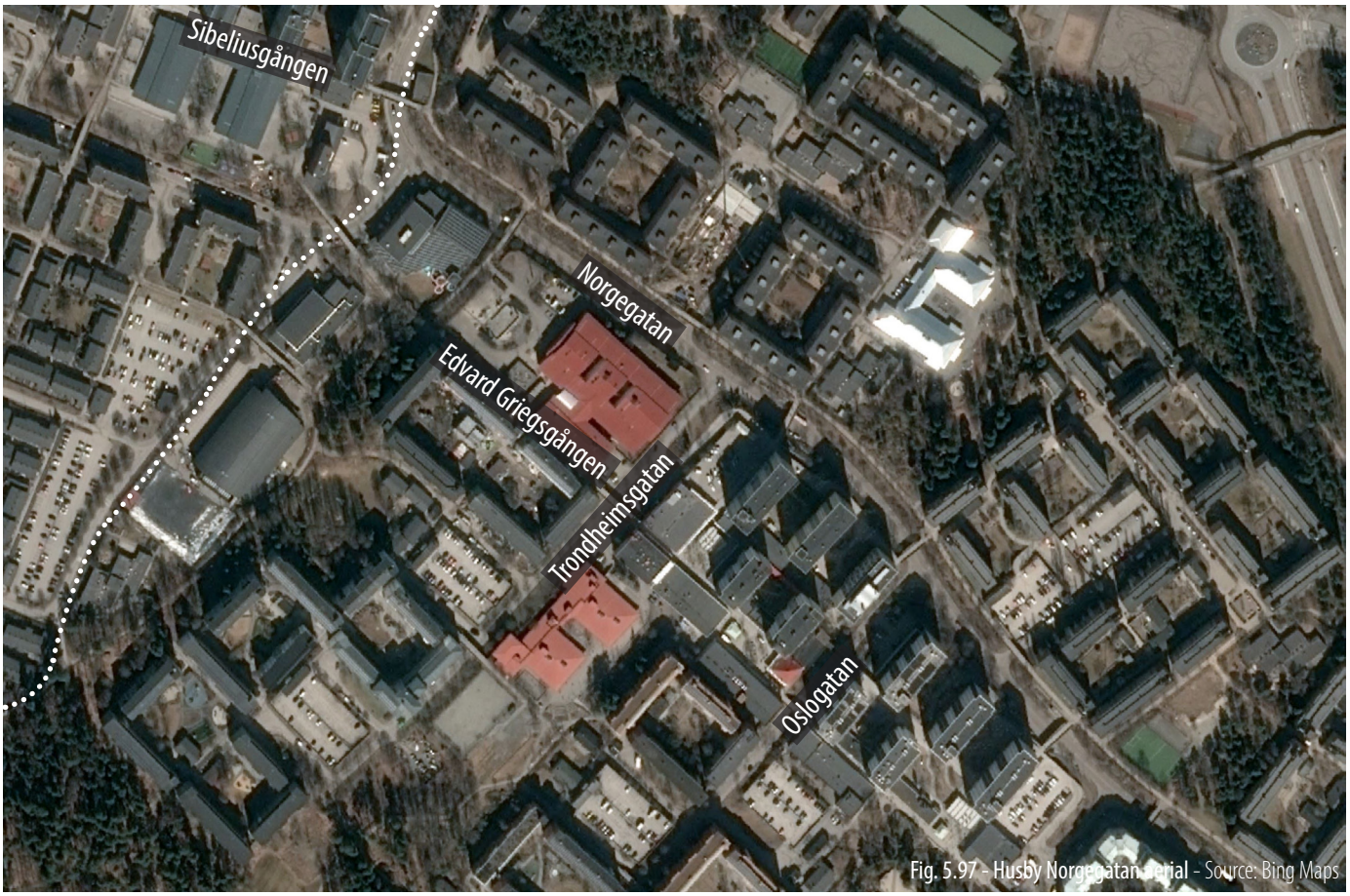


Fig. 5.97 - Husby Norgegatan aerial - Source: Bing Maps

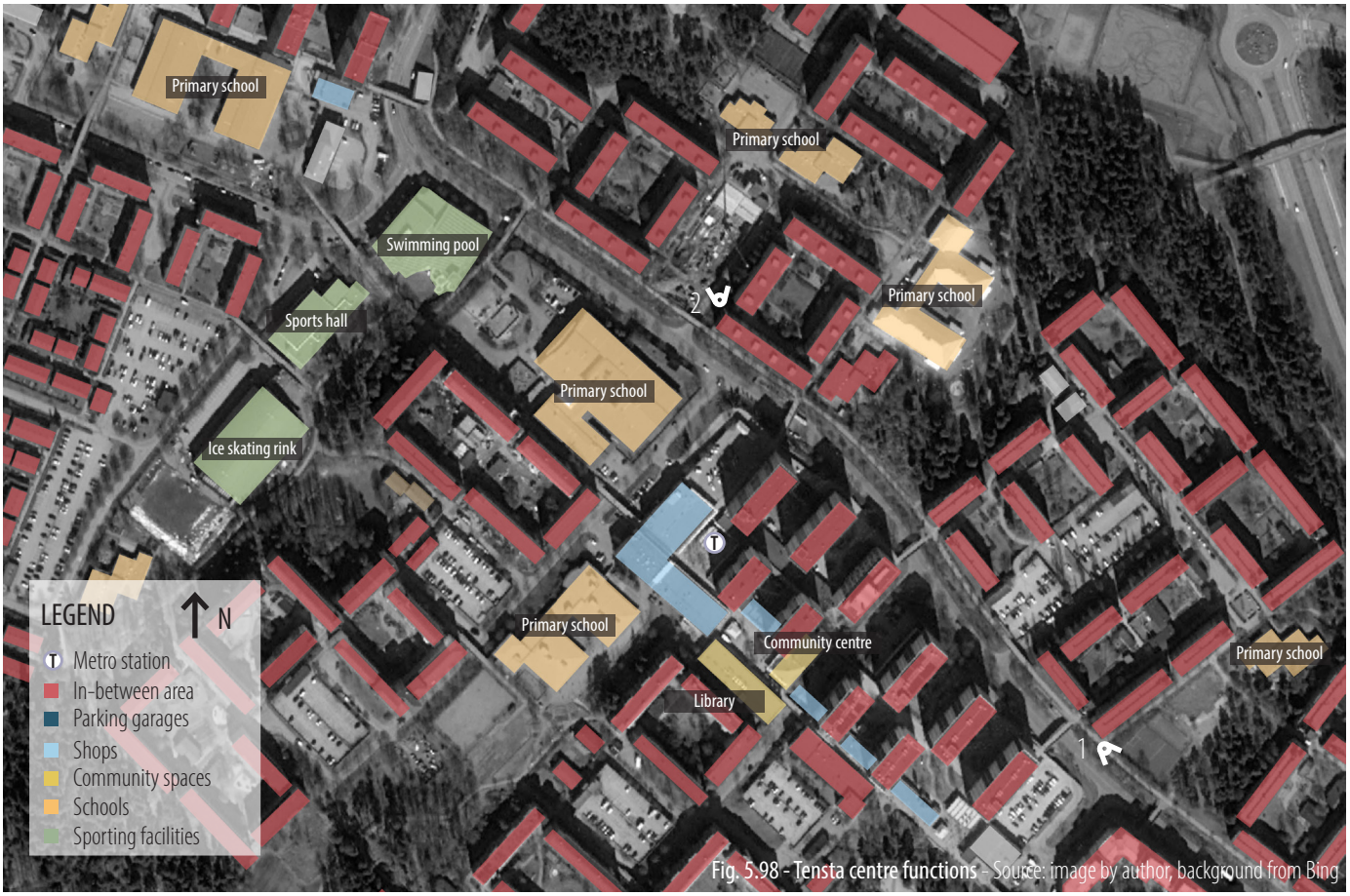


Fig. 5.98 - Tensta centre functions - Source: image by author, background from Bing

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

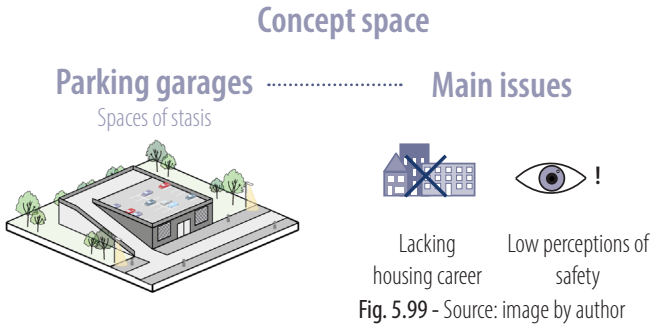
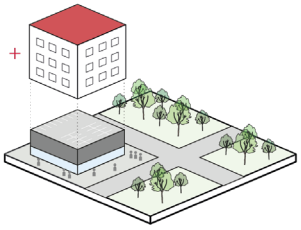


Fig. 5.99 - Source: image by author

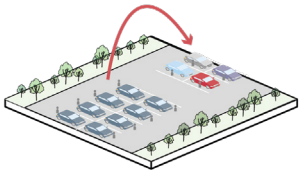
Parking garages in Million programme estates are commonly worn-down concrete structures without active use. They create blind facades around residential areas and contribute to anonymity of space. However, their prominent locations also pose a big potential to mix new development at different spots creating more diversity in building ages. Redesigning the ground floor for public functions can change these static spaces into more dynamic living environments.

Interventions



Densify on parking garages
Scale: Local
Layer: Spatial

Fig. 5.100 - Source: image by author



Car-sharing concept in garages
Scale: Local
Layer: Social

Fig. 5.101 - Source: image by author

5.8.4 Turning spaces of stasis into spaces of activity

Currently Järva is flocked by parking garages, more often than not they are also semi-heightened or partly dug into the stony ridges of the topography. They can however be used advantageously in improving diversity in the monofunctional areas. It is proposed to use the current structure of the parking garages as a foundation for densification on top of them. These constructions are strong enough to add additional dwellings on top of them, and it will help increase the concentration of people in the area whilst also mixing buildings in age and architectural appearance.The ground floor could be transformed to a more public function, either work ateliers, community spaces or workshop spaces for corporate recruitment. Because of the height differences it is also possible to see if parking can be the 'middle' layer of the complex with dwellings on top.

This is quite a complex puzzle when it comes to the actual architecture and experience of these buildings, and might not be possible everywhere. If parking has to remain the function on the ground floor, also efforts could be made to make the experience of walking past it more pleasant. This could be done by adding plants on the facade, making it more transparent or by cladding it with a softer material like wood which already has been done at some of the other garages.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad
Municipalities

5.8.5 Reducing cars in the street whilst improving mobility

More inhabitants also means more demand for parking. However, the already prevaling dominance of cars and the proposed increase in concentration of people will put the liveability of the area under pressure.

To reduce car dependency whilst at the same time improving mobility of vulnerable residents, it could be feasible to set up a car sharing concept in Järva. The base for this could lie in new constructions on top of current garages, where new residents can share cars within their apartment block. It can help people get in touch with others whom they share their car with and it also means less additional parking spots will be required. Furthermore, due to the vulnerable socio-economic position of most residents it is clear that sharing a car could also help release the car as a neccesary financial burden for many families that are currently struggling with unemployment. Especially since the suburbs are still very much car-reliant, not having a car limits the mobility of residents quite a lot. The municipality could also seek out locals who are willing to engage in the set up such a business within the region who have expertise in the automobile industry to also foster local employment opportunities.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad
Municipalities

Residents

Fig. 5.102 - Husby Norgegatan integration core 800m walking distance - Source: background Bing Maps, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

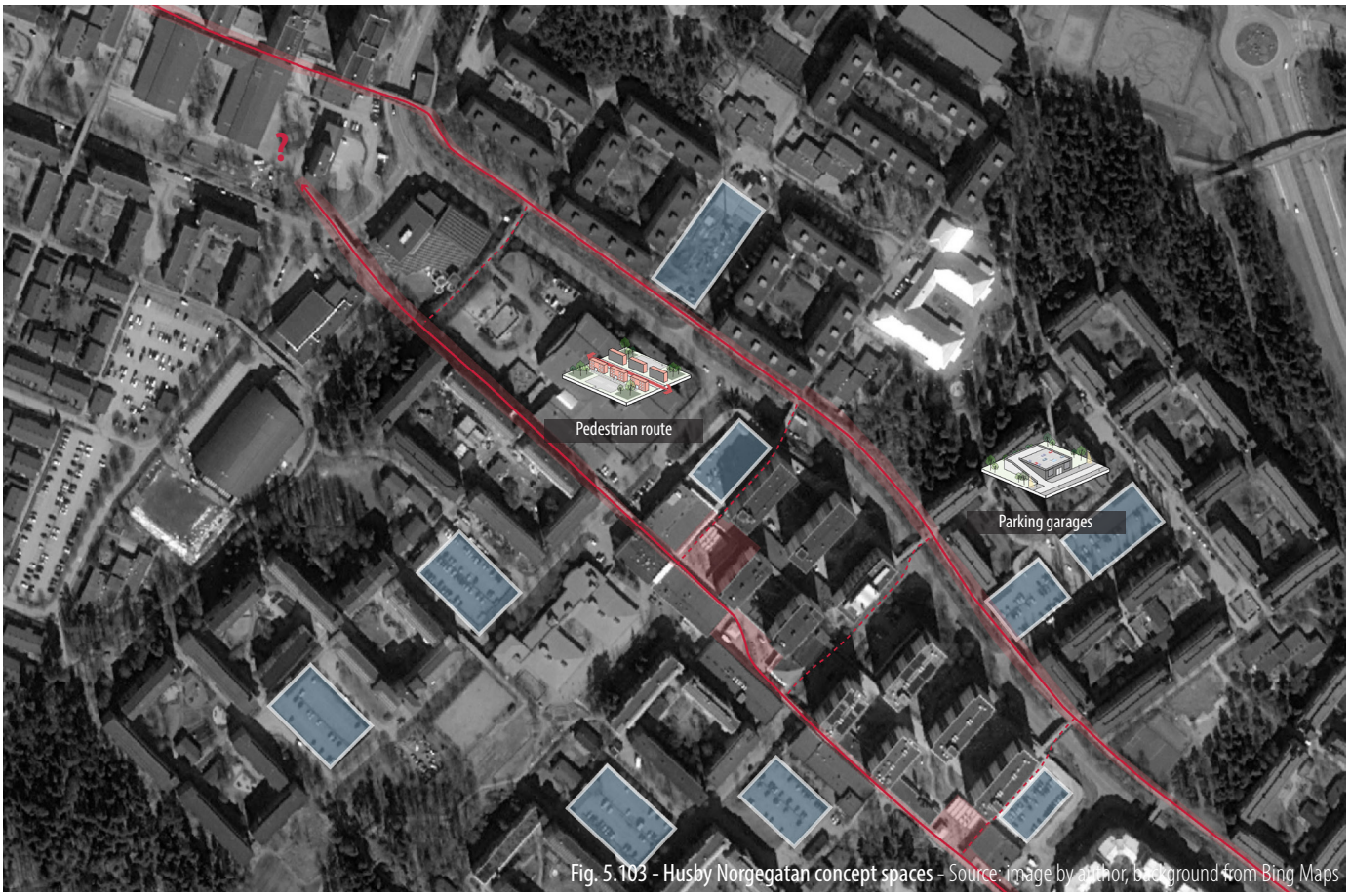


Fig. 5.103 - Husby Norgegatan concept spaces - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

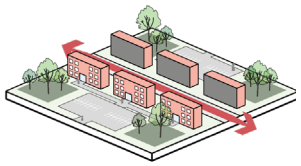
5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

Concept space

Pedestrian route

Spaces of movement



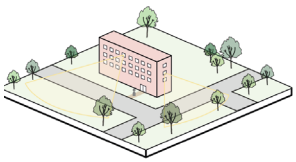
Main issues

Low perceptions of safety

Fig. 5.104 - Source: image by author

Pedestrian routes in Million programme estates are often long stretches of pavement along the backside of buildings, without entrances leading onto to them as a result of the traffic separation. As a result they are prone to crime given their anonymous character. They often cross car roads through deteriorated concrete bridges, which make them prone to vandalism. Getting more people on these streets and upgrading them esthetically can eventually turn these allies into more active and safe streets.

Interventions



Eyes on the street policy

Scale: Local

Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.105 - Source: image by author

5.8.6 Increased social control

As frequently preached by Jane Jacobs (1961), streets need 'eyes' to feel safe and especially the feeling of being safe among non-locals. This experience has two components, the first being 'fear' or feeling unsafe and the second being the actual crime that is taking place. The way these two components relate to eachother is what constitutes feelings of safety or unsafety. Fear in space is a product of a set of factors, usually a mix of knowledge on events that happened in space in addition to the way people perceive an environment with their senses. This is an individual process, as is the decision to engage in criminal activities (Interview #9). Reducing feelings of safety therefore not only means reducing crime, it also means understanding the spatial dynamics under which crime thrive and how the urban planner can help minimize crime propensities. Therefore an 'eyes on the street' policy is proposed that can stir on the street level scale the type of developments that can contribute to reducing feelings of unsafety, especially on the concept space of the Pedestrian route.

To make spaces feel safe, people need to be able to see, hear and smell an environment that does not alarm them for danger. Especially the visual aspect is very important, so intervisibility in the built environment is crucial. Million programme estates by nature have a lot of open space and would therefore seem to facilitate good intervisibility and therefore feel safe. However, the intervisibility is first of all limited because of traffic separation, leading to height differences. Moreover, other factors that would get eyes on the street are lacking to such a degree that the areas still have the lowest perceived safety in all of Stockholm. Again it is stressed that people need to be helped in other ways then just altering the environment to reduce crime, that is a utopia. But when it concerns a design task, what is the contribution the urban planner or designer can make? In this project an 'eyes on the street' policy is proposed. It sets out guidelines and perhaps even requirements for new developments to set the conditions for their environments to be as safe as possible through increased social control. This means guidelines and regulations on:

(1)**The length of new urban blocks**, and their possibility to turn corners frequently. In other words, a certain degree of permeability that allows for intervisibility and diversity within visual order. The permeability factor of an urban tissue can be measured and could be required to reach a certain level in new design proposals (Pafka & Dovey, 2017).

(2)**Constitution of streets**. Making sure that the parcellation design considers that all streets have entrances leading onto them and facilitate the presence of people in the streets.

(3)**Street network configuration**. Streets that have most propensity to attract crime are those with poor local integration and high global integration and which have no people passing through it facilitating social control, this is the case in for example cul-de-sac layouts. Improving the integration of streets in the network therefore will help reduce crime propensities.

(4)**The size and visibility of residential entrances and commercial frontages.** Entrances to dwelling should be of reasonable size to be recognised from a far and preferably have transparent facades to create a visual indoor-outdoor relationship. Frontages of commercial units should be mixed in length and should mostly be kept relatively short to create diversity and prevent large frontages from leaving large parts of the street without building entrances.

(5)**The outlook of balconies and windows.** Strategically placing balconies and windows based on their outlook on public spaces and streets.

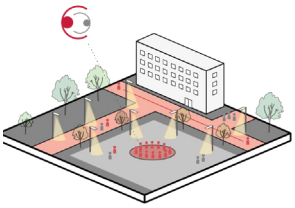
(6) **Distinctive ownership of space.** Use and ownership of space should be designed and demarcated by physical elements in such a way that people know which space is theirs to appropriate..

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad — Municipalities

Länsstyrelsen Stockholm — County Board

Boverket — Boverket



Support for nightwalk initiatives
Scale: Local
Layer: Social

Fig. 5.106 - Source: image by author

5.8.7 Re-establishing trust in security

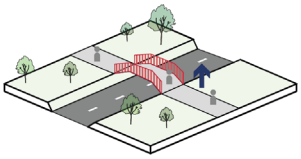
Relations with the police are under pressure in vulnerable areas and so is the case in Järva (Interpeace, 2014; Bouma, 2017; Franssen, 2018). Mistrust is high in both directions. As a result of social disorganisation, collective resources are not strong enough to impose social control that is able to reduce crime and vandalism from happening (Ceccato & Haining, 2005).

An intermediate solution could found in the bottom-up community policing initiatives set up by civil society, one of these is the Nattvandring initiative (nightwalk), a non-profit organisation working all across the country. Locals organise night walks and approach their fellow residents, where the levels of authority and hierarchy diminish and people address eachother on their responsibilities. As one of the interviewees (#9) said: ''If you go around policing, you can't make friends''. Obviously this is not a solution for heavy criminal activity, but it helps to improve social control and it adds eyes for natural surveillance. Especially during times when no activity is or should be happening on the streets it can be a valuable addition, which is mostly the case at night due to the monofunctionality of the area. Providing financial support as well as small working spaces for organisations of these kind can help improve bonds of trust until Järva can become more self-sufficient in social control.

Stakeholders

Stockholms stad
Municipalities

NATTVANDRING.NU
Nattvandring.nu



Upgrading pedestrian bridges
Scale: Local
Layer: Spatial

Fig. 5.107 - Source: image by author

5.8.8 Robust yet transparant pedestrian bridges

As evident from the fieldwork in section 4, current pedestrian bridges are often old and vandalised structures that further degrade the function of the pedestrian routes in Järva. They are often not illuminated at night and their balustrades are thick and closed walls made of concrete. All in all it is clear they are not very pleasant to walk across and they do not contribute to a safe environment.

In Husby (see Fig 5.108) the bridges in Husby closest to Kista have been renovated. They have been replaced by steel bridges, with an open balustrade. These bridges are a lot more appealing, as they are less prone to the vandalism committed to other bridges, for example graffiti. Generally they are more sturdy to resist destruction and their transparancy allows for people to better view what is happening on the bridge from different levels. This type of renovation is an intervention that is relatively small scale and can be carried out multitude in the vulnerable areas. Therefore it is recommended to further renovate other bridges in the area, which could all be done according to this design or with small alterations (f.e. colour) to make each bridge distinguishable. Chosing one bridge to have more architectural presence in the area, like as been done in Rinkeby with the bridge over Rinkebystråket is a transferable strategy for this case site. What has not been done here it seems, is to integrate lighting in the bridge. Especially during winters when days are short, it could be beneficial to have lighting available in the bridges especially on those close to centralities or those who enjoy the most use. This is not a measure preventing crime in itself, but rather adds to perceptions of safety and improved visibility.

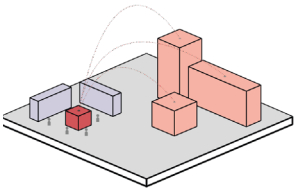
Stakeholders

Stockholms stad
Municipalities

Fig. 5.108 - Example of upgraded bridge - Source: Image by author

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages



CSR programmes
Scale: Intermediate, Local
Layer: Social, spatial

Fig. 5.109 - Source: image by author

5.8.9 Increased involvement of nearby enterprises in community life

Unemployment in Järva is as high as 40% according to city statistics and the lack of a job strongly disregulates vulnerable families and their connection to society (Interpeace, 2014; Municipality of Stockholm, 2015). At the same time, the ICT cluster in Kista is one of the largest economic drivers of the Swedish economy. It hosts multinationals like IBM, Ericsson and Tele2, but also hotel chains like Scandic. However, the corporations and enterprises are seemingly not at all involved in what happens on the other side of the central Norgegatan/Danemarkgatan, to the disappointment of residents (Interviewee #12). Furthermore there are also campusses of KTH and a technical gymnasium with good education facilities, but since there is no educational institution anymore in Järva that grant entry to higher education, they are inaccessible to the local students.

This latter issue is more effectively solved by improved local educational facilities like the proposed proliferation of the community school and eventual reopening of institutions like the Tensta Gymnasium. However, for newcoming adults (which are plenty in Järva) this is not an option anymore. Adult education is available in Järva, but is mainly focussed on teaching language skills (Vuxenutbildning Stockholm, n.d.). This is problematic, because many foreign-born residents in Järva lack a general education background. An example of a vulnerable group is the Somalian community in Järva, which come from a country ruled by war and instability and therefore many have not had the opportunity to get proper education. As a result they are also one of the groups that have the highest unemployment rates (Andersson et al, 2010).

For those groups, employment is crucial to become part of society. It strengthens their connection with other groups, further improves their language skills and gives them back ownership over their new lives. It is key to provide a system that allows them to acquire good vocational skills. The adult education by the municipality provides some courses that are aimed at preparation for professional work. It would be a wasted opportunity not to investigate how the city can appeal to the social corporate responsibility of closeby enterprises in the area and how their expertise could help educate local residents and train them in vocational schooling.

For public-private partnership like this to work, it is important that both sides have something to gain from a collaboration. For a municipality or local organisation that means the provision of new skills and information for the residents. For a company this could mean the possibility to train potential future workers in a specific way that business operations become more efficient, in addition to positive exposure and advertisement in media.

The municipality, possibly in collaboration with local community organisation can set up spaces that the corporate enterprises can exploit for local workshops and networking events. Either new spaces in in areas of development can be used for this or in existing community buildings. A local office of the national labour agency Arbetsförmedlingen can help match offer and demand to help structure how and where certain workshops and courses can be set up. Again, hiring locals (area managers) that can help bridge language barriers are important up until Swedish is sufficiently mastered to venture onto the labour market. Other ideas of supporting local entrepeneurship could be the offering of services at discounted rates or even free of charge and setting up volunteering initiatives for employees of enterprises to promote their leadership skills (LaVine, 2013). These open-acces programmes could help to turn hobbies into prolific employment and foster social inclusion in Järva (Cities of Making, 2020).

Stakeholders

Arbetsförmedlingen — Arbetsförmedlingen

Stockholms stad — Municipality

Local associations

Scandic

IBM

ERICSSON

Private enterprises

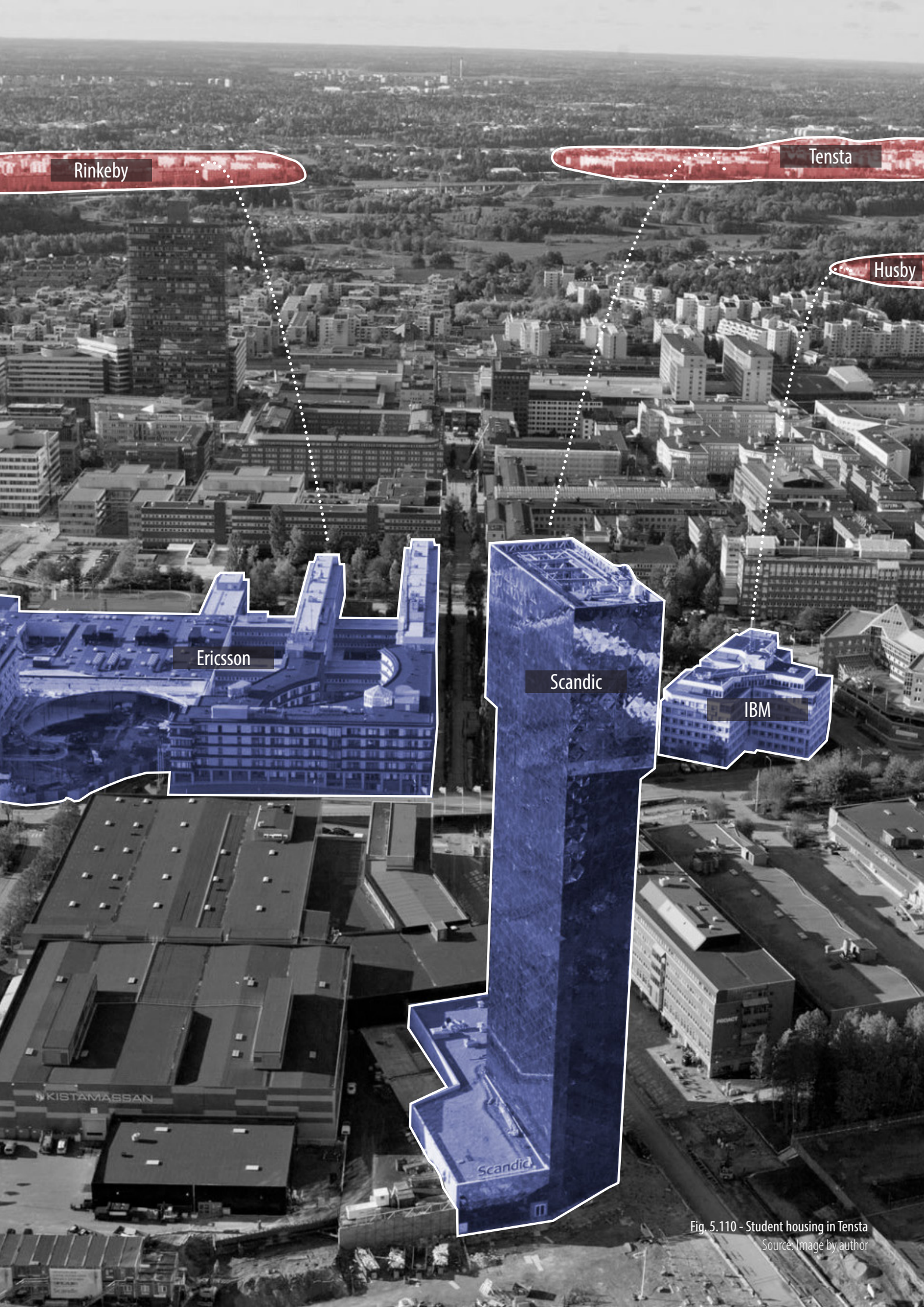


Fig. 5.110 - Student housing in Tensta
Source: Image by author

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

Fig. 5.111 - Husby Norgegatan map - Source: background Bing Maps

Fig. 5.112 - Husby Norgegatan function map - Source: background Bing Maps

Fig. 5.113 - source: Image by author

5.8.10 Melting two axis together

As of now the most integrated route according to Space Syntax analysis is the Norgegatan, the central pedestrian and traffic route in Husby. It however has no uses on it to draw visitors. This leaves the Norgegatan as any other pedestrian route, without active facades and with low perceived safety. At the same time, the centrality on the other side is depleted of potential through-movement as the axis of the Edvard Griegsgången is poorly connected to Akalla, partly obstructed by a waste collection building. Merging this function with residential use to finance a redesign of this area can improve the integration of the street and the sequence of public space. The waste collection itself could be moved to a nearby location, possibly on a northern part of the Norgegatan.

Fig. 5.114 - source: Image by author

5.8.11 Fluid transition

Merging the two axis is done by physically connecting them. Simply expanding and widening current bridges is not deemed effective enough. Thereforethe two sides are landscaped together, forming a new park. The Norgegatan is broken up in two, but the nearby Hanstavägen still means car travel between both sides is possible. Moreover the space between the centrality and the Norgegatan has quite some height differences and the land on the northern side is considerably higher. Instead of creating a rocky wall here, the two height difference is bridged more subtlely by extending the slope down towards the central area. The centrality is practically extended towards both axis, with a synergy of urban and landscape quality.

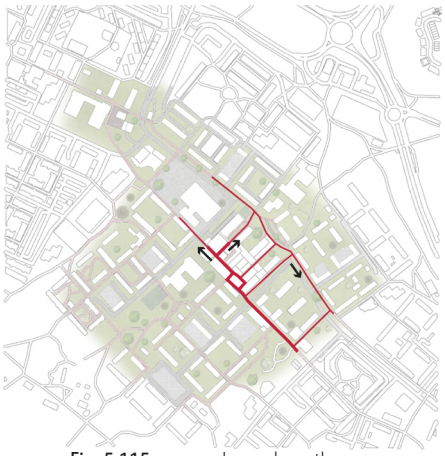


Fig. 5.115 - source: Image by author

5.8.12 Activity on both sides

To increase the eyes on the street on the Norgegatan whilst at the same time improving the strategic location of the centrality, it is logical to expand the activity of the centrality on both axis. This means using the ground floors of parking garages and new constructions for public functions and creating an extra crossing possibility in between the two current existing bridges. The densification of the parking garage next to the metro station contributes to this continued activity.

See appendix for design log with sketches

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

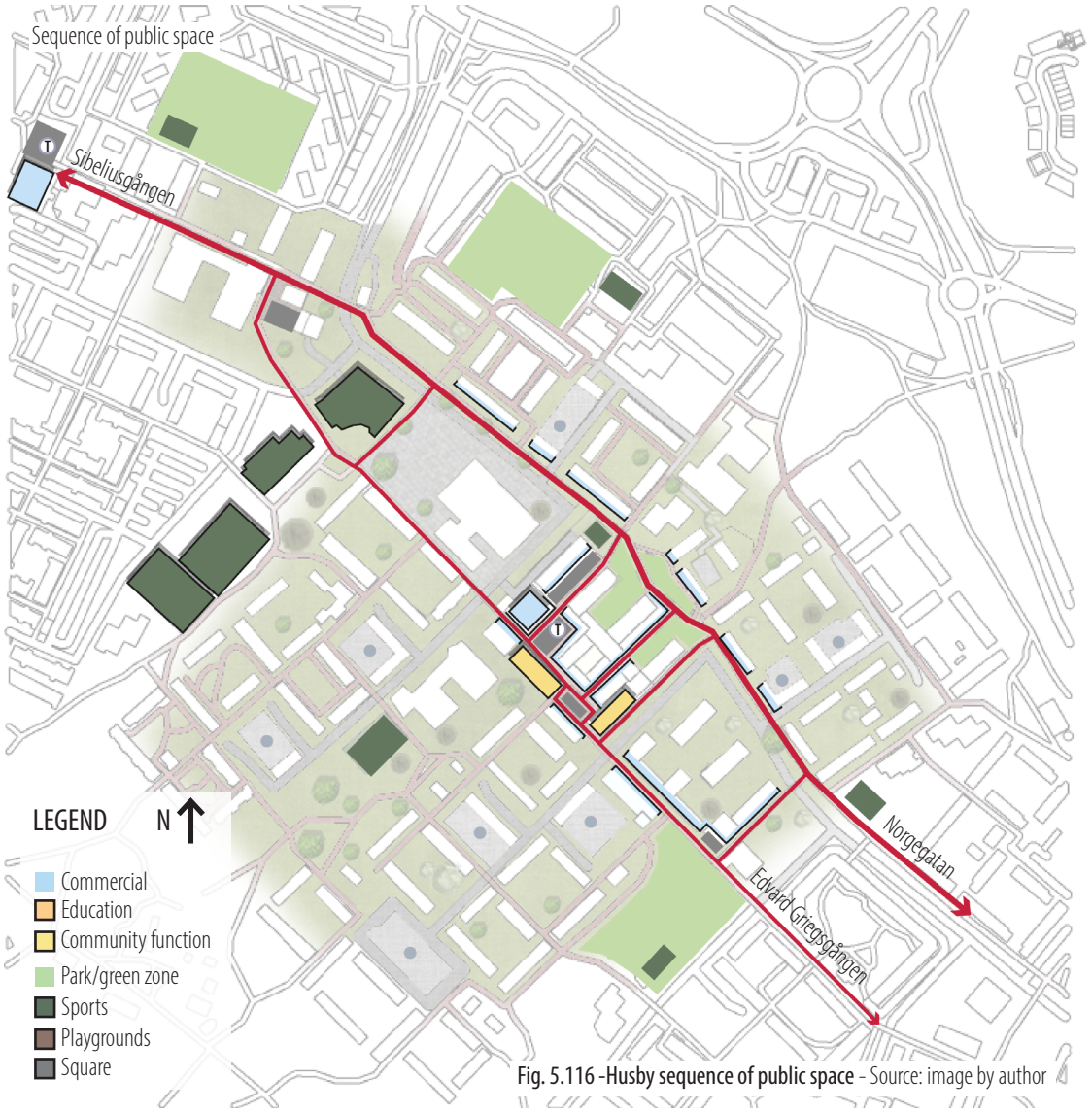


Fig. 5.116 -Husby sequence of public space - Source: image by author

5.8.10 New public spaces strengthening continuity

When looking at the different public spaces in the Husby area it can be concluded that the area is quite fragmented when it comes to the relationship between public space and the integration of the network. Husbyparken and Lofotenparken are mostly disconnected from the main backbone. For Lofotenpark this is not a large concern, since this is mainly a community park for people living directly next to it. Husbyparken however has a more central place and role in the neighbourhood. This is another argument to strengthen the Edvard Griegsgången as a second axis.

Improving the spatial relationship between the Akalla and Husby centralities is another argument for this dual axis proposal. To make the access of the Sibeliusgången in Akalla to the Edvard Griegsgången more continuous, it is proposed to remove the waste collection building. This location could then also be used to develop new public space adjacent of the current restaurant. This could be done by adding new residences, with more cafe or restaurant-like enterprises in the plinths. If the height differences are capitalized on effectively, the backside could also be used for parking. This also to improve the sequence of public space along the route from centrality to centrality. Currently activities are too remote from each other and need to be better linked with intermediate public spaces in order to start creating streets of economic activity.

This is also the foundation on which the argument of the new crossover of the Norgegatan is proposed, to have a space that lures pedestrians to the other side of the road which is still the primary core of activity in Husby.

Fig. 5.117 - Husby sequence intermediate scale - Source: image by author, background from Bing Maps

On the intermediate scale, we see even better how the dual axis sytem can improve cross-district integration. The Edvard Griegsgången merges into the SIbeliusgången in Akalla with the new square and residential use at the end of the street. A direct walk from both centralities is now possible without having to cross the large Norgegatan.

On the south side, the Edvard Griegsgången eventually leads onto the Kista Torg, the public square in Kista connected to the Kista Gallerian and the metro station. A continuous walk from the Kista Torg to the centrality of Akalla is now possible. The sequence of public space towards Kista is still rather weak, as the transition from the Norgegatan to the Danemarkgatan means the road widens drastically and walking as an activity clear becomes backbenched. This further strengthens the argument for prioritization of a dual axis model, as the Edvard Griegsgången in the end does connect with outdoor facilities at Kista Torg. These amenities are more accessible for the population of vulnerable areas, as they mostly entail local specialty shops and restaurants.

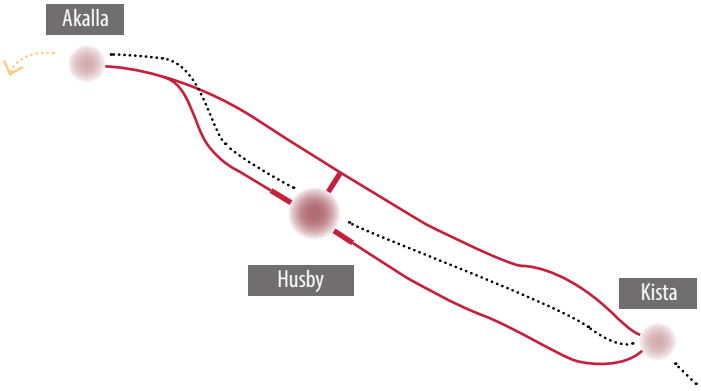


Fig. 5.118 - Husby's position in network - Source: image by author

5.8 Design site 3 - Husby Norgegatan

Pedestrian routes & parking garages

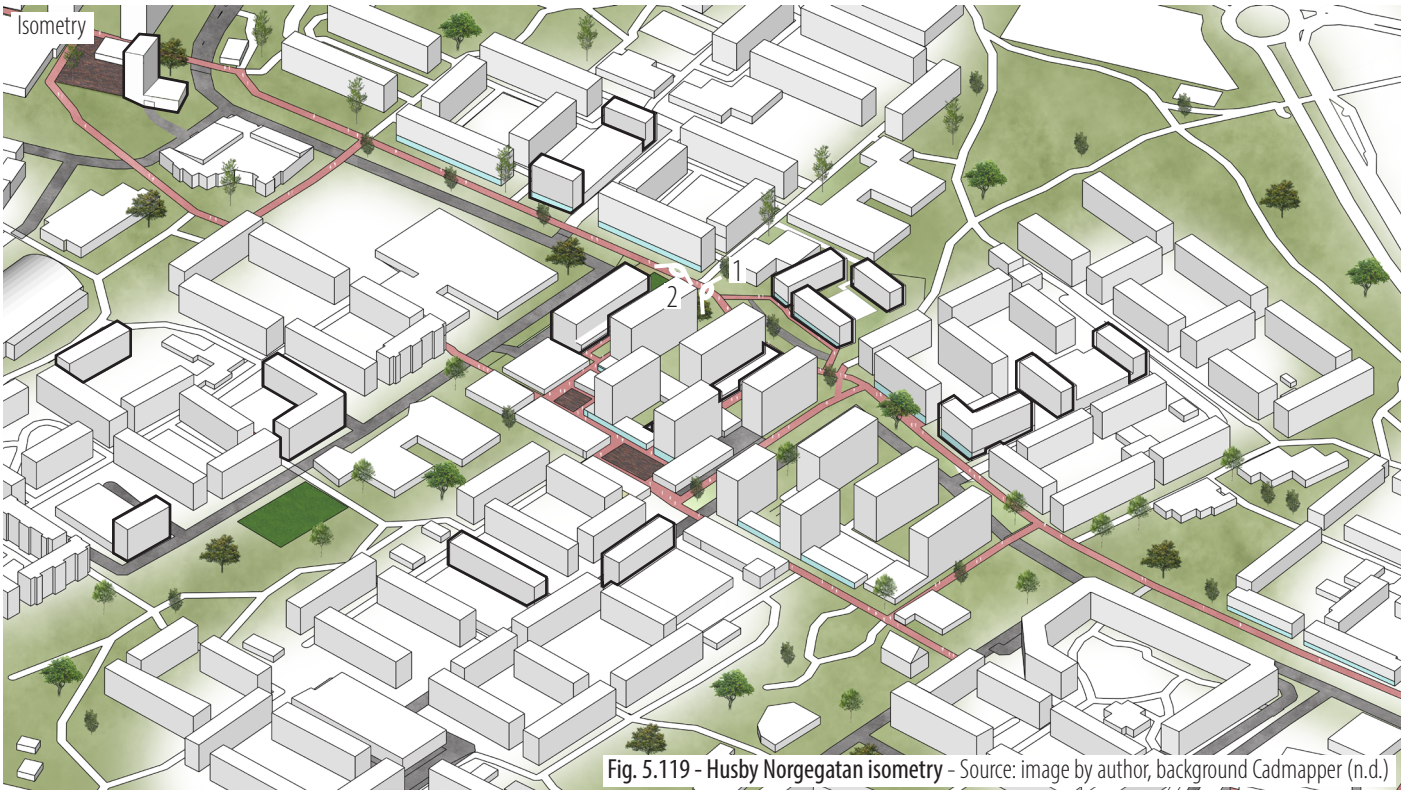


Fig. 5.119 - Husby Norgegatan isometry - Source: image by author, background Cadmapper (n.d.)

5.7.25 Improved destination quality for Husby

Husby has been suffering from a disconnected network of pedestrian routes and a lack of destination quality, with the nearby Kista Gallerian as unmatchable competition when it comes to supply of amenities (see section 4.3). The buildings marked with the dark outline are added volumes in the site. The design aims to reintegrate the network, to strength economic opportunity in Husby through improved sequence of public space which really has a destination and 'staying' quality so that people do not need to move out of Husby for certain activities.

Fig. 5.120 shows a representation of the crossover park in the former continuous Norgegatan. Traffic has been redirected and the current height differences are used to bridge both sides of the street which in the current situation had been strongly divided, only to be crossed by a small set of bridges. In accordance with the idea to create spaces that allow for public expression, this has taken shape in the form of an open air theatre. The slope of the landscape forms space to sit on the grass or on benches and watch showings projected on the side of the building. When there are no showings, the screen can be used to inform inhabitants about events in the neighbourhood which could also help replace some of the mostly damaged notice boards (see section 4.3).

Furthermore space has been provided to picknick, play and barbecue. Commercial activity has been extended from the centrality, with an additional north-south connection in the middle. The space added on the north side serves as a café with a roof terrace. Its position might seem unfavourable due to its north orientation in this regard. However, due to the long summers in Sweden the terrace will be provided with light until late in the evening as the sun will revolve around the building quite generously.

Fig 5.121 shows the connection of the two axis as well as the densification of the parking garage which in the current situation created an uncanny transition from the upper Norgegatan to the lower Edvard Griegsgången. Parking has been solved according to diagram 5.94, with the back and underground entrance structure preserved for parking, but with the frontage used for public services as seen on the right side of the image. Public space has been mostly reserved to add greenery, as the sequence of open spaces in the centrality (as shown in Fig. 5.119) already provides squares suitable for performances or gatherings.

The space seeks to be the transitional medium between the park-like structure in the Norgegatan and the street character in the Edvard Griegsgången. It has more of an urban quality, with benches to sit, take a breath and people watch. Part of the facades can be used for promotion of local events and to give room for local artists to exhibit their work. Collaboration could be possible with the Tensta Konstgallerie (site 1) or the new Millions programme museum (site 2).

Fig. 5.120 - Street level image 1 - image by author, background Sketchup

Fig. 5.121 - Street level image 2 - image by author, background Sketchup

5.9 Stakeholder engagement

Intermediate scale

Main objectives

• Attract private parties for construction of mixed dwellings, as well as enterprises for corporate social programmes;

• Inform municipalities of the interest of housing cooperatives to engage on peripheral markets;

• Convince (inter)national bodies of the benefit of funding a metro line expansion from Hjulsta to Jakobsberg;

• Convince Järfälla municipality of the relevance of a cross-municipal plan and how it will benefit them.

• Empower Delmos through added funding, transporting the knowledge of the civil sector towards the decision-makers;

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

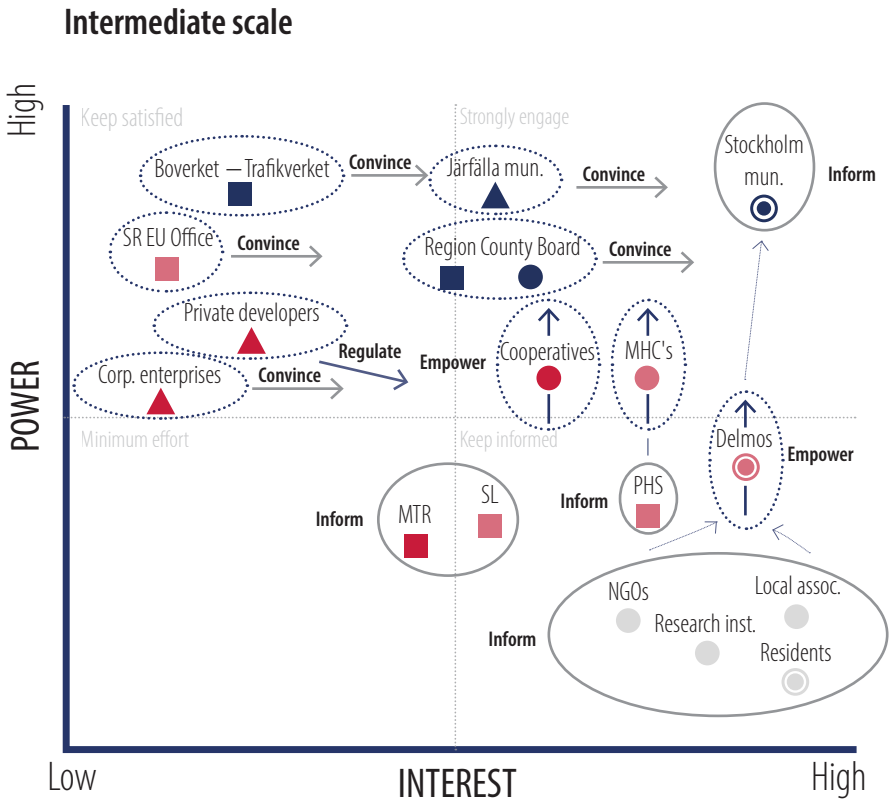


Fig. 5.122 - Stakeholder engagement intermediate scale - Source: background Bing Maps

5.9.1 Informing actors on their potential benefits

To effectuate the strategy proposed, actors need to be made aware of what they have to gain of the strategy and how they could benefit from engaging in new investment or collaboration. In most cases the Stockholm municipality will have to be the central initiator of action due to the large degree of decentralisation in governance. Municipalities in the region (not only the Stockholm municipality) need to be made aware of the potential to improve living conditions in the vulnerable areas listed by the government (Polisen, 2019). This means informing them on the increasing need for attention for segregation processes in the Stockholm context. The Delegation against Segregation (Delmos) could fulfill this role, acting as the 'engine' to a public campaign for the importance of socially sustainable development. In order to inform public institutions effectively, the role of Delmos needs to be expanded according to section 5.3. This means additional funding is necessary from the Swedish government to empower their pedigree.

When municipalities become more informed through this mechanism, as said the Stockholm municipality can start to engage the social cooperatives that they need to catalyze beneficiary projects in Järva without having to feed on public investment only, again following the new policy proposals with set percentages on prize classes as well as new measures to improve affordability (see section 5.3). It also structures the conditions for a cross-municipal cooperation with the Järfälla municipality and the relationship between Barkarbystaden and Järva. This can open up talks about potential synergies through connection of urban fabric or renewed transport connections. One example of this is the proposed metro line expansion from Hjulsta to Jakobsberg. This could subsequently act as an incentive to add to the development potential of dire centralities like Hjulsta whilst improving local mobility of residents and to look for potential employment in nearby centralities currently hard to reach. SL (managing public transport in the region) and MTR (the contracted operator) need to be informed of this potential. Furthermore such an investment might also require funding from higher level institutions, likely at the international scale. Similarly to the currently planned expansions of the metro towards Nacka and Arenastaden (see section 3.3), applications for funding at the European Investment Bank could be made through the Stockholm Region EU office (RailwayPRO, 2018).

Lastly, corporations in the Kista cluster need to be addressed on their willingness to engage in community initiatives on both north and south side of the Järva area. This requires strong organisational links down from the municipality towards local assocations and local area managers who can form the bridge between the companies and the public (see section 5.7). Collaborating with Arbetsförmedlingen as an intermediate of offer and demand in addition to the set up of a local office could emulate previously successful, but discontinued initiatives of labour provision (Interpeace, 2014).

Types of engagement

Stakeholders

Inform ○

• Transferring knowledge from one party to another. Setting up channels of communication between parties that supports them in their duties to make choices that are in the interest of the project goals. This can happen in the form of recurrent meetings with representatives. Two types are distinguished as **active informing** and **passive informing**, where active informing refers to actors that need to process input directly and transform it into short-term action. Passive informing towards stakeholders with less power is aimed at consolidating knowledge and fostering incremental input from these actors towards more powerful actors.

Passive informing

Stockholm University, KTH Vetenskap och Konst

Nordregio

Research institutions

Diversify, interpeace

Non-governmental organisations

Sveriges Allmännytta

Public Housing Sweden (PHS)

Active informing

Stockholms stad

Stockholm municipality

MTR Stockholm, SL

MTR & Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL)

Residents & local associations

Convince →

• Negotiation of interests with the aim to capitalize on the potential of two-sided gain in engaging in new collaborations. This means setting up dialogue with strong discussion possibilities and a balancing of project goals to each actor's individual interest. There is a focus on raising awareness of the benefits for the region, its importance on the long-term and the possible advantages it brings for stakeholders should they engage in the new co-operations and/or restructuring processes proposed.

Stockholm Region EU Office

European Union (funding)

Region Stockholm, Länsstyrelsen Stockholm

Region Stockholm & Länstyrelsen Stockholm (County Board)

Järfälla kommun

Järfälla municipality

IBM, Ericsson

Private enterprises

Boverket, Trafikverket

Boverket & Trafikverket (Housing & Traffic ministeries)

Empower ↑

• Reorganising systems or providing extra (financial) resources in such way that makes parties gain a more weighted role and influence in the decision-making process. It can mean strongly engaging parties with expressed interest in contributing towards the project goals. It can also mean a public shift in the organisation of planning, adding seats to the discussion table for new actors. Their role becomes more active and to the forefront, instead of passive and sidelined.

Reorganising systems

Stockholmshem

Svenska Bostäder, MICASA

Municipal housing companies (MHCs)

Add to the discussion table

Delegationen mot segregation

Delegation against Segregation (Delmos)

Strongly engage

Riksbyggen, HSB

Cooperatives

Regulate ↘

• A combination of top-down regulations as well as constructive dialogue to turn adversarial stakeholders into collaborative allies. Mostly actors from the private sector with increased power through neoliberalisation of planning, who need to be regulated and convinced of the public interests at stake. Managing these relations effectively requires a streamlining of processes which can be more regulatory in nature, whilst at the same time maintaining a healthy and constructive relationship with these powerful parties by recognising their objectives.

Wallenstam, AILON

Private developers

5.9 Stakeholder engagement

Case site #1 - Tensta centrality

Main objectives

• Engaging housing cooperatives and combining forces with MHCs to start densification in centralities;

• Investigate if other developing parties at this stage would be willing to pursue projects - in order to finance redesign of public space;

• Reopen the Tensta school through reconsideration of the school concept, improved support system and increased demand;

• Negotiate with the owner of the shopping center for the addition of commercial space on Tenstagången;

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

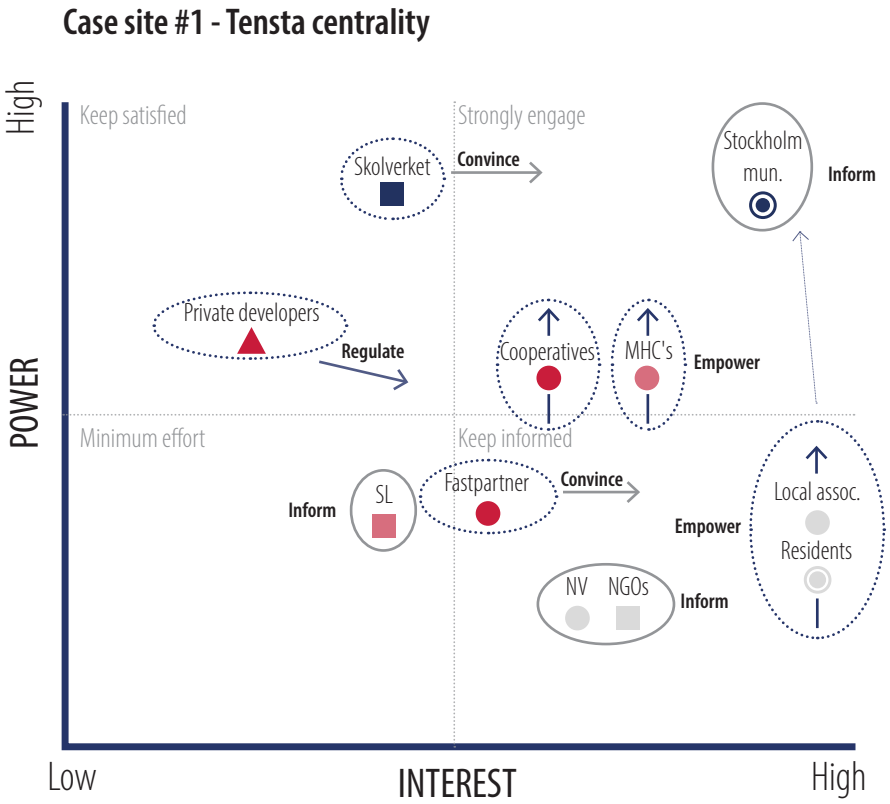


Fig. 5.123 - Stakeholder engagement Tensta centrality - Source: background Bing Maps

5.9.2 Long-term approach to unlock school from its closure

For the Tensta design site one of the key strategies is the revitalisation of the Tensta Gymnasium and subsequently the more central role of school in society. In section 5.7, interventions have been proposed to transform the concept to a community school with increased social support for both students and parents. This requires engagement of locals to help bridge language skills, currently often inhibiting parents from being involved in their children's education (Interpeace, 2014). Reopening the school will require extensive convincing of the necessity of a local high school and the effect of its absence on segregation and future perspectives for students. The symbolic meaning of its absence is to be stressed, rather than focussing only on its apparant disfunctioning at the time of closure. It requires close monitoring by Skolverket (National department of education) and the municipality and a comprehensive embedding of the social resources and back-up facilities described. The nearby amenities like the sports hall and library are to be capitalized on by local public officers.

Further development of Tensta through public investment of MHCs or third private parties like cooperatives will likely increase the cry for a local high school with increasing demand, and requires a long-term vision and approach by the municipality. In the meantime t is desirable to keep using the building as described in the strategy implementation. For this local community centers and the new area-based MHC could utilize the building as a meeting place and as a local office. The building is under management of the municipality, therefore this is a short-term strategic action which can be taken rather quickly.

Lastly the redesign of spaces like Tenstagången and Tenstaplan square. The addition of new commercial spaces along the north facade requires negotiation with the owner of the local shopping center (Fastpartner) but also provides new possibilities for local entrepeneurship and the creation of workshop spaces for the CSR programme. Changing these spaces according to the proposals requires densification to finance redesigned public space. Similarly to the strategy proposed for the intermediate scale it will be necessary for the municipality to investigate at what point (or what 'threshold') private parties will be more willing to engage on the Järva market.

For the sake of readability, key stakeholders and interventions have been displayed in the corresponding sites linked to the specific concept spaces and design sites. They can be applied in other locations as well (where the same concept space is located), but are here highlighted according to the design sites.

Types of engagement

Stakeholders

Inform ○

• Transferring knowledge from one party to another. Setting up channels of communication between parties that supports them in their duties to make choices that are in the interest of the project goals. This can happen in the form of recurrent meetings with representatives. Two types are distinguished as **active informing** and **passive informing**, where active informing refers to actors that need to process input directly and transform it into short-term action. Passive informing towards stakeholders with less power is aimed at consolidating knowledge and fostering incremental input from these actors towards more powerful actors.

Passive informing

Research institutions

NGO's

Nattvandring.nu
(Nightwalk organisation)

Active informing

Stockholm municipality

Region Stockholm & Länstyrelsen Stockholm (County Board)

Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL)

Convince →

• Negotiation of interests with the aim to capitalize on the potential of two-sided gain in engaging in new collaborations. This means setting up dialogue with strong discussion possibilities and a balancing of project goals to each actor's individual interest. There is a focus on raising awareness of the benefits for the region, its importance on the long-term and the possible advantages it brings for stakeholders should they engage in the new co-operations and/or restructuring processes proposed.

Fastpartner
(shopping centre owner)

Skolverket
(National Department of Education)

Empower ↑

• Reorganising systems or providing extra (financial) resources in such way that makes parties gain a more weighted role and influence in the decision-making process. It can mean strongly engaging parties with expressed interest in contributing towards the project goals. It can also mean a public shift in the organisation of planning, adding seats to the discussion table for new actors. Their role becomes more active and to the forefront, instead of passive and sidelined.

Reorganising systems

Municipal housing companies (MHCs)

Add to discussion table

Residents & local associations

Strongly engage

Cooperatives

Regulate ↘

• A combination of top-down regulations as well as constructive dialogue to turn adversarial stakeholders into collaborative allies. Mostly actors from the private sector with increased power through neoliberalisation of planning, who need to be regulated and convinced of the public interests at stake. Managing these relations effectively requires a streamlining of processes which can be more regulatory in nature, whilst at the same time maintaining a healthy and constructive relationship with these powerful parties by recognising their objectives.

Private developers

5.9 Stakeholder engagement

Case site #2 - Spånga cricket ground

Main objectives:

• Attract a collection of parties to do a mixed development of different housing sizes, types, tenures and price range;

• Inform parties on the effects of border vacuums and the reinterpretation of intrinsic qualities;

• Monitor the implementation of new parameters in the planning process considering social values;

• Convince existing assocations like ArkDes to collaborate with the Millions programme museum.

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

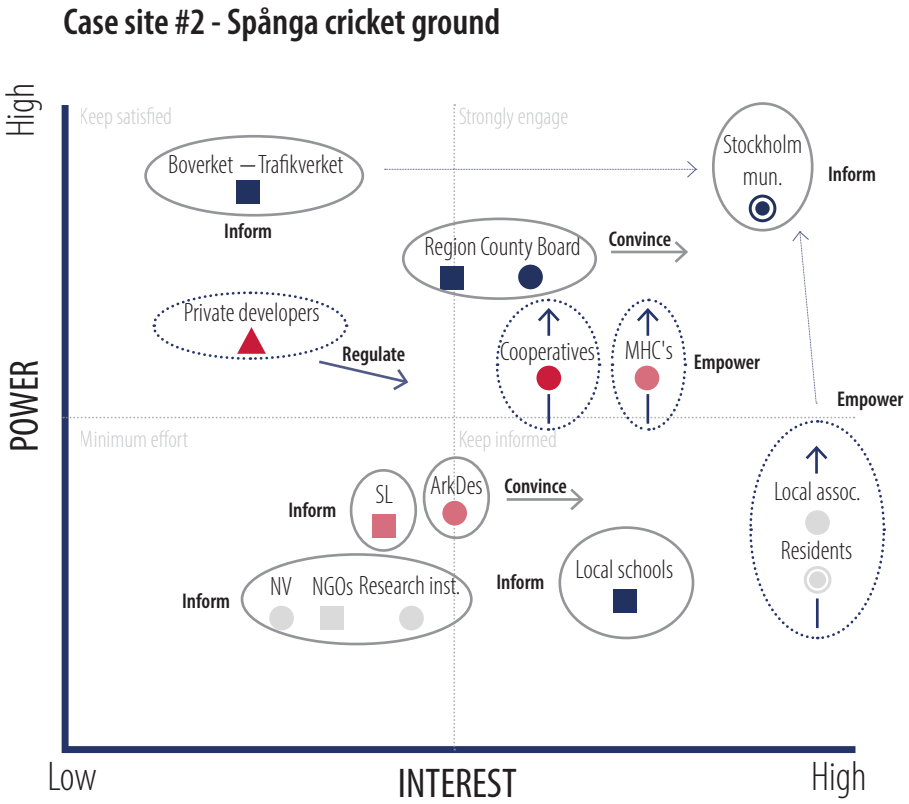


Fig. 5.124 - Stakeholder engagement Spånga cricket ground - Source: background Bing Maps

5.9.3 Creating a new connective cornerstone

The creation of the new in-between neighbourhood on the Spånga cricket ground could be seen as any other more large scale development happening now in the region. However, this development refrains from new islands forming, instead being the connecting patch between different districts. Furthermore the development needs to be mixed and affordable. To achieve this, this means a more closely monitored process of how the proposals are executed and if they are in line with the new regulations (See section 5.3). The regional institutions need to be convinced of this necessity and moreover how this project fits regional development goals.

MHCs and cooperatives must be empowered to take the lead in this development. Reorganising the municipal property into a new area-based MHC is one of the proposals made that enables this empowerment. Cooperatives have expressed their interest in these areas and therefore probably do not need convincing but the municipality simply needs to initiate dialogue to investigate their plans for affordable housing. The mix of these two parties which are seemingly easy to engage already ensures a tenure mix in itself and makes negotiations on price points less of an issue.

If private developers would be interested due to the project's scale, regulating and mediating their interests with those of the design is of great importance. Again, the parameters set out in the strategy gives the municipality the tools to do this. The consolidation of knowledge strategies like the segregation knowledge platform are a supportive layer in the information provision to developers. It is important that the municipality stands firm in their aims to improve provision of public resources in this area. A good regulation of private market forces is of utmost significance in order to make interventions achieve the change that is needed. Change in itself, in the form of investment or growth, is not going to make the difference. Therefore the monitoring and meticulousness of the local authorities needs to be stressed.

Lastly when it comes to the museum it can be important to learn from existing associations and exhibitions to make the Millions programme museum the pedestall of this new area. Collaboration with ArkDes, the Swedish National Centre for Architecture and Design can be fruitful, as they possess both the architectural and urban design knowledge as well as the socio-historic perspective. This perspective is important to reinterpret segregation and to start educating people based in a more constructive standpoint and narrative.

Types of engagement

Inform ○

• Transferring knowledge from one party to another. Setting up channels of communication between parties that supports them in their duties to make choices that are in the interest of the project goals. This can happen in the form of recurrent meetings with representatives. Two types are distinguished as **active informing** and **passive informing**, where active informing refers to actors that need to process input directly and transform it into short-term action. Passive informing towards stakeholders with less power is aimed at consolidating knowledge and fostering incremental input from these actors towards more powerful actors.

Convince →

• Negotiation of interests with the aim to capitalize on the potential of two-sided gain in engaging in new collaborations. This means setting up dialogue with strong discussion possibilities and a balancing of project goals to each actor's individual interest. There is a focus on raising awareness of the benefits for the region, its importance on the long-term and the possible advantages it brings for stakeholders should they engage in the new co-operations and/or restructuring processes proposed.

Empower ↑

• Reorganising systems or providing extra (financial) resources in such way that makes parties gain a more weighted role and influence in the decision-making process. It can mean strongly engaging parties with expressed interest in contributing towards the project goals. It can also mean a public shift in the organisation of planning, adding seats to the discussion table for new actors. Their role becomes more active and to the forefront, instead of passive and sidelined.

Regulate ↘

• A combination of top-down regulations as well as constructive dialogue to turn adversarial stakeholders into collaborative allies. Mostly actors from the private sector with increased power through neoliberalisation of planning, who need to be regulated and convinced of the public interests at stake. Managing these relations effectively requires a streamlining of processes which can be more regulatory in nature, whilst at the same time maintaining a healthy and constructive relationship with these powerful parties by recognising their objectives.

Stakeholders

Passive informing

Research institutions

NGO's & Nattvandring.nu

Boverket & Trafikverket (Housing & traffic ministeries)

Active informing

Stockholm municipality

Local schools

Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL)

Region Stockholm & Länstyrelsen Stockholm (County Board)

ArkDes (National design institute)

Reorganising systems

Municipal housing companies (MHCs)

Add to discussion table

Residents & local associations

Strongly engage

Cooperatives

Private developers

5.9 Stakeholder engagement

Case site #3 - Husby Norgegatan

Main objectives:

• Consult Trafikverket on the possibility to bridge the Norgegatan;

• Reintegrate the waste collection point, parking and residential use in a new stepping stone between Akalla and Husby;

• Involve Arbetsformedlingen and corporate enterprises for the set-up of a corporate social responsibility programme;

• Convince municipality of added value of investing in-short-term interventions like upgrading bridges and added street lights;

LEGEND

Sectors
- Public sector
- Semi-public sector
- Private sector
- Civil sector

Types
- Lead stakeholder
- Supporting stakeholder
- Neutral stakeholder
- Adversal stakeholder

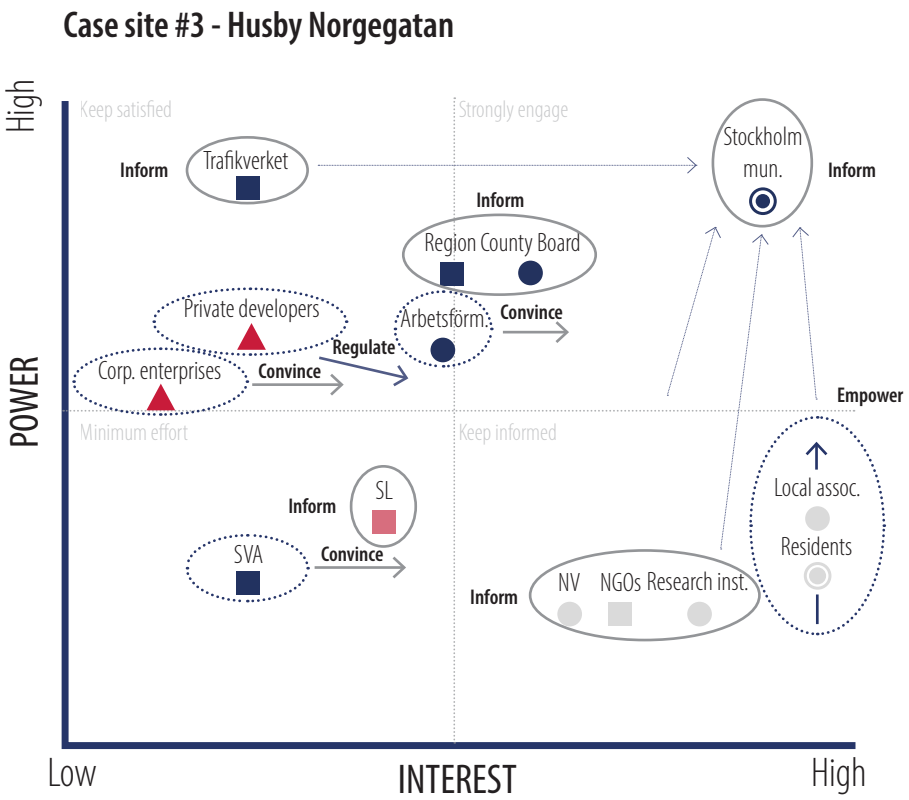


Fig. 5.125 - Stakeholder engagement intermediate scale - Source: background Bing Maps

5.9.4 Movement along two axis of new opportunity

The proposal for the Husby Norgegatan case site contains the proposal to connect the two main axis of movement to bridge activities to either side of the street. Closing of the street and bridging the Norgegatan requires consultation with Trafikverket to assess the impact of this intervention.

A second intervention needed to create the dual axis is to reintegrate the waste collection point into a new volume with residential use and workshop spaces which could be exploited by the waste collection company to educate new workers or to raise awareness on waste recycling. The waste collection itself can be moved to a nearby location if noise pollution is arduous. This investment can be used to redesign a public space in between the current restaurant and the new volume to connect the Edvard Griegsgången to the Sibeliusgången in Akalla (the main integrated route with adjacent shops). This requires convincing of the Stockholm Vatten och Avfall company who organises the waste collection. Based on who owns what land, the municipality might also have to consult with the local school (Oxhagsskolan).

Third, the set of a corporate social responsibility programme is proposed. For this, the involvement of corporations in the Kista cluster like IBM and Ericsson is desired. These are the two biggest employers in the district and therefore are the one with the most potential to address their potential interest in a CSR programme. Arbetsförmedlingen, the public labour agency, can also be engaged as an intermediate between residents and the companies. If the programme is succesful, in latter stages after re-evaluation it could be expanded to the southern areas of Järva. For the short-term, it is proposed that the programme focusses first on the direct environment of the Kista cluster. This is most likely to be met with willingness to corporate as the connection between Norra Järvastaden and the Kista cluster is more obvious and logical to start.

Lastly it is of importance to inform the municipalities of the added value of small interventions that require relatively few financial resources but that do contribute to a more safe and attractive environment. Stockholm municipality can prioritize these interventions in the pedestrian route concept spaces and upgrade the bridges around the Husby centrality.

Types of engagement

Stakeholders

Inform ○

• Transferring knowledge from one party to another. Setting up channels of communication between parties that supports them in their duties to make choices that are in the interest of the project goals. This can happen in the form of recurrent meetings with representatives. Two types are distinguished as **active informing** and **passive informing**, where active informing refers to actors that need to process input directly and transform it into short-term action. Passive informing towards stakeholders with less power is aimed at consolidating knowledge and fostering incremental input from these actors towards more powerful actors.

Passive informing

Research institutions

NGO's

Nattvandring.nu
(Nightwalk organisation)

Active informing

Stockholm municipality

Region Stockholm & Länstyrelsen Stockholm (County Board)

Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (SL)

Convince →

• Negotiation of interests with the aim to capitalize on the potential of two-sided gain in engaging in new collaborations. This means setting up dialogue with strong discussion possibilities and a balancing of project goals to each actor's individual interest. There is a focus on raising awareness of the benefits for the region, its importance on the long-term and the possible advantages it brings for stakeholders should they engage in the new co-operations and/or restructuring processes proposed.

Strongly engage

Private enterprises

Stockholm Vatten och Avfall
(SVA, Waste collection company)

Arbetsförmedlingen
(National Labour Agency)

Empower ↑

• Reorganising systems or providing extra (financial) resources in such way that makes parties gain a more weighted role and influence in the decision-making process. It can mean strongly engaging parties with expressed interest in contributing towards the project goals. It can also mean a public shift in the organisation of planning, adding seats to the decision-making table for new actors. Their role becomes more active and to the forefront, instead of passive and sidelined.

Municipal housing companies (MHCs)

Residents & local associations

Cooperatives

Regulate ↘

• A combination of top-down regulations as well as constructive dialogue to turn adversarial stakeholders into collaborative allies. Mostly actors from the private sector with increased power through neoliberalisation of planning, who need to be regulated and convinced of the public interests at stake. Managing these relations effectively requires a streamlining of processes which can be more regulatory in nature, whilst at the same time maintaining a healthy and constructive relationship with these powerful parties by recognising their objectives.

Private developers

5.10 Phasing

Sequence of interventions

5.10.1 From point, to in-between to line densification

As described in section 5.2, the phasing of the project tries to incrementally take steps towards the facilitation of conditions for social interaction and safety to generate economic opportunity (access to resources) in the neighbourhood according to the theory from section 5.1. The timeline consists of four phases according to the different types of development:

5.10.2 Preparation & initiation

Setting the parameters within the current planning system to enable socially sustainable development that improves the accessibility to public resources. This phase is mainly focussed on governmental policies and administrative reforms. Additionally minor spatial interventions that are not bound to large alterations in planning systems and require less time resources can also be carried out in this stage. Examples include the renovation of pedestrian bridges and the improved illumination of pedestrian routes. It is also the face in which stakeholders can be engaged for the further phases of development, for example the social cooperatives whom have expressed interest in more development in these areas. The specific locations for strategic land allocation can be identified by the municipalities and include this in the new comprehensive plans. The three sites in the project are examples of strategic locations based on the analysis. Supported by the complementary governmental policies aimed at stimulating socially sustainable development, this maximizes the potential of these areas to make the biggest change in the next phases of Järva's development.

5.9.3 Intensifying attraction points

In the second phase the first step is to raise the concentration of people in the area, to make sure the density is there to support a larger supply of new amenities and to finance them as well. Current centralities in the case site are organised as 'points' around central outdoor shopping markets. By densifying these points, they become stronger magnets of attraction and havepeople walking from their home to the public services. This will slowly but surely lead to more eyes on the street and more interaction opportunities in the redesigned public spaces. According to the analysis the centralities which currently have the most severe lack of amenities should be prioritized, namely Hjulsta in Södra Järvastaden and Husby in Norra Järvastaden. Tensta centrality is developed in a smilar way, whilst seeking renewed interaction with the nearby school environment.

Within this phase, investment will probably need to come primarily from public resources. It is unlikely that in the current state of the

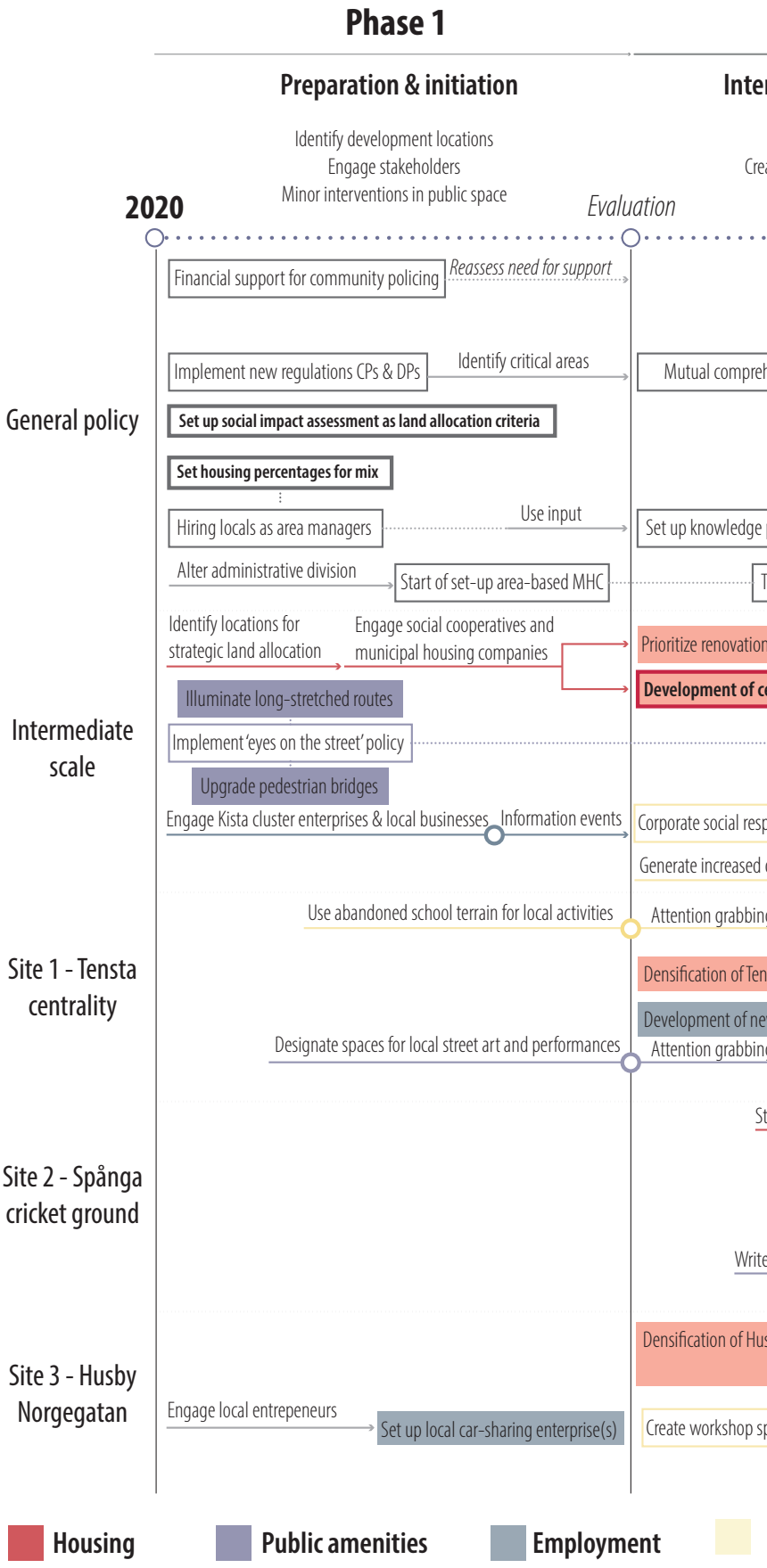
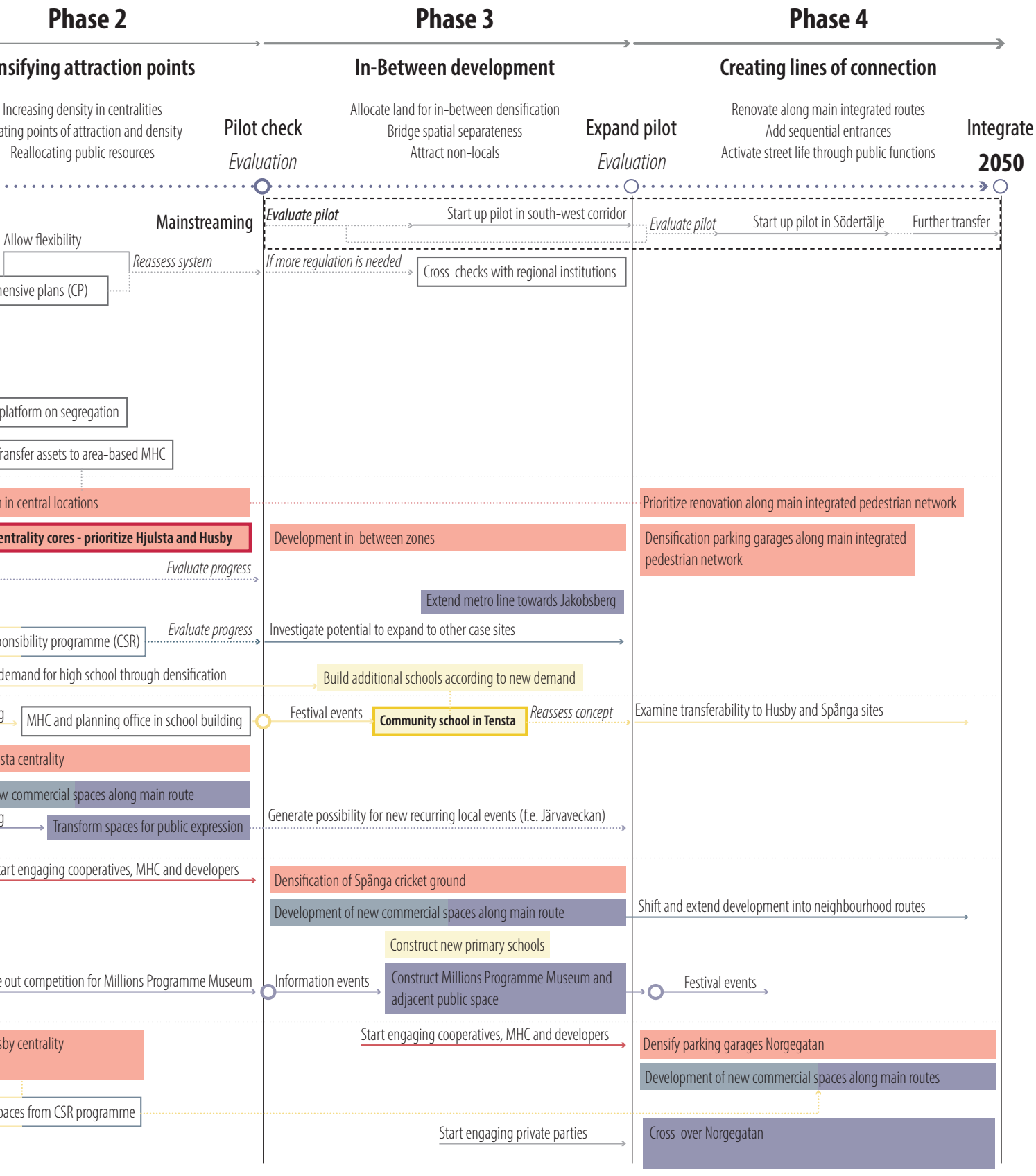


Fig. 5.126 - Phasing diagram - Source: image by author


Phase 2
Phase 3
Phase 4
nsifying attraction points
In-Between development
Creating lines of connection
Increasing density in centralities
ating points of attraction and density
Reallocating public resources
Allocate land for in-between densification
Bridge spatial separateness
Attract non-locals
Renovate along main integrated routes
Add sequential entrances
Activate street life through public functions
Pilot check
Evaluation
Expand pilot
Evaluation
Integrate
2050
Mainstreaming
Evaluate pilot
Start up pilot in south-west corridor
Evaluate pilot
Start up pilot in Södertälje
Further transfer
Allow flexibility
Reassess system
If more regulation is needed
Cross-checks with regional institutions
nensive plans (CP)
platform on segregation
ransfer assets to area-based MHC
in central locations
Prioritize renovation along main integrated pedestrian network
entrality cores - prioritize Hjulsta and Husby
Development in-between zones
Densification parking garages along main integrated pedestrian network
Evaluate progress
Extend metro line towards Jakobsberg
Evaluate progress
Investigate potential to expand to other case sites
onsibility programme (CSR)
demand for high school through densification
Build additional schools according to new demand
MHC and planning office in school building
Festival events
Community school in Tensta
Reassess concept
Examine transferability to Husby and Spånga sites
sta centrality
w commercial spaces along main route
Generate possibility for new recurring local events (f.e. Järvaveckan)
Transform spaces for public expression
art engaging cooperatives, MHC and developers
Densification of Spånga cricket ground
Development of new commercial spaces along main route
Shift and extend development into neighbourhood routes
Construct new primary schools
e out competition for Millions Programme Museum
Information events
Construct Millions Programme Museum and adjacent public space
Festival events
Start engaging cooperatives, MHC and developers
Densify parking garages Norgegatan
sby centrality
Development of new commercial spaces along main routes
paces from CSR programme
Start engaging private parties
Cross-over Norgegatan
Education
Design intervention
Policy intervention
Strategic action
Event

5.10 Phasing

Sequence of interventions

neighbourhood private parties are willing to step in. From the analysis in section 3.4 could be concluded that the discrepancy in development patterns happening now is excluding the peripheral area of Stockholm, which is at the moment seemingly not attractive enough to generate profit that is of considerable interest to these parties.

Therefore the engagement of cooperatives is very important, to be able to offer a mix of tenures and price segments. Building solely public housing of different price ranges could help to get a larger mix of people in the area, but still limits possibilities for a housing career. Renovating and densifying current public housing assets in centralities, along with new constructions from the new area-based MHC and cooperatives can pack the first punch to make Järva a more attractive place for further development. However, in accordance with section 5.1 it is stressed again that the strategy is about maximizing potential of the reinterpretation of Järva's vernacular qualities. This means that the identity and nature of the current urban fabric should be maintained as much as possible. New constructions are to respect these qualities and should not be aimed at eradicating the Millions programme legacy.

Lastly it is important with the more pivotal events in the phasing to inform residents upfront about the transformation of public space or the re-establishment of the Tensta high school. This can be done through local events in collaboration with community centers and local planning offices or through street campaigning. This could take shape in different forms such as a neighbourhood festival or hosting gatherings based on already existing events such as the *Järvaveckan* (Järva's week), a popular political event that bridges the gap between politicans and citizens in vulnerable areas. In addition, the spaces provide opportunity for public lectures and exhibitions. This way attention can be drawn to the new flexible use of spaces, which can help generate ideas and opportunity for the organisation of new festivities and events by the local community, possibly in a competition-style arrangement. These events in the new public spaces can contribute to fostering better local interaction, a new place in time where people meet new people and unintended encounters can occur. These events can become a platform in themselves for both social networking and employment-oriented networking. Thus the residents benefit from these activities, but Järva as a whole also gets a possibility to change its image, reduce stigmatisation and form a new narrative.

5.10.4 In-Between development

When urban points of attraction have been intensified, it becomes more interesting to reduce the border vacuums surrounding the districts in Södra Järvastaden, as elaborated in site 2. Thus, changing the function of the green strips as barriers into seams, weaving together the different districts. As explained in section 5.1 this requires a reinterpretation of the quality of open green space as some of this will have to be sacrificed to make this physical connection.
This in-between development will however have a big potential to improve local mobility for residents and perhaps more importantly, bring non-locals into the area of the newly developed district when has a public magnet. The Millions programme museum is one of the elements that could fulfill this function, in addition to a strategic set up of commercial activity along the current cross-neighbourhood route that can later be extended into the neighbourhoods themselves in the fourth phase.

Accordingly to site 2, the street pattern and the positioning of blocks and functions follow the eyes on the street policy and ensure that to- and through movement potential is high. In-Between development is concerned with large plots of open land and is therefore more suited for larger scale development. In this phase when the centralities around the in-between development sites have intensified, hold more people and have a larger mix of dwellings, these zones also can now be more interesting for parties with more investment capital. Besides MHCs and cooperatives it is worth investigating if by now private developers are willing to engage on this market, especially now that in this phase larger area sizes would be available for development and could be therefore more appealing for investors.

5.10.5 Creating lines of connection

In the final phase, the prerequisites for diversity and economic opportunity have improved to a stage where street life can start evolving. Future development is strongly informed by local knowledge, either informed by experiential data from residents as well as the network data provided by spatial analysis tools. As a result, development along the main pedestrian network can be prioritized and start forming a network of high density streets of urban life that connect together neighbourhoods and centralities. This means streets have the potential to host people that travel from one point of attraction to the other, which generates further economic opportunity for entrepeneurship and subsequent employment. This is a desirable state where social interaction as well as perceptions of safety now have gained the conditions to grow and strengthen eachother.

Strategies to foster line connections include renovation/densification along the streets identified with highest to- and through movement between centralities as well as the entrance policy to improve the presence and visibility of entrances in public space. Both require an inventarisation of publicly owned property in Järva area. This data is not available to the project, though it is likely that the vast majority of real estate in Million

programme areas still belongs to the original constructors which were the MHCs of Stockholm municipality (Svenska Bostader n.d.). When the new area-based MHC is formed, the overview of ownership will be clear and gives the municipality great opportunity to strategically manage and develop their assets in such a way that viable urban connections can be created.

By integrating the use of spatial analysis in the toolkit of municipalities, they will be able to continuously identify the main integrating backbones of Järva as shown in the project and effectuate the strategy proposed here.

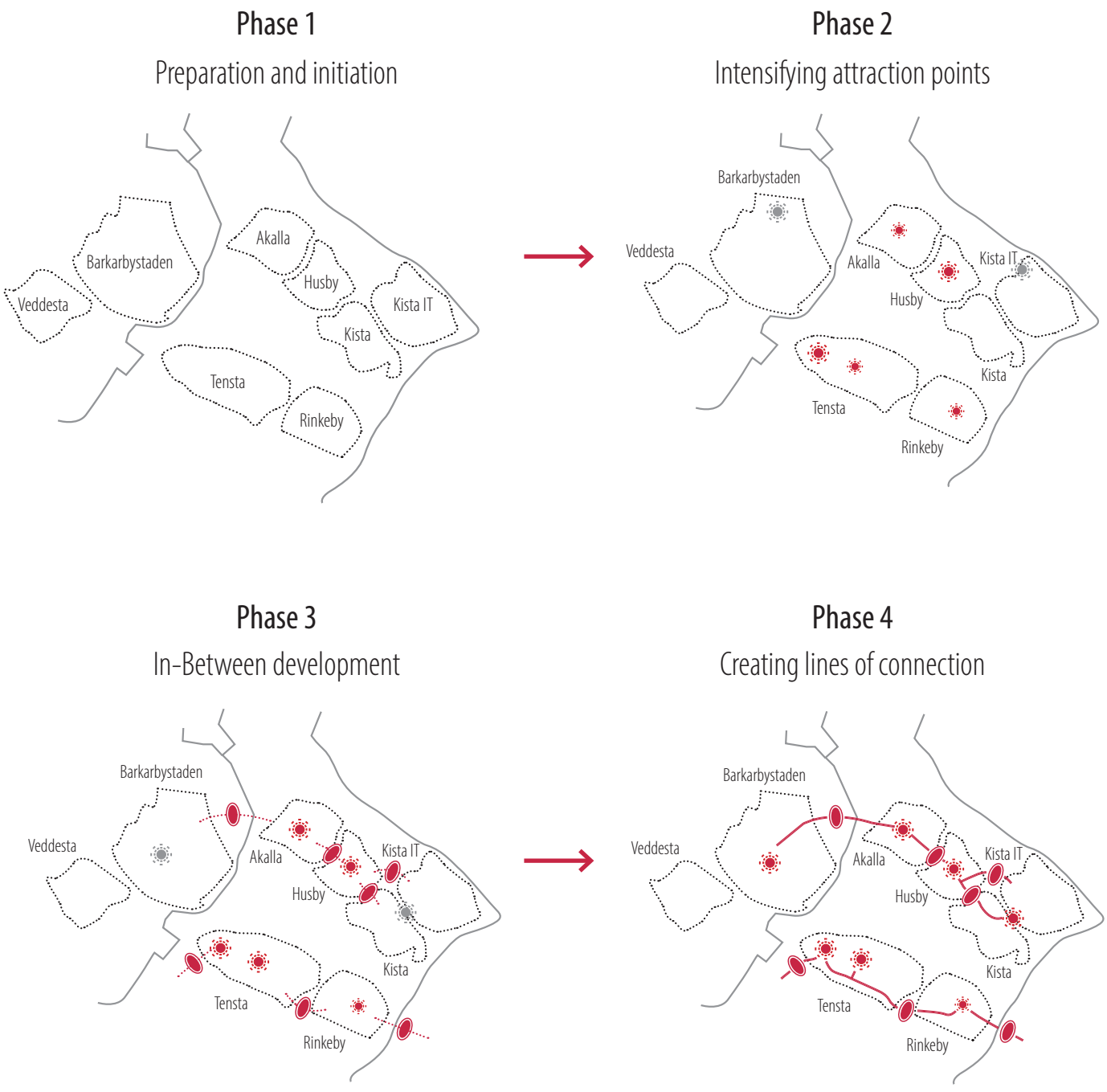


Fig. 5.127 - Schematic increments of phases 1-4 - Source: image by author

5.11 Mainstreaming the approach

Influence and transferability in Stockholm

5.10.1 New regional mode of development

If the new development patterns is extrapolated to the regional scale, how does that affect the mode of development? Through the RUFS 2050 and Stockholm City Plan 2016 we have seen that development in Stockholm is currently dominated by either large-scale high-end private developments in the outer city and city center or small public infill projects in the periphery (Länstyrelsen Stockholm 2015; Muncipality of Stockholm, 2016). The first often with spatial separateness or affordability-related issues, the latter usually monofunctional and with large queues. The ambition is there to improve vulnerable areas, but the knowledge on the means to achieve them is falling short.

The case site strategy and design has shown the possibilities of fostering the steps for new development in vulnerable areas, which areas to prioritize and which stakeholders to involve. This strategy can be extrapolated to other areas. Through following the selection criteria for the case site, a phased approach from the most to the least urgent areas can be formulated (see section 5.1). Examples of these could be areas close to new developments and on municipal borders, like the south-western corridor stretching from Skärholmen, Kungens Kurva & Botkyrka. Others which are not on municipal borders but require prioritization due to the severity of social issues could be the districts of Ronna, Förnhöjden and Hövsjö in Södertälje. Through incremental change that allows point densification, in-between development and in the end more line-oriented development the economic potential of vulnerable area as well as their potential to host different groups can start to grow. Social sustainability in the region, carried by the strategic parameters in the new governance system can help tie the periphery together and create new opportunities for interaction.

It is evident that some neighbourhoods nevertheless will still be dominated by housing. it is an illusion to say that all neighbourhoods will turn into highly urban living environments. That is also not the goal of the method proposed. Its goal is to maximize area potential according to its context specific qualities and weaknesses. Sometimes this can mean the opportunity for local job creation, other times it could mean making nearby (job) centralities more accessible. This is a constant trade-off that requires local knowledge and subsequently site specific proposals. Interventions in the case site can not simply be duplicated to another area. They are meant to show possibilities and to inspire planners and designers what they could do to break local spirals of decline. All in all the takeaway is to stress the need for a comprehensive, long-term approach that requires attention and consideration at local, intermediate and regional scale.

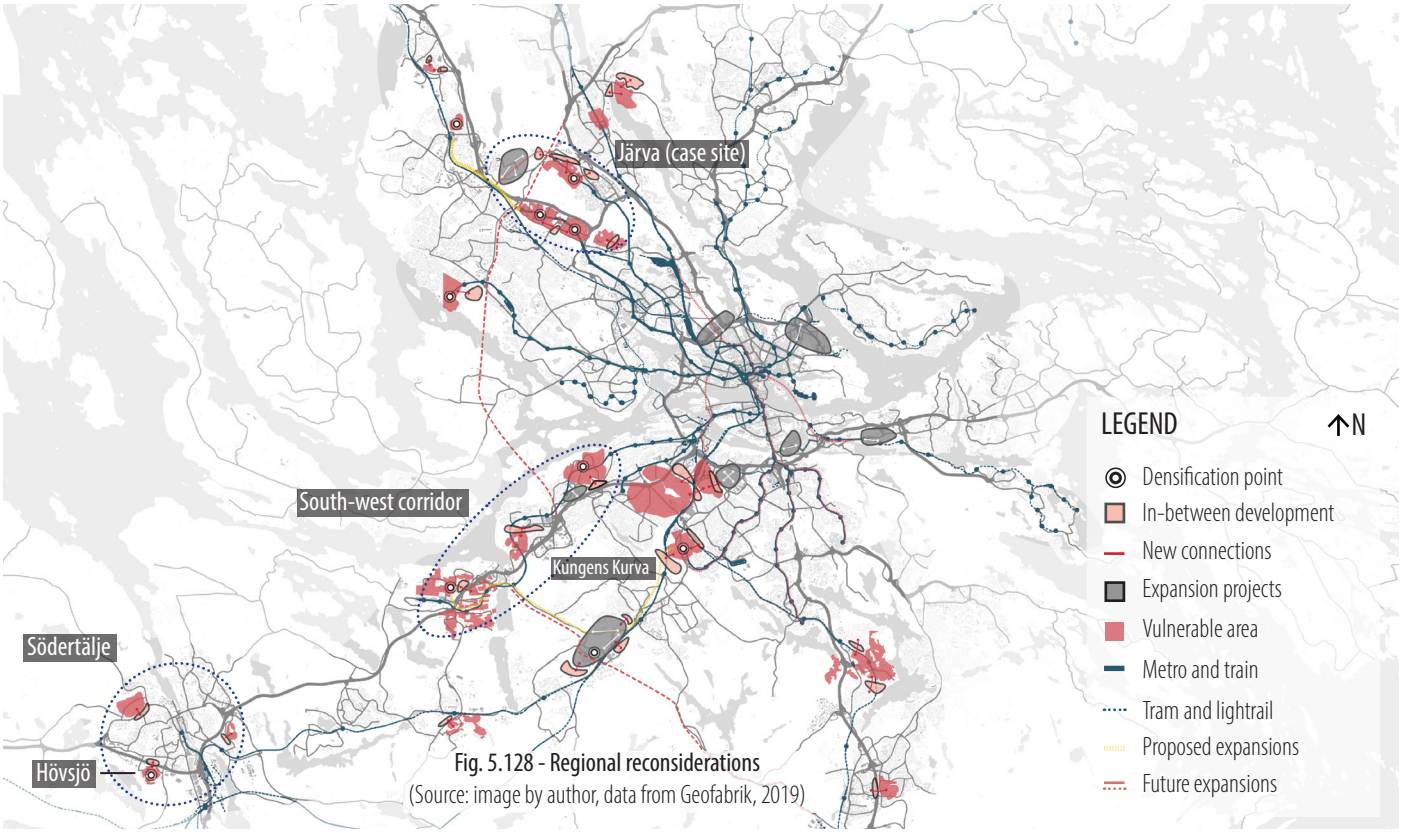


Fig. 5.128 - Regional reconsiderations
(Source: image by author, data from Geofabrik, 2019)

5.10.2 Applying the approach elsewhere

As said, due to time constraints of the project, it is not possible to complete a detailed design for the whole region and all of its vulnerable areas that are in need of improvement. Therefore the approach has been aimed at a local and intermediate scale but with possibility to apply it in other areas as well. As an example in Fig 5.116, the method of the concept spaces has been applied in Hövsjö, Södertälje another vulnerable area from the Millions Programme era.

In this neighbourhood the concept spaces as proposed can be identified. Adding the hidden layer of information from space syntax can then reveal for each area in itself whether current conditions are supportive of the desired qualities. Recognising which locations are most strategic for possible development can lead to starting point for design proposals. Testing these proposals with space syntax again and then supporting them with further local policies and strategic actions can help more neighbourhoods flourish.

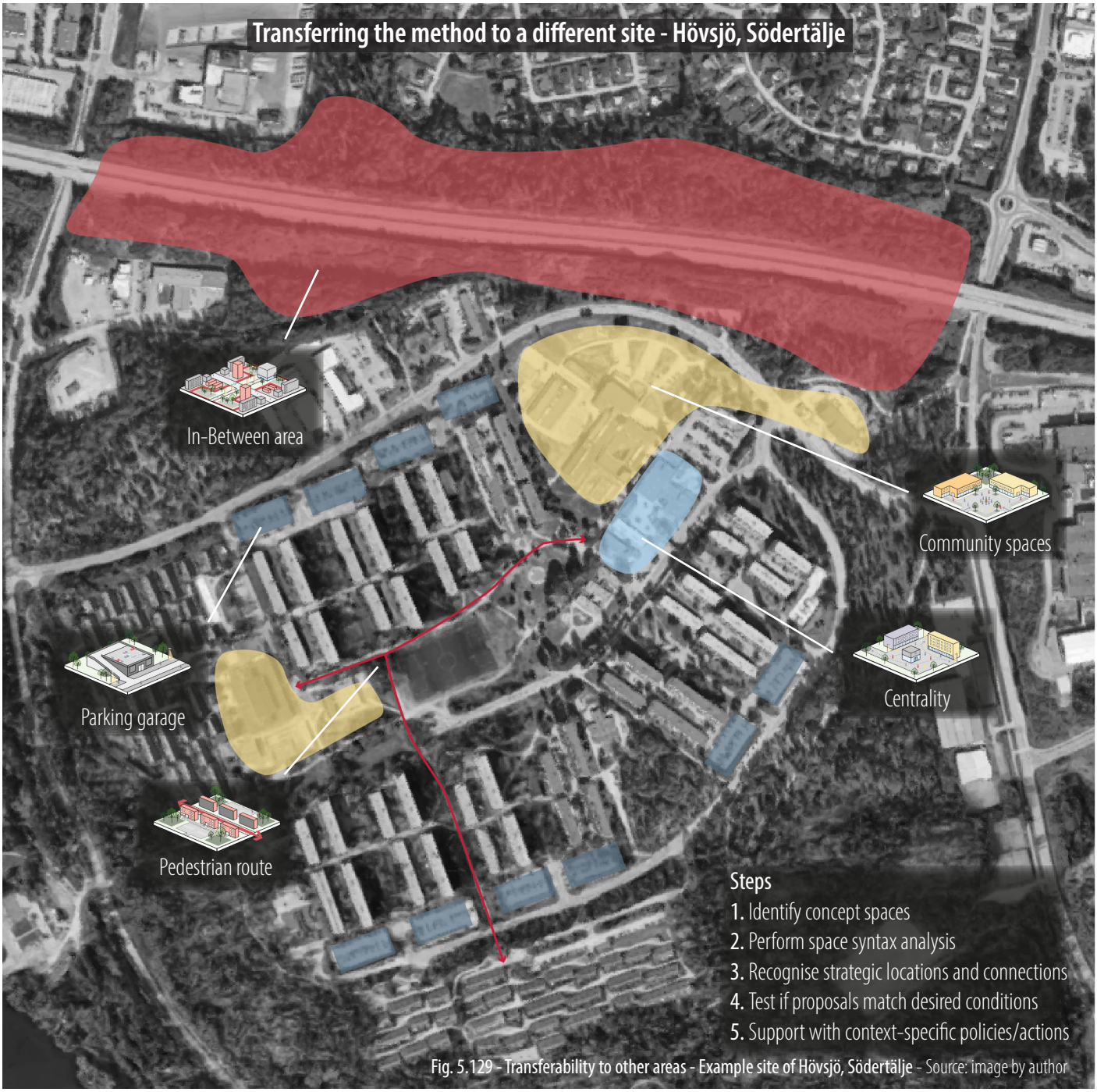


Fig. 5.129 - Transferability to other areas - Example site of Hövsjö, Södertälje - Source: image by author

Road Map

Conclusions

Reflection

6. Conclusions
Key takeaways

Fig. 6.0 - Housing estate in Lilla Essingen
Source: Image by author

6.1 Conclusions

Lessons from the project

6.1.1 Outcomes

Main research question:
How can a strategic policy and design framework help establish coherent relations between governance, social and spatial constructs in decision-making regarding socially vulnerable areas in suburban Stockholm?

-

The main research question of this project aimed to **understand the interrelations between governance, social and spatial constructs** in relation to the complex segregation processes at play in the Stockholm metropolitan region, and the application of this understanding as an integrated part of the planning process. The goal was to use this understanding as a means to achieve **improved spatial justice,** reducing socio-spatial inequalities in vulnerable suburban areas that manifest the outcome of these segregation processes and show the possibilities to make a change for the better from both an urban planning and urban design perspective.

The research concludes that the symptom model used in politics and media to describe segregation processes and the ineffective policy measures to counter them, have been the personification of the knowledge gap posed in this research; Views and measures concerning socio-spatial segregation are **too narrow-minded** and lack a comprehensive, interrelational and long-term approach. Knowledge is fragmented across stakeholders and is therefore ineffectively combined to combat segregation. This additionally has been validated by interviewees during the fieldwork, many of whom have expressed their frustration with the marginalisation of social concerns in current planning paradigms.

Rather, the research has brought forward a perspective that sheds light on the complexity of the segregation processes in such a way that interrelations become more apparant, namely **through a wider socio-cultural lens**. A lens that considers segregation as a **dynamic development** through time in addition to a **static entity** consisting of a seemingly uncountable amount of factors that can be described by indicators. This static perspective has been a dominant pre-conceived notion in public debate and policy research. However I would argue that **both perspectives should be considered as complementary to each other**. The first providing the understanding the cause-effect relationship and use it in combination with the latter to formulate a comprehensive approach for the future that considers the interrelational aspect.

This work strongly **denounces the symptom model** and the wrongfully established relation between migrants and socio-economic issues that has dominated media and politics, vicitimizing vulnerable groups as the source of societal issues. When both the dynamic and static perspective are understood, the conclusion is that segregation-related issues like the accumulation of welfare problems and high crime rates are to a far larger degree **circumstantial** than it is characterological. The root of these issues lies in a socio-spatial system of planning that does no longer complies to its full range of clients and that requires reinterpretation and readjustment. The main problem conceptualized in the project, namely the lack of hope, drives people to the edges of their survival instincts. The understanding is needed that individual choices or conditions are mostly a product of a process, rather than an intrinsic trait of character. **We need to shape the conditions that will allow for people to make better choices**. For that we need the setting up policies that support socially sustainable development which then leads to new urban spaces that shape opportunity, where incremental change can start turning the situation in these neighbourhoods around. It is very demanding for planning systems to deal with multi-faceted phenomena like segregation, but the effort needs to be made to make a shift happen. Only then can urban planning act as an inclusive support system that slowly but surely can start creating a spatially just region and hopefully will lead to newborn hope of a better life.

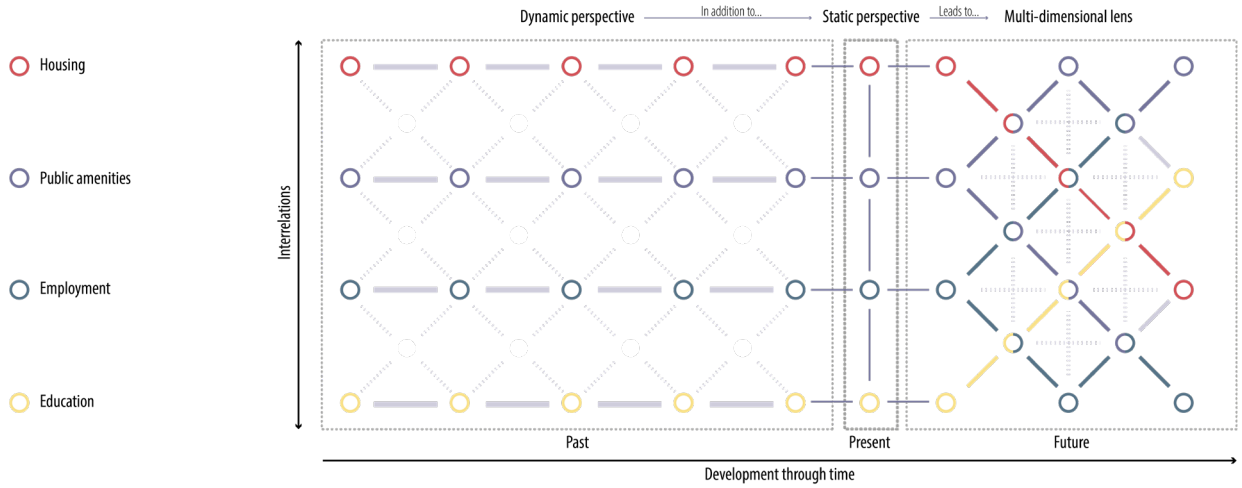


Fig. 6.1 - Complementary perspectives of segregation in Stockholm - Source: image by author

6.1 Conclusions

Lessons from the project

6.1.2 Main research findings

1. What are the social and spatial characteristics of vulnerable areas in Stockholm?

-

The metropolitan scale analysis has shown consistently that the areas with the lowest socio-economic resources in the Stockholm metropolitan region are almost exclusively areas with a very specific and uniform set of social and spatial characteristics. They are almost exclusively **built during the Millions programme era** (1960s-1970s) in the periphery of the region, spatially disconnected in urban form and as a result are also disconnected through the street network. This leads to them being characterized by **a large degree of separateness** (Smets & Salman, 2008). Furthermore they are largely monofunctional, dominated by large-scale housing estates.

These characteristics make these areas **prone to 'flipping'**, where they start to attract a very specific population group at the ends of both ethnic and income spectrums, thus driving segregation and separation between groups (Interview #3). Within the planning paradigm of neighbourhood unit planning, the focus has been on a connectivity through car traffic. Many vulnerable areas in fact are in close proximity to a highway and are usually connected to the city's metro lines, even though it is mostly at the end of the line. Integration on a regional scale is therefore high, but **the local scale integration is poor** in relation to nearby neighbourhoods.

Socially, the areas with the lowest socio-economic resources show very strong correlations with the degree of foreign-born population, and uncovers the vulnerability of newcoming migrants and the challenges that come with living in a different country with a different culture. It also uncovers the vulnerability of the authorities who carry the responsibility to provide for these migrants. Local employment opportunities are low due to the high monofunctionality, and local education and community functions are seemingly under pressure (Interview #5). As a result of future perspective as well as the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood, news has been dominated by stories of vandalism and crime leading to further stigmatisation and marginalisation (Bouma, 2017; Franssen, 2018; Interview #9). All in all it is clear that all the conditions to shape social decline and disorganisation are in place and that according to the answer to the main research question a change needs to be made on the basis of a cause-effect understanding.

2. What is the influence of Swedish planning culture on the establishment of vulnerable areas?

-

This subquestion embodied a three-step process, namely Swedish culture in general, its influence on the Swedish planning culture and then how this planning culture has allowed for these vulnerable areas to come to exist. One can conclude from the analysis that the root of issue lies within **a question of identity.** Sweden as a country, contrary to many other countries, has never been challenged by external forces in its own cultural identity, which according to some has lead to a sense of arrogance, complacency and naivety (Gardt & Uhlin, 2018). It remained neutral in the Second World War, which meant, to put it bluntly, that the country and its responsible government where able to do as they wished. The socialist tradition installed the belief that government took care of everything that was going wrong in society, for example if one needed a house the government would provide it for you (Interview #2).

Now the flaws of this model come to the surface, when the government is not able to provide that anymore (Interview #2). The societal model of the welfare state was based on two core beliefs, namely that everyone is 'equal' and everyone has to contribute. This model nowadays still is strongly supported by a majority of the electorate (Andersson et al, 2010). Now people are not as equal anymore (as to say, they are of different background, not in terms of rights or worth) and not everyone is able to contribute, because they grew up in another foreign system with less resources than the Swedish model. In hindsight the idealistic idea to cater to a society as a closed system could be labeled as naive (Interview #1; Gardt & Uhlin, 2018). This change in society fueled by globalisation and a more heterogenous population is what probably has really challenged Swedish identity only for the first time in its modern history. This **identity crisis** is what has been a driver of an increasing divide between groups.

> *"After 2015 politicians were left with an enormous task, figuring out this enormous question: What is the Swedish identity, who are we really? Where do we draw the line, because that has been largely undefined in post-war Sweden."*
> ***- Interviewee #1***

The influence of the Millions Programme era on the establishment of vulnerable areas that manifest social issues as a result of segregation processes is undeniable, and should be seen as a symptom of a larger cultural-historic development rather than a problem or 'mistake' in itself. Swedish planning has **shifted from a socialist-routed planning style to a more neoliberal model** that, although unintended, has changed the outcomes of the idealistic Millions Programme. The prevalent neighbourhood style of planning at the time and its seperational character has made areas

prone to flipping towards one end of the scale, both socio-economically and ethnically. It shows the irony of the ideals of modernist planning, as well as the uncertainty of planning for the future. At that point in time, segregation was not an issue at all yet and the impact of a more heterogenous society could net yet be foreseen.

This observation nevertheless reinstates the claim by Jane Jacobs (1961) that neighbourhoods that are built all at once lack the economic opportunity to thrive and lack adaptability through their monofunctional nature. The study on reference projects has shown the possibilities on how diversity in these neighbourhoods can be achieved and how it has lead to improvement of the socio-economic standards as well as the reputation of vulnerable neighbourhoods.

3. How can planning instruments be revised in order to promote cross-municipal collaboration for more comprehensive and inclusive planning?

-

The complacency that Gardt & Uhlin (2018) shed light on has also been criticized as a characteristic of the current planning process, where urban leadership is inhibited through a lack of effective planning instruments (Lundström et al, 2013). This is on a national level, but the Stockholm region has also been criticized by the OECD as a mess due to a lack of regional coordination (Interview #4). The RUFS 2050 document expresses the will to give more prominence to the regional level of planning and is promising (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015).

However, the large decentralisation of power towards municipalities is seemingly obstructing an effective multi-scalar approach needed to deal with socio-economic vulnerable areas scattered across different municipal territories in the periphery of Stockholm. **Not all municipalities are equally willing** to adhere to their role in the larger system when it comes to reducing socio-spatial inequalities, instead largely occupied with their own agenda (Andersson et al, 2010; Andersson & Turner, 2014; Interview #4). **Coordination, collaboration and transparency are impeded by comprehensive plans without clear alignment** and detailed plans that lack a pro-active basis (Nilsson & Hagred, as cited in Lundström et al, 2013).

Politics also play a role now that different groups live in different places politicians stand to lose their electoral base when they make decisions that benefit vulnerable groups in the region but not necessary the residents in their own area. This is especially an issue for more affluent municipalities, which object to building more affordable housing (Interview #4). Neoliberal planning has lead to planning instruments characterized by freedom and flexibility. This in itself does not have to be a weakness and has its advantages as well. However it has seemingly been primarily to the benefit of economic gain and to detriment of social concerns. Furthermore, municipal tasks have been increasingly outsourced which has fueled the criticism of complacency (Montin & Granberg, 2007).

It is however incorrect and unjust to say that social aspects do not get any attention in Stockholm, it is a growing theme and an increasing amount of work is done to understand what is needed to tackle the growing socio-economic divide.

This is also evident from for example the Stockholm comprehensive plan which clearly aims to redirect its resources to the vulnerable areas in the city (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016). However, **stronger parameters** seem to be required to facilitate the incorporation of social interests and to make actual investment attractive in these areas. A larger involvement of the state has been called for to tackle urban inequalities effectively (Smets & Salman, 2008). Certain transfers of powers to the market can not be reversed, however they require a new and different function of current planning instruments as well as added cross-municipal cooperation. Setting up mutual comprehensive plans in critical areas is one means to do so, as well as guidelines for a distribution of dwelling types and prior social impact assessment in the land allocation process.

Furthermore, **consolidation of knowledge** is needed. the establishment of the Delegation against Segregation has been an innovative and heartening development, although the agency has proved to be prone for policy shifts due to new elections every few years (Interview #7). An agency like this needs to be recognised for its potential and as the project proposes should fulfill a central role in educating a wide variety of stakeholders, raising awareness of the interrelational and multi-scalar aspect of segregation. Politicians have ambitions to improve social causes, but need to be better informed and made aware of these aspects (Interviews #2, #5 & #6). For this we need more local, experientalised knowledge of locals who know what life is like in vulnerable areas. Newly hired **area managers can become the link** between the authorities and the public struggling with the language in these areas. Information provision can be made more accessible through these area managers as well as local planning offices where information events are held.

Thus, the design of planning instruments should be redesigned according to what has been described in the project, which aim to change the nature of the instruments to **more anticipatory, pro-active and regulative**. The current neoliberal planning paradigm does not seem to sufficiently allow for social factors to be implemented purely on a voluntary basis.

6.1 Conclusions

Lessons from the project

4. How can stakeholders be engaged in the planning process to facilitate more socially sustainable urban development?

-

In addition to existing research, the project's analysis has shown that vulnerable areas have seemingly struggled with a lack of investment whilst investment in more affluent suburban neighbourhoods, the city centre and large scale development projects are multitude (Hedin et al, 2012). These areas were seemingly not attractive enough to engage stakeholders on this market. Public investment has happened, but is limited in resources and usually limited to the construction of housing through municipal housing companies. This does not add to the economic opportunity of the neighbourhoods, since they area already dominated by housing estates and lack other primary functions.

From research and the interviews however, it has appeared that **social cooperatives are willing to engage** onto this market in the periphery since these areas have cheaper ground prices and are therefore attractive for them to realise more affordable housing (Interview #10). Supporting this with policies that allow tenants to save up finances and perhaps combining efforts with public housing companies, there is a real opportunity to have parties engage on the property market which can catalyse change in these areas. Over time, **public capital can then in the end help attract private capital**. The redesign in planning instruments should ensure that **private investment is regulated** so it also delivers public goods to the people and that socio-spatial inequalities are mitigated instead of increased. It is the responsibility of the municipality and county board to capitalise on this opportunity and start conversation with these cooperatives.

Furthermore, to really achieve socially sustainable development in such a way that it will become an integrated part of the planning process, it again primarily means **both passively and actively informing stakeholders** on the policy changes needed in the planning system as well as educating actors on the dynamics of segregation, socio-spatial inequalities and place specific experiences. **Governmental institutions need to take the first step** when the market in the current conditions is not equipped to safeguard concerns of affordability and spatial justice.

5. How can policy and spatial interventions improve access to public resources for migrants, while promoting local interaction and community life?

-

The project has shown the need for a comprehensive, multi-scalar approach supported by a synergy of policy and design interventions that are strategically phased. These synergies can **incrementally help build the conditions** needed that support a succesful environment for public resources to thrive. Improving the likelihood of succesful decision-making can be supported through the local knowledge previously stated.

The design approach of the project has been aimed at showcasing how the comprehensive multi-scalar approach can create spatial qualities that support the access to public resources (housing, employment, education and public spaces). Sometimes this quality is explicit, in the form of new housing, or new shops and working spaces. Other times it is more implicit, where improved **public space fostering safety and interaction** can lead to an increase in social network and public trust. This in itself does not create better access to resources, but it causes a secondary effect in a chain of developments. It helps to break down stigmatisation holding back these neighbourhoods from attracting people of different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, which helps shape a more symbolic, yet important new perspective for the future.

The approach has consisted of **a three step phasing**, where first existing centralities are intensified with infill projects to improve supply of amenities and density of people. This to start shaping conditions that can help reduce the separateness of the areas, constructing in in-between areas and finally start to foster new line-shaped connections in the form of streets where interaction can really thrive. This phasing in steps is crucial, as the latter steps depend on the conditions shaped by the former. Streets need destinations and they need people to function well. This approach can be transferred to other vulnerable areas in the region as described in section 5.10, though informed through context-specific knowledge and dealt with through context-specific interventions.

Case study analysis with locations of similar contexts both international and national have provided inspiration for the interventions proposed, in addition to references given by interviewees. Examples like the Bijlmermeer regeneration, Rinkebystråket and the approach of the MHC in Gårdsten in Göteborg (reference from interviewee) have provided lessons for the Järva case site. They stress the importance to maintain identity of an area as well as the potential of a comprehensive approach comprising both non-spatial supporting policies as well as spatial design interventions that consider the potential for socially sustainable development to let economic opportunity grow and prosper.

Fig X - Rinkeby & Gamla Stan city centre
Source: Image by author

6.2 Reflection

Relevance of the work

6.2.1 Societal relevance

As described in the problem statement, the current social issues as a result of this poor socio-spatial integration are endangering effective decision-making from a political standpoint. It creates **polarization**; an overfocus on the idea of 'we' versus 'the other' (Baeten, 2012; Rokem & Vaughan; 2019). Both in politics and media this process is further fueled. Therefore it poses a threat to societal harmony, and it deteriorates circumstances that facilitate exchange of knowledge and understanding of different backgrounds. Narratives surrounding the increasingly heterogenous society have been increasingly dichotomous in nature. The rism of populism has excerbated the popularization of simplified vocabulary to describe societal phenomena that challenge cultural identity (Gardt & Uhlin, 2018). This does not honour the complex nature of segregation and the effect it has on both individuals and society as a whole. The project advocates the need for **a more constructive narrative**, rather than the current destructive narrative in politics and media. It provides an insight as to how planning can be revised to accomodate this increasingly constructive dialogue on how people want to 'be' together in society.

6.2.2 Scientific relevance

In the past decades that this phenomenon has existed, decision-making across different countries has often not proven to be effective and similarly so in Sweden. Both deregulation approaches as well as active top-down desegregation policies have failed. Researchers like Andersson et al (2010) have examined why previous measures have failed in individual contexts, but not many studies have tried to examine multiple fields at once, comparing both social, spatial and governance structures at the same time. **My project breaks with this narrow approach**. It contributes to bridging the knowledge gap by identifying missing links between subsystems in decision-making and reflect the potential of including these links in the planning and design proposal, through proposing a new dual perspective on the formation and constitution of segregation in the Swedish context. This in term can bring the global discussion further on what consitutes segregation in metropolitan regions and how we should read, measure and counter it.

The research is of relevance to other cities in a North-Western European context, which initially also was part of the scope of this project. Although ultimately the focus has remained on Stockholm, there are lessons to be drawn from its case for other cities. Tammaru et al (2015) compared the levels of segregation of cities in Europe with the outcomes shown in Fig 6.2. We see however large discrepancies between the predicted outcome and the actual outcome, especially also in the Stockholm case which is relatively a lot more segregated than expected. Globalisation is named as the most highly characterising factor in establishing segregated cities.

Expected ranking and indicator score:	Actual score:	
1. London - 16 (most segregated)	1. Madrid	↑ 2
2. Riga - 15	2. Milan	↑ 3
3. Madrid - 14	3. Tallinn	↑ 3
4. Vilnius - 14	4. London	↓ 3
5. Milan - 13	**5. Stockholm**	↑ **6**
6. Tallinn - 13	6. Vienna	↑ 8
7. Amsterdam - 12	7. Athens	↑ 1
8. Athens - 11	8. Amsterdam	↓ 1
9. Budapest - 11	9. Budapest	– 0
10. Oslo - 11	10. Riga	↓ 8
11. Stockholm - 11	11. Vilnius	↓ 7
12. Prague - 9	12. Prague	– 0
13. Vienna - 9 (least segregated)	13. Oslo	↓ 3

Fig. 6.2 - Outcome comparison levels of segregation - Source: Tammaru et al, 2015

Indicators used to predict segregation consisted of the following factors: (1)globalisation classification, (2)gini-index score, (3)welfare system classification, (4) housing regime classification and (5) percentage of low-skilled and high-skilled occupations.

Furthermore it underlines several findings from the project. The first is that active government involvement in the housing market in itself does not necessarily lead to low levels of segregation in the city. Cities like Vienna and Stockholm show high segregation levels whilst being among the most actively involved in the public housing market. **A wider cross-sectoral view is needed.** Stockholm is one of the few countries which does not

have a social housing sector, but instead provides unitary public housing. Is this however suited to the needs of the Stockholm region today? Having the system to potentially stir residential development in the city is one thing, to effectively utilise resources to decrease segregation is another. It requires reforming planning instruments and governance parameters to such a degree that it allows for social value implementation, supporting the systems in place. Also in other cities, we therefore need to **consolidate knowledge, combining international comparative research as well as the vital input of local knowledge** and the place specific context that accounts for the socio-cultural process through time. Focus for other cities should be on the question whether their planning systems are sufficiently equipped to reduce segregation and mitigate its negative externalities, through the provision of the appropriate planning tools (policies, land use allocation plans and procedures, public/social housing resources) and the corresponding knowledge to use them effectively. **A multi-scalar approach that takes into account the regional dimension as well** is crucial, as in many countries either the national or local level takes precedence. Lastly, **space syntax analysis** is a valuable tool for all countries to help capitalize on the potential of vulnerable areas, which can help structure and prioritize when investments are scarce. It is important to educate planners on the effects of their interventions, how constitution, provision of services and entrance allocation help build resilient urban environments where safety and interaction reciprocate eachother.

This research by Tammaru et al (2015) shows again that segregation is a complex process that should be regarded as a wicked problem. It strengthens the conclusion of this project to say that segregation is a product of a socio-cultural process through time. This is different for each city and nation and this is something that cannot be captured through statistic indicators. The authors underline this by acknowledging that inequalities in societies that were established thirty or fourty years ago, still largely impact socio-spatial disparity in cities today. London for example is named to have neighbourhoods that have not changed in social-economic position in more than a hundred years. However, Tammaru et al (2015) has only analysed the shift in the thirteen European cities over a ten-year interval from 2001 to 2011. This is understandable from a perspective of data collection possibilities and comparison methods. The focus on the research as a result however is highly statistical in nature, founded in a multi-factor approach.

This approach has its advantages as it is able to generalize findings in the European context to a large degree and identify correlations between several factors that are hypothesized to increase segregation. I would argue however that an increasingly contextual approach over a longer time span is needed, for example to better understand the effects of historic crises on segregation or the socio-spatial effect of inherent urban fabric characteristics. The work points out that cities with similar systems and context like Oslo and Stockholm have seen different development patterns of segregation-related factors, with Oslo having a decreasing dissimilarity index and vice versa for Stockholm. These discrepencies can seemingly not be captured or explained with the used method and further underlines my call for a more descriptive and contextual approach when comparing cities in the European context.

6.2.3 Methodological approach & limitations

The complexity of the subject makes it hard to cover all aspects that form segregation processes equally and to the depth that might be required to draw the strongest of conclusions. Time constraints have been a hurdle in the challenge of addressing the wicked problem that segregation is, due to a set of factors. First, The fact that as a non-native Swedish person I do not master the language and therefore some information either was not available to me or took increased time to gather. Secondly, it meant a need for extra contextual research to understanding a foreign system. The fieldwork has played a big role in filling this initial knowledge gap, but logically was also subject to time constraints in itself. A winter storm also meant the field visit to the case site was cut short and prevented the collection of local experiences of residents. Thirdly, suitable segment maps were needed to perform the space syntax analysis in the case site. The datasets where happily provided to my delight, but where made for metropolitan scale analysis. For the local scale, in the end this was solved by manually adding segments in the Järva case site. The method itself has been a valuable tool and has potential to be developed as an integrated method for planning authorities.

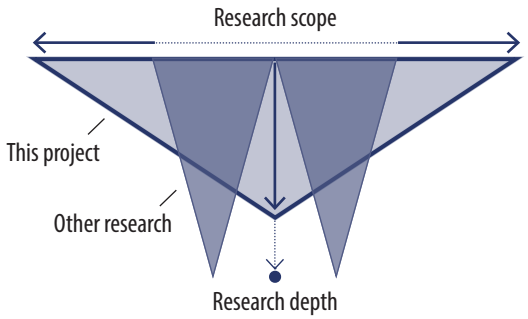


Fig. 6.3 - Relation between research scope and depth - Source: Image by author

The scope of the entire project has been broad, for the same reason that the analysis concluded that a comprehensive, multi-scalar approach is required to come to effective proposals (see fig. 6.3). Hence it has been a conscious decision to focussing on showcasing the advantages and potential of a broad approach, and compromise on the theoretical depth as the knowledge gap addressed the supposition of previous research being too narrow to unilaterally reverse segregation processes. Perhaps contradictory, I would also argue that the multi-scalar nature of the project has not only

6.2 Reflection

Relevance of the work

taken away depth, but has also added to it. Occassionally a broader focus can also lead to a deeper understanding through the consideration of a large variety of aspects. When the project is 'downscaled' to a more narrow and place-specific understanding, it would be a valuable addition to **add experientialised data** from inhabitants as a leading information source. Due to the time limitations described this project has aimed to draw on this source through a secondary layer of experts with local contacts and expertise, but largely lack the experience of what its like to live in a vulnerable area through residents eyes.

6.2.4 Transferability & future research

The research approach has been formulated with the goal to act as a stepping stone, where it is aimed at collecting knowledge from a case site example that can subsequently provoke new potentials in other vulnerable areas with similar characteristics. Transferability has been an important factor to consider, given the limitations described. The case site design which shows concept spaces that are characteristic for vulnerable areas in Stockholm (and in Sweden in general) have been selected to act as examples of context-specific interventions, but that could be realised elsewhere in a similar way.

This raises a question on the socio-spatial conditions of Swedish cities and how they react to segregation processes, for example whether there are other indicators that are now excluded. Nevertheless, extrapolating and transfering this project onto other Swedish regions could widen the scope of research even further and could help differentiate what is specific about Stockholm and what is general in Sweden. Furthermore, the socio-spatial conditions of Stockholm and their relationwith socio-spatial segregation could be understood in a wider perspective, when differentiating between what is specific about Stockholm and what is general about segregation in a European context.

6.2.5 Ethics

It is clear that the subject touches upon some sensitive issues. There is a danger in the project to create more polarization in itself whilst actually trying to mitigate it. An important aspect to be considered in this regard is language. The way the narrative is build up should be reflective and inclusive from all sides of the story. No population group should be framed, discriminated or underrepresented. Right now language is used as a weapon in the public debate instead of a constructive measure. For example, street slang is now sometimes referred to as Rinkeby-Swedish, after the suburb of Rinkeby (Milani & Jonsson, 2012). This derogative language is intensifying stigmatisation of vulnerable areas and has been avoided in the project. Defining certain terms like how to refer to the project area or describing certain phenomena required extra attention and have also changed over time through increased awareness over the power of language and how initial ignorance on certain phenomena influences the use of certain terms. An example of this is the event that during the fieldwork, interviewees commented on the preliminary project title as well as the use of certain terms, because they felt those terms were irreflective or unsupportive of the true dynamics of vulnerable areas. The realisation that I should be very mindful of my own language use was an eye-opener to me and made me change the project's vocabulary.

Throughout the project, the sensitivity of segregation as a societal issue has been evident. Despite the obvious connection presented in literature, the link between socio-economic and ethnic segregation in Sweden seems to be a real taboo (Andersson et al ,2010). This has become clear through the occassional reluctance of stakeholders to provide information or speak their minds. Another example is that The Delegation against Segregation as of now only explicitly works on socio-economic segregation.

This project would argue for a consideration of this connection, but for the right reasons and with a different perspective. First of all, to really help reduce segregation and provide opportunity for vulnerable migrants in society, not acknowledging the connection between the two paradoxically prevents the discussion from going any further and making any progress. A society cannot change what it does not acknowledge. Dismissing the ethnic factor will lead to dismissing the necessary personal, experientialised information to understand how people live and why they make certain choices. Independent research has also mentioned how this leads to a lack of understanding of local experiences in decision-making (Interpeace, 2014). This project challenges the increasingly dominant narrative on this taboo, namely that vulnerable migrants would be the epitomy of the failure of the welfare state.

This project argues against this view, arguing instead that the system fails to help all groups equally and therefore is a joint societal responsibility. In accordance with the perspectives conceptualised by Bråmå (2008), the project conclusions join the rising standpoint in research on ethnic segregation to view it as a result of enforced clustering. This has raised the humanitarian dialogue on what are the rights of migrants (and humans in general) to the city versus the right of a host nation/society to govern their own territory. More generally it encompasses the question of spatial justice, and how important we deem it that all people have equal rights and access to public goods. Both questions that Sweden as a historically socialist country would be keen to answer, but the changes in society require a reinterpretation of the societal model on which decisions are based.

6.2.6 Project i.r.t. studio & master programme

This project has been carried out within the Planning Complex Cities

graduation studio as the final work of the master track Urbanism at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands. I greatly appreciate the global outlook of the studio programme, which I thought was lacking in the locally based design projects of the previous courses in the master programme.

The strong focus on an integrated research and design approach as well as the reciprocity between policy and design has been of enormous value to my project to sustain the intended scope and unravel the complexity of the issue I examined. Moreover because the faculty and the students are of an international character, I would argue for a more global outlook in the master programme from the outset. Similarly to my findings in the project, I would argue that a more broad perspective will also add depth to the students understanding of global concepts and phenomena like for example multi-level governance, territorialism and segregation in different contexts. This creates a larger frame of reference that not only creates general understanding, but also adds to a students ability to differentiate between urban concepts. Again it raises the question on what is general and what is specific, and how a general theory or concept possesses opportunity or threats according to local conditions and processes.

"Segregatie wordt te kortzichtig bekeken, er mist een integrale aanpak. We moeten onze kennis vergroten en waarborgen, zodat we condities kunnen creëren die mensen betere keuzes laten maken."

''Views and measures concerning socio-spatial segregation are too narrow-minded and lack a comprehensive approach. We need to consolidate and expand our knowledge, so we can **shape conditions that will allow people to make better choices.**''

–

Mark Scholten

Author

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8. Appendix

1. Interview key issue sheet from fieldwork (February 2020)

KEY ISSUES	Interviewee #1 NGO	Interviewee #2 Public officer	Interviewee #3 Researcher	Interviewee #4 Researcher	Interviewee #5 Researcher	Interviewee #6 Researcher	Interviewee #7 Public officer	Interviewee #8 Public officer	Interviewee #9 Researcher	Interviewee #10 Housing director	Interviewee #11 NGO	Interviewee #12 Consultant
Regional scale												
Tokenism				X		X					X	
Lacking cross-municipal collaboration		X		X								
Ineffective planning instruments			X	X				X		X		
Overlooked/missing stakeholders												
Poor housing affordability		X		X		X	X			X		
Lack of understanding relational aspect			X			X	X					X
Politicians lack tools/ knowledge		X	X		X			X		X	X	X
Local scale												
Lack of public amenities			X								X	
Lack of spaces to socialize and gather			X								X	
Institutional mistrust	X						X		X		X	
Identity crisis	X				X				X			
Crime and violence		X	X						X			
Insufficient government support for migrants												
Stigmatisation in media & politics	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X
Little possibilities for housing career			X			X		X				X
Poor education environment	X		X		X		X		X			

8. Appendix

2. Essay AR3U023

Swedish 'Solidarity'

The influence of neoliberal planning on the social welfare state

AR3U023
MSc Urbanism, Delft University of Technology

Mark Scholten

4346548
M.Scholten-2@student.tudelft.nl

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This essay examines the influence of neoliberal planning on the Swedish welfare state, including the ideological concept of The People's Home. This concept has often been viewed as an ideal intermediate between socialism and capitalism. It aims to better understand how worldwide trends like globalisation and increased heterogeneity in societies have brought about a paradigm shift from a more social-oriented governance to a new model increasingly lead by economic incentives. Findings conclude that neoliberal planning has caused curtailment of the social-democratic welfare state. It has led to increased socio-spatial segregation through deregulation of the housing market. Society is increasingly viewed through a capitalist lens which individualises and blames social issues on personal choice and freedom. This has victimized new coming migrants and low-income groups. Finally it argues for a reinterpretation and implementation of The People's Home ideals in urban policy as well as a more outspoken role for the urban planner in the process of development.

Key words
Residential segregation, immigration, housing, neoliberal planning, welfare state, Sweden

1. Introduction

Throughout the course of modern history, the Swedish nation has been internationally renowned for its design of the welfare state and its subsequent social security. For decades in the twentieth century, the homogeneous nature of Swedish society and the grounded idea that ''all Swedes were in the same boat'', allowed for the formation of arguably the world's most prime example of the welfare state (Eger, 2009). Free education, free healthcare, it seemed like a dream for many people around the world struggling to pay their insurances and tuition fees.
However in more recent decades support for the system of the welfare state is seemingly under pressure (Eger, 2009). One of the biggest contributors to this retrenchment is seemingly due to globalisation and the subsequent increased heterogeneity in societies around the world. This has been a contributing factor to the rise of neoliberal planning paradigms coming into play, even in a society that is historically grounded in socio-democratic values. These shifts have shaped increased processes of socio-spatial segregation and has increasingly excluded vulnerable groups (Baeten 2012; Hedin, Clark, Lundholm & Malmberg, 2012; Tammaru, Marcinczak, van Ham & Musterd, 2015).

This paper explores the cause of a shift towards neoliberal planning and its effects on the Swedish model of the welfare state. It will go in detail with regards to the changes in governance, the housing market, the role of the urban planner and its effects on society. Goal is to identify possibilities for a revision of the current mode of planning towards a model that strives for spatial justice and that redefines the position of the planner in the development process.

2.1 Welfare state

According to the welfare typology system of Esping-Andersen (1990), the Swedish system qualifies under the denominator of social-democratic regimes. It aspires to create universal high standards for all, where social support is not determined by income. As a result, labour participation is high for both men and women, education and health care are mostly covered and social allowances are relatively high as well. The state accompanies its citizens throughout different stages of life. From the early twentieth century, the idea of *'folkhemmet'* (The People's Home), set the example for a society in which people look after each other and which at the same time allowed authorities to keep control (Grundström & Molina, 2016). It was a concept grounded in needs-based development and a solidarity perspective, which embodied a sense of common good (Bergmark, Thorslund & Lindberg, 2000). Tax resources always followed a general pattern that employed, healthy and high-income groups pay for the unemployed, the ill and low-income groups (Ekberg, 1999). The homogeneous nature of Swedish society throughout most of the twentieth century allowed for a very universally supported governance system in the country. By 1950, only 2,6 percent of the population had a foreign background (Eger, 2009). All in all, it is clear that in the original model of the Swedish welfare state marketisation of government responsibilities was limited and that all aspects of society were strongly regulated and monitored.

By the start of the 1990s, Swedish economy was hit by a crisis and this lead to cutbacks in the national budget (Tammaru et al, 2015). This crisis started in an era when neoliberal ideas where already gaining momentum globally and these values also found their way towards politicians and the planning practice in Sweden. It can be defined as the withdrawal of government interference in the market processes which in turn creates juxtapositions between poverty and wealth in an urban context (Baeten, 2012). Concrete outcomes of the cutbacks are mostly seen through the deregulation and outsourcing of state responsibilities to the market, based on the fundament that the market itself is more capable of dealing with offer-demand relations than the state. This has made the welfare state transition towards a 'workfare' state where labour is further uplifted and prioritised as a prime asset to one's individual entitlement to benefits. Increased costs for unemployment insurance and decreased health care coverage has put low-wage workers in distress, which has resulted in a significant growth of social disparity and increased discrimination and polarisation of the labour market (Schierup & Ålund, 2011).
With growing social disparity, also the support for the welfare system weakens. Although the welfare system had long been the national treasure and pride of the country, the financial consequences on the state budget became increasingly viewed as a burden (Bergmark et al, 2000), especially through a widening lens of capitalism which gives major importance to the personal development of the individual. As the needs of the individual are getting more and more priority, solidarity diminishes and the universal character of the welfare system is questioned. This results in a spiral of decline, where social inequalities are perpetually growing through decreased welfare support. This is problematic, as the universal outlook of the system needs a broad general support and a high degree of labour participation in order to be maintained (Bergmark et al, 2000). It also sets up new contradictions, where increasing societal inequality paradoxically starts to tear down the validity of universality in welfare benefits, where one would think that it aims to help those who need it, paid for it by those who can afford it. Current processes have seemingly only contributed to an increase in unemployment and large discrepancies of employment rates between population groups (Tammaru et al, 2015).

2.2 Housing market

These inequalities are also growing on the Swedish housing market, where the previously named contradictions are also becoming more evident. The market could originally be identified by five main characteristics (Lundström, Fredriksson & Witzell, 2013):

1. The existence of a public rental sector, which is operated by municipality-owned housing companies. It is important to note this is named 'public housing' and not 'social housing', it is housing constituted by all different types of housing sizes for all levels of income. Cheap rental homes are not reserved for low-income groups.
2. Housing policy with a universal character under the notion of 'tenure neutrality'. This meant that originally the construction of all forms of tenure were equally subsidized by the government. The aim of these subsidies was for public housing to function on a cost-rent basis, so that the development was needs-based and not founded in a motive for the generation of profit.

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3. An integrated rental market where private and public dwellings are available for every household type. Both rental types are subject to the same rules, the only difference being that the landlord is either a private party or a municipal housing company.
4. Corporatist-based system, which is unique in its own right through the fact that rents are set through negotiations between tenant-representative unions and the landlords without government laws interfering. This is a system that is quite uncharacteristic in comparison to the rest of Europe.
5. The existence of cooperative dwelling systems which also holds the notion of tenant-ownership. Usually this takes shape in the form of multi-dwelling blocks which is owned by a tenant association of which the inhabitants are members. Dwellings can be individually sold to new occupants but new buyers are to be approved by the association. In other case dwellings are simply rent out to tenants and the units are returned to the association when moving out.

All of these characteristics again were gradually developed to establish the People's Home idea, a mix of tenures through public and private options as well as cooperative dwellings gave people the flexibility and choice to assume a freedom in housing (Grundström & Molina, 2016). As mentioned, development was exclusively need-based.

An expression of this ideal was the implementation of the Million's programme. After the second world war, in which the country maintained neutrality, it had assumed an advantageous position over fellow European states who had suffered economic and demographic losses. The shift from a primarily agricultural nation to a highly industrialised nation over de course of the twentieth century initiated increased urbanization, highlighted by a period between 1945 and 1973 marked as the '*Rekordåren*' (record years) in Swedish national history. This subsequently lead to housing shortages after the war, when people moved from the countryside to the city. This issue was the main reason that provoked the start of the controversial *'Miljonprogrammet'* (Millions programme). Similar to development many European countries in the post-war era, This programme meant the construction of large scale modernist neighbourhoods at the edge of the city (See figure 1). In a period of barely ten years, the programme constructed just over a million homes. Until this day, the housing constructed from the Millions programme makes up 20 to 25 percent of the current Swedish housing stock (Rokem & Vaughan, 2019).

Figure 1 - Tensta, a neighbourhood from the Millions programme built in Stockholm municipality (Mostphotos, 2016)

In more recent times however, research has pointed at the Millions Programme as a cause for segregation in suburban metropolitan areas leading to social unrest (Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010). As a result of the 'failure' and subsequent issues the ideas of the People's Home have come under pressure. As mentioned the start of the 1990s marked a crisis in Swedish economy which was a spark for a shift towards neoliberal ideals in planning and subsequent privatisation of government authorities. This took form in for example the abolishment of the Ministry of Housing, but also through less restrictive rules for municipally-owned housing companies to sell their housing stock to private parties. The influence of

neoliberal planning on the housing market has been multitude and can be characterized by the following developments (Hedin et al, 2012):

Firstly, it has led to a decrease in dwelling production and an increase in home vacancy. Whilst housing production peaked at 100.000 dwellings a year during the 1970s, these numbers declined to about 30.000 in the 1980s. In 2015, construction was not higher than 20.000 units a year whilst the demand was double that figure (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Now that more private actors are involved in the construction market and public housing is diminishing, construction rates are a lot lower than a few decades ago due to increased communication and collaboration that is needed. This in turn has led to an increase in crowded housing conditions – Because home construction has not been able to meet the increasing demand for new dwellings this created more overcrowded situations and overall housing shortage, with one in five inhabitants now living in overcrowded dwellings (Municipality of Stockholm, 2016).

Second, municipalities closed down dwelling agencies and withdrew from social housing commitments. As said, many municipal housing companies sold a large share of their stock to third parties in the past decades. For example, Svenska Bostader (A municipal housing company owned by the city of Stockholm) sold 35% of its assets between 2006 and 2011 to tenant-owned associations which turned the public rental housing into cooperative units. As the state retreated from social planning, so did municipalities and they primarily pursue their own agendas (Andersson et al, 2010; Andersson & Turner, 2014). These large sell-offs were justified with the argument that the selling of properties was needed to fund new housing constructions, but the rates of construction are not even close to the number of sell-offs.

Thirdly, public housing is now being led under market principles leading to increased exclusion of vulnerable groups. In 2005 the Swedish Homeowner Association sued the Swedish government as they deemed the government subsidies to municipal owned housing companies'(MHC's) as unfair competition under the new European competition law. This prompted the implementation of the Allbolagen law in 2011, which now says that public housing is to be led under business principles in which MHC's are to compete with private developers on equal terms. This meant the end of cost-rent rates, resulting into explosive increases in rental rates, increasing by 122% between 1986 and 2005 (Hedin et al, 2012).

Fourth, an increased segmentation where social-economic differences between tenure forms are starting to grow. Through policies that promoted home ownership, the more affluent groups have profited from introduced tax rebates on mortgage interests. Property taxes which were once progressive have been transferred to flat rates for all owners which the high-incomes have benefitted from most. Since 2007 restrictions for MHCs to sell parts of their stock has been lifted and saw a sharp decrease in assets among MHC's in this period. Most of these blocks were sold to cooperative tenant associations. Furthermore, legislative introduced in 2009 allowed for easier conversion from public housing to more expensive cooperative housing. Income-wise residents in own or cooperative housing have profited significantly relative to those in rental housing (Andersson & Turner, 2014).

Fifth, outsourcing and privatisation of planning duties to consultancy firms. More and more municipalities are further decentralising their tasks to private parties, this constitutes one of the most significant changes in planning governance in the municipal level (Montin & Granberg, 2007). This outsourcing can seems to be the result of striving for the highest possible economic efficiency, mostly adopted by right-wing liberal political parties (Elinder & Jordahl, 2013).

Lastly, it has created social polarization and growing gaps between groups. Patterns in investment show that capital investment is directed twice as often towards areas that are already high-income than towards low-income. The opposite is happening with income filtering, which looks at patterns of disinvestment, is twice as prevalent in low-income areas. Socio-spatial segregation is increasing within the city (Andersson & Kährik, 2015 as cited in Tammaru et al, 2015). All in all, it becomes clear that the social values of housing have largely been abandoned by the government and that local authorities have followed suit in the marketisation of the housing market. As disinterest in social housing and subsequent disinvestment in public rental dwellings will prolong, it is highly likely that segregation in cities will continue to rise (Andersson & Turner, 2014).

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2.3 Societal processes

Current segregation tendencies in Sweden as said have a clear socio-economic character, but is also strongly interwoven with an ethnic dimension. Processes of globalisation have also lead to a more mixed society in Sweden. As said, shortly after World War II the percentage of foreign-born people was below 3%. Different types of migration waves have made this number increase to the point where today 24% of the population has a foreign background (Statistics Sweden, 2019). In the 1970s, Swedish government started to recruit guest workers which marked the first step towards a more heterogeneous society. Later, during several global conflicts like, it provided shelter for many displaced individuals seeking refuge in northern Europe.
It is in particular these people that have been victimized by the neoliberal policy making in recent decades. Considering both the current condition of the housing market as well as the Million programme estates in the metropolitan peripheries, it might not come as a surprise that most of the migrants end up in these areas as they consist of mostly cheap housing which have become a hotbed of socio-economic issues. There is little knowledge on the patterns of movement in and out of these neighbourhoods. Some argue from a multicultural perspective that migrant groups cluster voluntarily because of the ethnic networks they benefit from, others say they are forced to cluster due to systematic discrimination and exclusion from the host nation (Bråmå, 2008). The housing market is viewed to be increasingly racialised and as a result the enforced clustering perspective is gaining momentum (Schierup & Ålund, 2011; Grundström & Molina, 2016). If indeed migrants have no choice but to cluster in secluded housing estates, the retrenchment of the welfare state starts functioning as a catalyst for government dissatisfaction and social exclusion, especially among younger populations. The state becomes more and more viewed as an antagonistic system, through government institutions like for example public schools, migration offices and planning authorities whom from a migrants perspective fail to effectively assist them (Buser & Koch, 2014).

The emerging social dichotomies add to the complexity of segregation between groups, which has proved to be a multi-scalar, multi-dimensional phenomena. As said, ethnic and socio-economic segregation are more and more viewed as interlaced. This is problematic, as it results in the mixing up of cause-effect relationships. Socio-economic issues are being attributed one-on-one to racial parameters. These misunderstandings are subsequently abused by politicians for electoral gain. For example, research shows that initially native Swedes benefitted from the newcomers income-wise, but this trend has now turned into a negative effect (Ekberg, 1999). Neoliberal planning and its focus on economic profit has magnified this relationship, ignoring the possibility that part of this effect could be due to, for example, poor integration and support policies from the national government itself.

2.4 Role of the planner

What happened to the people 'in charge' during all these simultaneous developments? In times when the government still held strong regulatory control over the housing market, the urban planner enjoyed a

Figure 2 - Collage with data from the RUFS 2050 & Stockholm City Plan 2016 (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015 & Municipality of Stockholm, 2016)

strong position in the process of urban development and was even regarded as a 'social engineer' (Lundström et al, 2013). This was exercised through the previously discussed planning monopoly municipalities have traditionally held when implemented in the building law in 1947 (Montin & Granberg, 2007; Hedin et al, 2012). However, after social issues started to manifest in the Million programme estates the periphery of metropolitan areas at the same time that economic crisis hit home, Sweden developed a 'colonial relationship' with its Millions Programme estates and the neighbourhoods become deterritorialised by the government (Smets & Salman, 2008; Baeten, 2012). This discourse of detachment was also taken on my more affluent inhabitants who left the area (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004). The accumulation of welfare problems damaged the authority of the planner to such a degree that they lost their position as experts, which was then taken in the spirit of age by the economists during the emergence of market-driven deals (Lundström et al, 2013). This changed the mode of planning from a more socialist perspective towards neoliberal and collaborative planning (Koglin & Petterson, 2017). This established politicisation of the planning process, where planners are becoming marionettes of the politicians whom now are increasingly desiring a growth-oriented agenda instead of a needs-oriented agenda. This is evident in both local city plans as well as regional visions, which are extensively filled with terms like 'growth', 'global competitiveness' and 'accessibility' (see figure 2) (Länstyrelsen Stockholm, 2015; Municipality of Stockholm, 2016).

The higher demands of politicians have arguably led to the constitution of fear cultures among planning departments (Grange, 2017). Planners are now supposed to act as the 'neutral' mediator between policy and practice. This stance of neutrality has seemingly created self-criticism and disappointment (Montin & Granberg, 2007). In turn this leaves an image of the planner as having become complacent. Tasks which were once solely municipal in nature are now increasingly outsourced to private firms. Furthermore, even though the Swedish law stipulates otherwise, a large degree of municipalities do not seem to update their comprehensive plans regularly. It is even claimed that one third of municipalities still maintain plans from the 1990s (Lundström et al, 2013). This is further steering power dynamics in favour of politicians and private parties, who have arguably come to see the planner as an easily influenced intermediate. When there are no directives in place, planners are unprepared and have a bad position in negotiations with third parties. In the end, it is clear that the apathy of planners to deal with their new role as come at the expense of low-income groups and vulnerable migrants.

2.5 Conclusion

It is clear that globalisation and subsequent neoliberal planning have had a significant and fundamental influence on the Swedish welfare state and its planning institutions. As migrants have increasingly been viewed as a liability instead of an asset, support for universal welfare benefits is declining as the question of entitlement between different groups is growing. This takes shape in the form of social polarization and socio-spatial segregation, which is most evident in the metropolitan areas of the country. As increased migration and the dispersal of migrants is creating a solidarity crisis on a European level (Takle, 2017), this has seemingly created a spill over effect into individual nations. The gradual but persistent shift away from the solidarity-based nature Swedish society once had, has constituted the systematic individualisation of social issues. Moreover, the decentralisation of power towards the municipal level without any cross-municipal collaboration has established a climate of self-righteousness and a detachment from collective responsibility (Castro & Lindbladh, 2004).

This detachment has left urban planners in the country seemingly defeated, who's main job was to protect the common good and adhere to this collective responsibility. There loss of power has led to a decreased value and respect for the planner who's role has been increasingly trivialised through the politicisation of the profession of planning (Grange, 2017). This has lead to increased hierarchy in public institutions and Their motives have, perhaps unwillingly, shifted from social empowerment to economic benefit. There is plenty of investment coming into the city, but it is simply not divided evenly.

This article calls for the Swedish authorities to reflect on their past socialist traditions and critically examine what is left of it today. The historic absence of any social housing programme in a country with a historically socialist background already could be deemed peculiar, and it has become a detriment within current conditions. To prevent segregation tendencies from escalating, it is essential for the country to reconsider the values of the People's Home in the planning process, which have somehow become lost in the light of social and political unrest. Urban planners should refrain from self-pity, but instead assume a role of urban leadership and work with what is available (See figure 3).

8. Appendix

2. Essay AR3U023

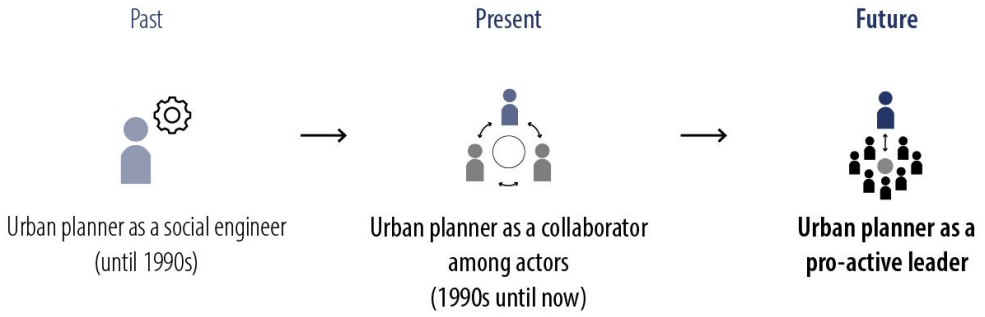

Figure 3 - The changing role of the planner (image by author)

The majority of power shifts towards the private sector are seemingly irreversible. The ability of the Swedish government to impose market inhibitions has been sharply reduced (Ryner, 1999). However, within the new mode of collaborative planning, the planner can still play a leading role. This can take place through the form of improved preparation in stakeholder negotiations and a decreased ad-hoc style of working. This this could be facilitated by for example a stronger institutionalisation of the comprehensive plan as a guiding document for development, as many municipalities have seemingly left these documents unchanged for many years even though they are obliged to regularly update them (Lundström et al, 2013). Furthermore it requires planners to give voice to their professional expertise. Similar to other professions like journalism, urban planning is not a neutral profession. Neutrality and objectivity are ostensibly confused to be the same thing. Neutrality seems to imply either the absence of opinion or the aim to display both sides of an issue equally, whilst objectivity is about truth telling and about facts. Planners should adhere to the truth, dare to voice it in their leading role, and not be silenced under the veil of democratic and political consensus.

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8. Appendix

3. Classification of urban tissues

Modernist types

Urban tissue type #1

Long-stretched high density blocks at the edge of the neighbourhood, mostly flat roofs

Urban tissue type #2

Square configuration of modernist blocks with inner garden, mostly flat roofs

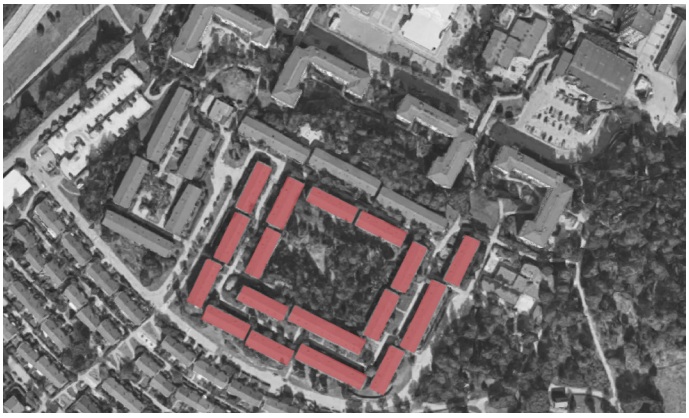
Urban tissue type #3

Parrallel modernist blocks with (elevated) community gardens, mostly flat roofs

Urban tissue type #4

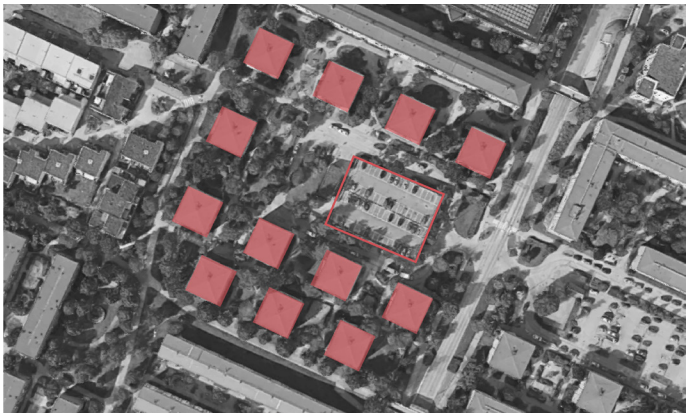
Collection of medium scale blocks usually around central parking garage, often with slightly slanted roofs

Urban tissue type #5



Low density apartments (2-3 floors) with slanted roofs alongside an interior street

Urban tissue type #6



Detached apartment 'towers', with slanted roofsW

8. Appendix

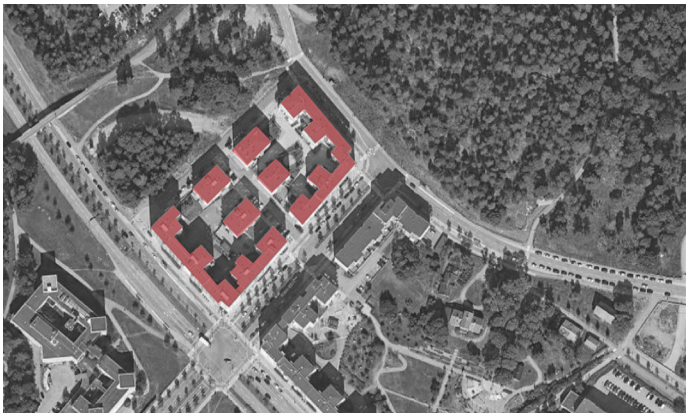
3. Classification of urban tissues

Non-modernist types

Urban tissue type #7

New built urban blocks with closed courtyards

Urban tissue type #8



New built urban blocks with closed courtyards

Urban tissue type #9

Apartments in a semi-open courtyard layout

Urban tissue type #10

Semi-attached bungalows

Urban tissue type #11

Low-rise row houses with front and back gardens

Urban tissue type #12

Detached family villa's

8. Appendix

4. Space syntax - Angular integration (NMS)

Case - Analysis of intermediate scale

AI - 250m walking distance

AI - 400m walking distance

AI -800m walking distance

AI - 1500m walking distance

AI -3000m walking distance

AI - 5000m walking distance

4. Space syntax - Angular Choice (NMS)

AC- 250m walking distance

AC- 400m walking distance

AC- 800m walking distance

AC-1500m walking distance

AC-3000m walking distance

AC- 5000m walking distance

Source: all images by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

8. Appendix

5. Design sketches log

Case - Tensta design multi-scale testing

Tensta integration 800m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Tensta angular choice 800m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

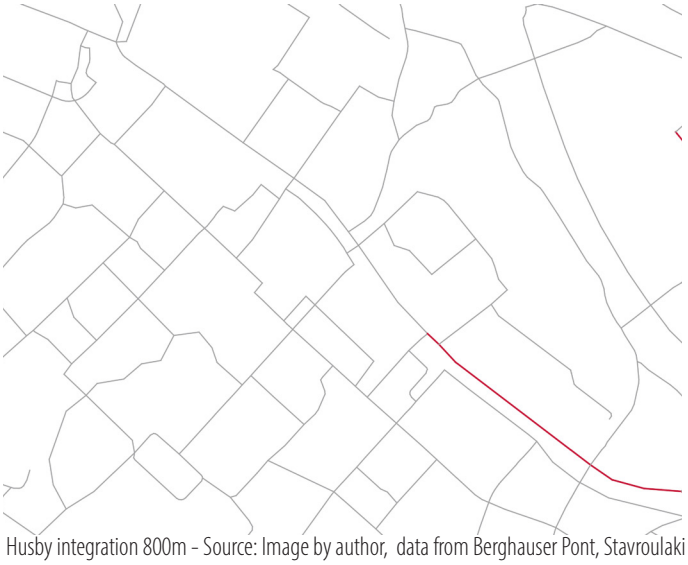
Tensta integration 1500m Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Tensta angular choice 1500m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Tensta integration 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Tensta angular choice 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

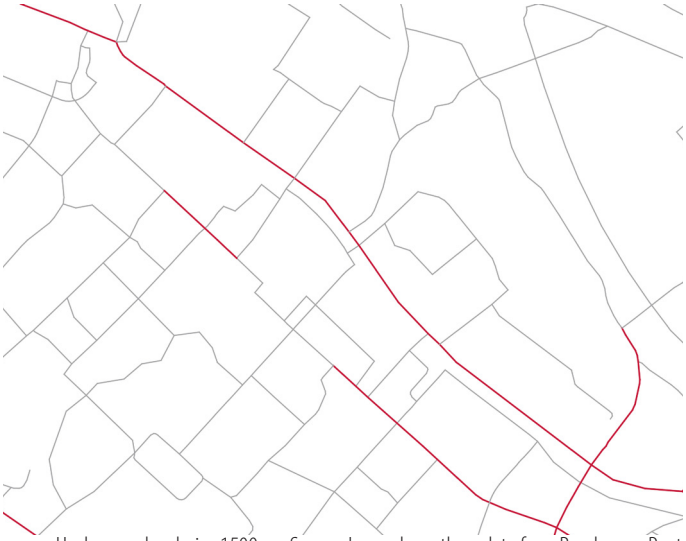
Case - Husby design multi-scale testing



Husby integration 800m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Husby angular choice 800m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Husby integration 1500m Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)



Husby angular choice 1500m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

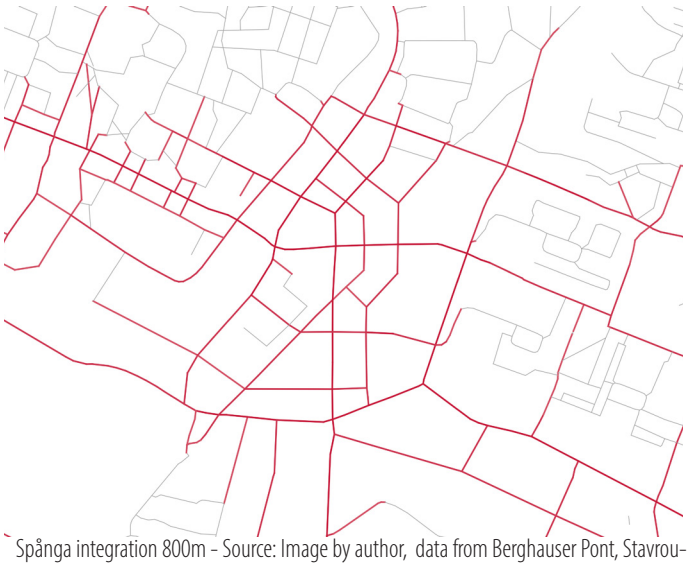
Husby integration 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Husby angular choice 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

8. Appendix

5. Design sketches log

Case - Spånga design multi-scale testing



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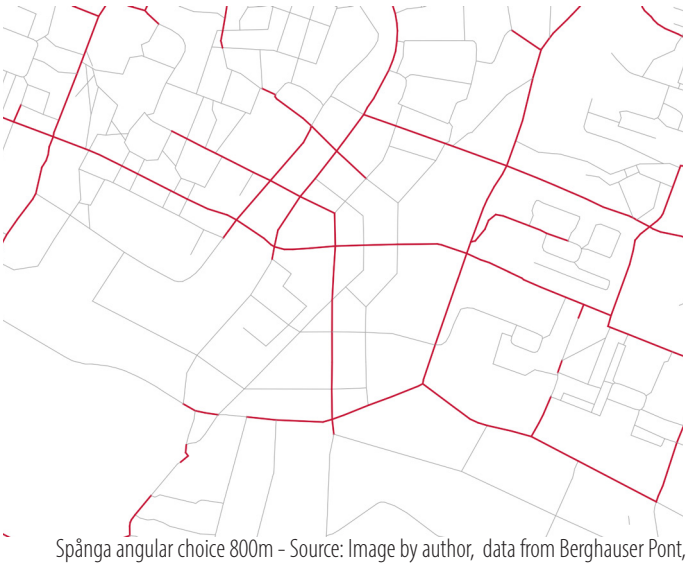
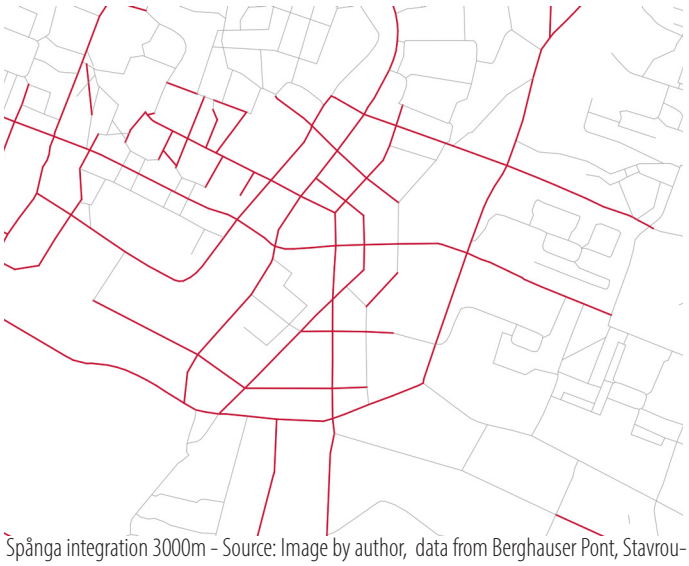


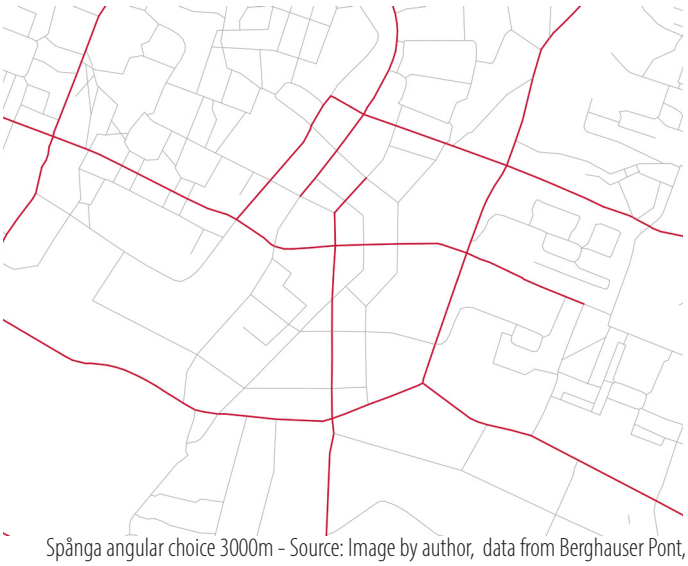
Spånga angular choice 800m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

Spånga integration 1500m Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

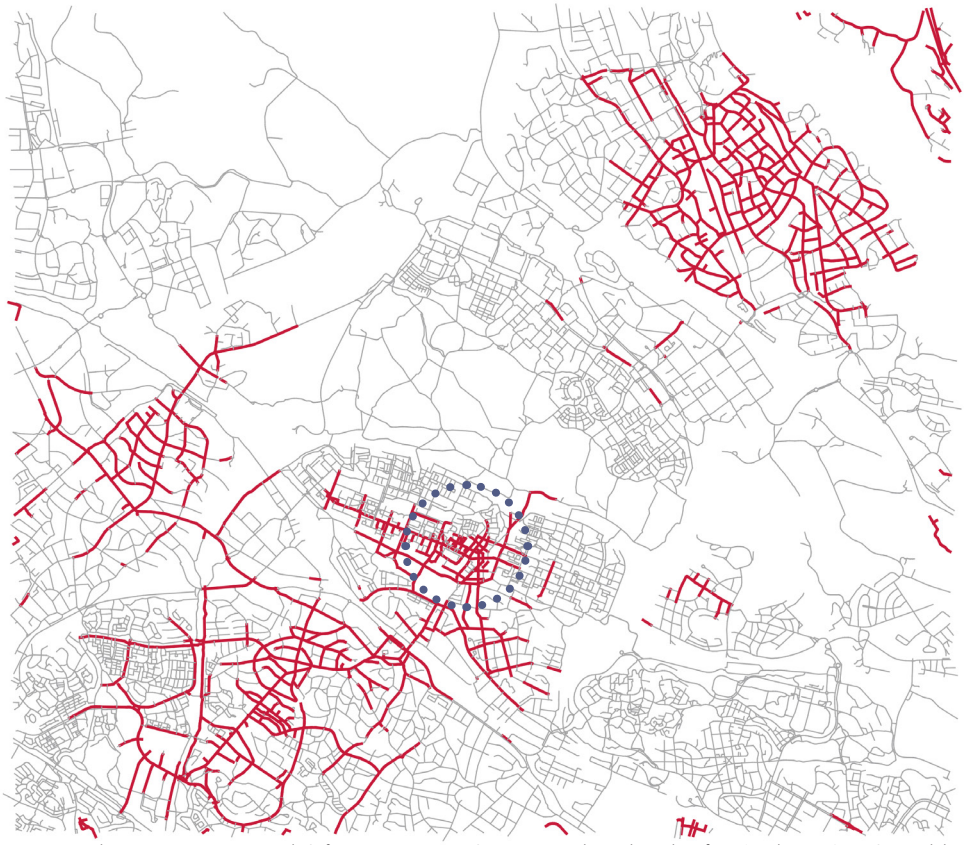
Spånga angular choice 1500m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)



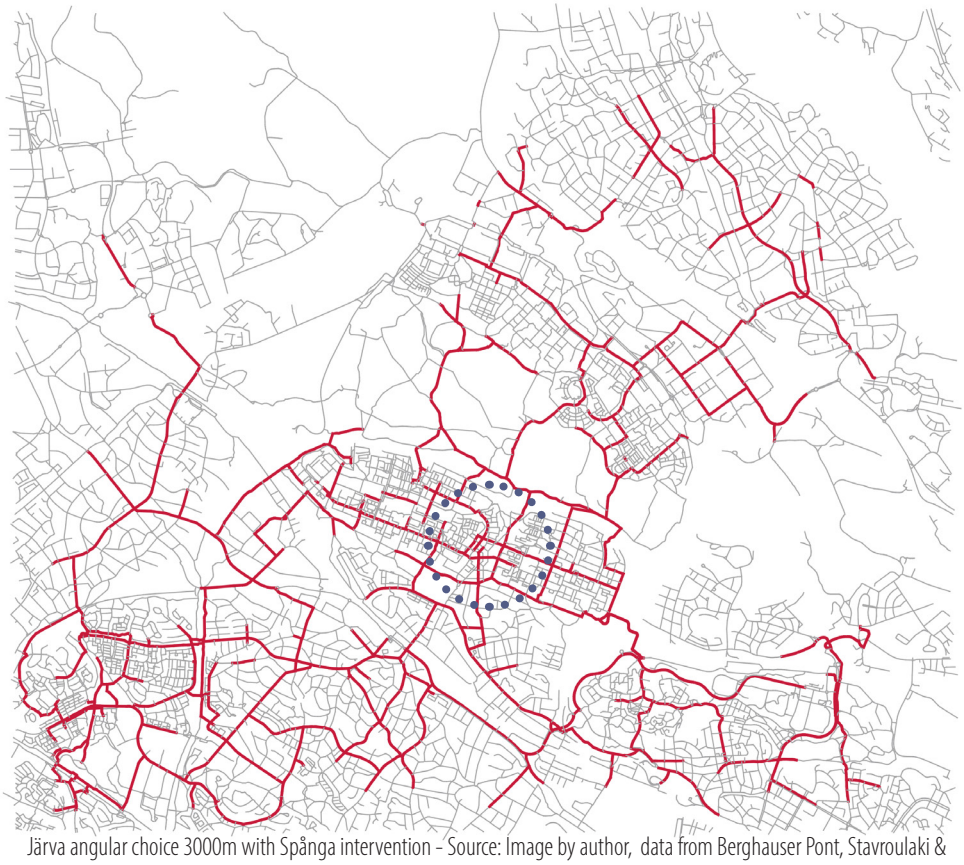
Spånga integration 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)



Spånga angular choice 3000m - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)



Järva angular integration 3000m with Spånga intervention - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)



Järva angular choice 3000m with Spånga intervention - Source: Image by author, data from Berghauser Pont, Stavroulaki & Marcus (2019)

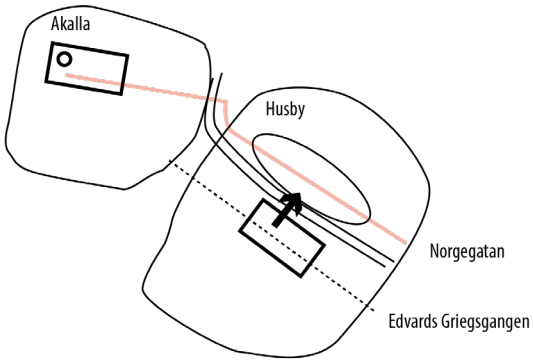
8. Appendix

5. Design sketches log

Sketches from notebook (retraced due to low scanning quality)

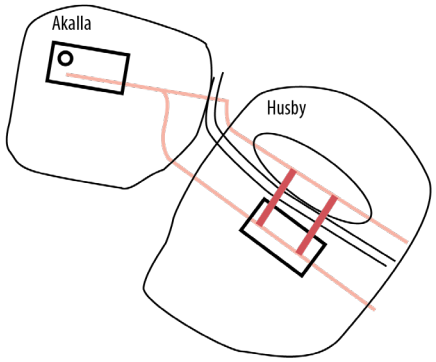
Case - Husby most integrated line

1. Move shops to most integrated line



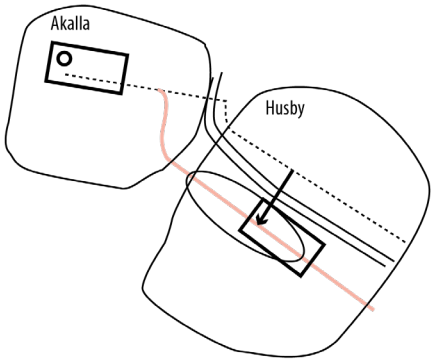
Move shops towards other line? Probably unrealistic and lots of investment needed. Besides aren't other options easier and cheaper to carry out?

2. 'melt together' two axis



Would require a bit of redesign on the Akalla side. Could be logical, especially since the through movement from the Akalla centrality will be there anyway.

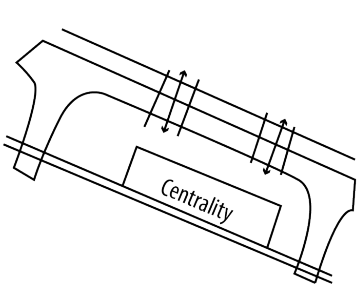
3. Shift axis down to Edvards Griegsgången



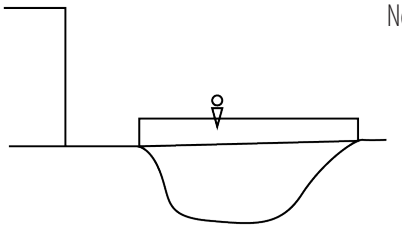
Would be most 'logical' or easy solution to make integration and facilities match. However, the Norgegatan pedestrian path then remains without constitution or entrances, making it still largely unsafe. Especially if the bridge would be cut off.

Case - Connecting Norgegatan with centrality

1. Widen Bridges

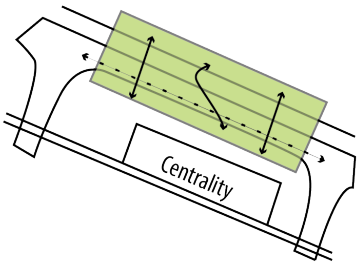


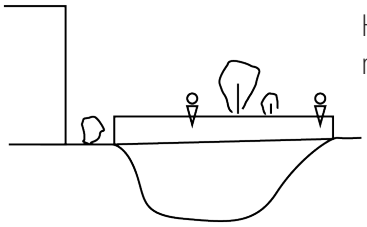
Husby: 2 Axis



Cheapest intervention, but also with the least effect. Will it be enough to get people to the other side? Besides, this doesn't do much for the Norgegatan as it is.

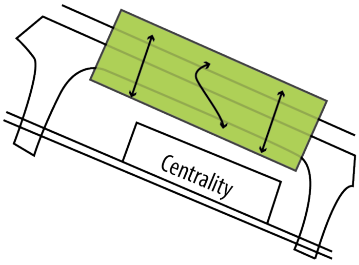
1. Tunnel

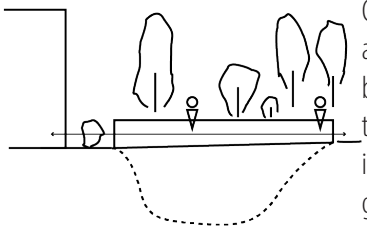




Bridging it would bring the two sides more together. The tunnel would be expensive, and I wonder if its necessary. The road around Husby is only a small detour, and for small distances people are likely not taking the car anyway.

3. Landscaped Park





Closing off the Norgegatan is a possibility for the reason described above. A landscaped park (perhaps with commercial activity) would be the best connection. It is also the most dramatic intervention and the most extensive.... I would say its worth it, especially since this intervention is beneficial to both Norgegatan and Edvard Griegs-gången, whilst the first is definitely not and the second reduces the quality of the experience of the park (its not quiet with cars running underneath?).

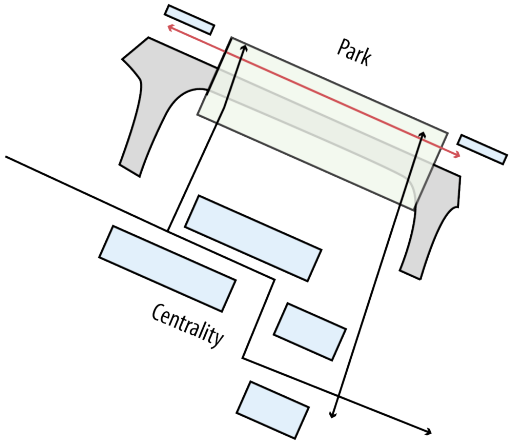
8. Appendix

5. Design sketches log

Sketches from notebook (retraced due to low scanning quality)

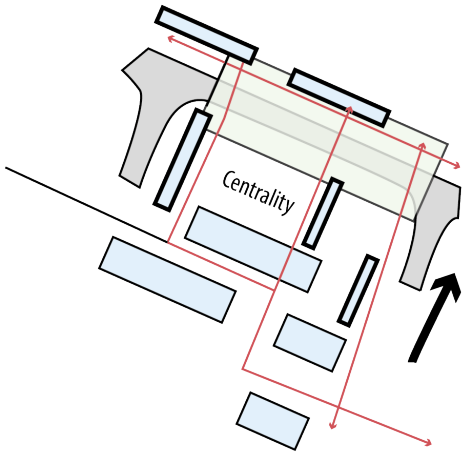
Case - Extending Husby centrality or not

1. Park - shop division



If the Norgegatan is landscaped than what is the character? Making it a park only will provide a nice quiet space and can also be the link between the both sides. To what degree should there be facilities however? If there are no facilities, the problems posed that characterize the pedestrian route are not solved.

2. Extend centrality to both sides

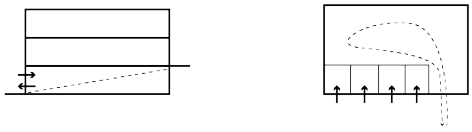


If the centrality is extended to both sides this would help reduce the issues with the Norgegatan. However, a lot of extra commercial space as well as the landscaping requires money. The area is already quite dense, will it be possible to densify 'enough' to get the investment needed to do such a large scale intervention? And will there will be a high enough concentration of people to sustain them...

Case - Parking garages layout

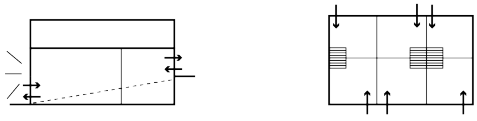
1. Parking ' in the back', public facilities 'in the front'

SECTION PLAN



If the construction can not be opened up, it would be possible to see if there could be public services in the front and the parking in the back, possibly by moving the entrances. It is however debatable if such a low ceiling height will be compliant with building regulations. Digging out the ground is probably not possible?

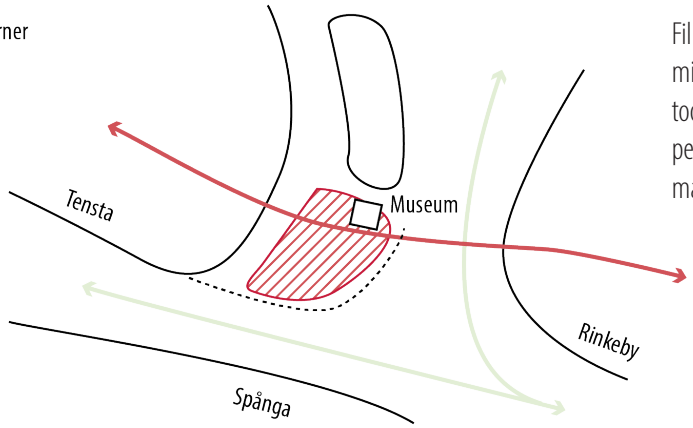
2. Double high ground floor, two sided entry parking on top (two sided entry?)



If the construction of the parking garages can be opened up, it is desirable to make public amenities or services with a double ceiling height of 4m, which will make them very open and transparent to the street. This seems like the most probable option given the construction manners of these garages.

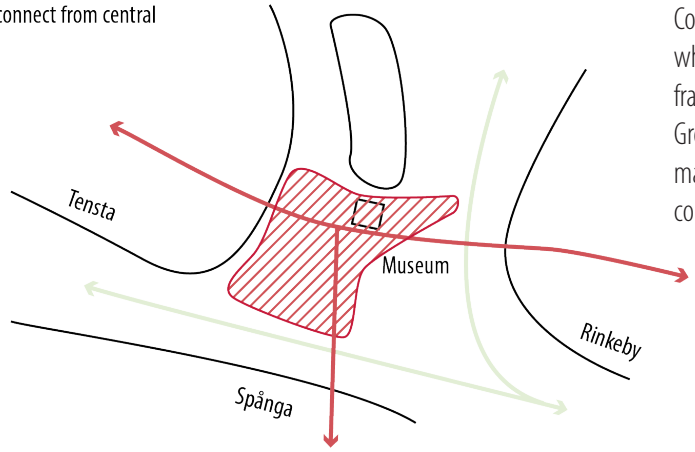
Case - Spånga extension layout

1. Fill out corner



Filling out the corner reacting to the typologies at the border, a minimal densification. Maintains the current situation, but actually too much. It does not solve the spatial separateness even though it perhaps adds to the housing diversity. The ecological connection is maintained. Main route with commercial functions

2. Spatially connect from central part



Connecting all three sides in urban form, with two axis intersecting where commercial activities are located. The ecological connection is fragmented, but is not of highest priority in relation to the Jarvafaltet. Green on the side is still maintained and on the south side can be maintained in a different form. The east-west connection is more continuous to set up in a later stadium more urban streets.

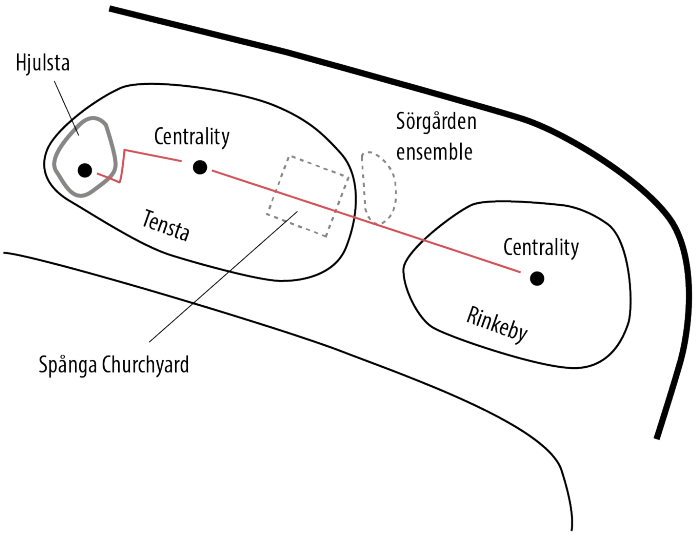
8. Appendix

5. Design sketches log

Sketches from notebook (retraced due to low scanning quality)

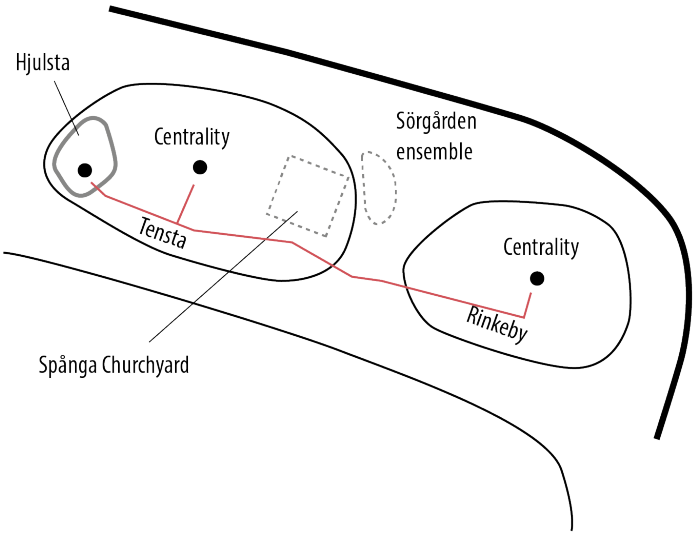
Case - Tensta-Rinkeby most integrated line

:hurchyard



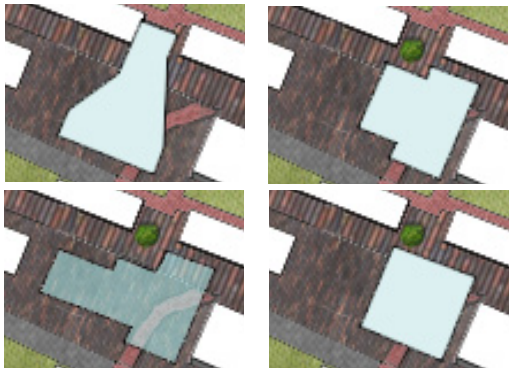
Connecting centralities in a straight line. Shortest and most logical connection, however the Spanga churchyard is in the way and this can probably not be overcome since it is of cultural-historic value and can not be removed or adjusted.

l route in



Currently the most integrated line is on the south, and this is the line to focus on since it has most potential to connect both sides (also Spanga on the south). It also leads on better into Hjulsta, which is an advantage to option one.

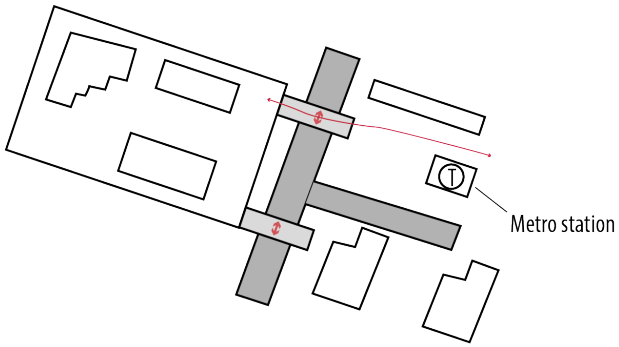
Case - Canopy Tenstaplan



Canopy must fit in with current buildings, so modernist feel. Geometric lines and a flat roof fit best with the environment. A tent structure would be unfitting. The canopy should be high (12-15m), not too low to obstruct view. Material should be translucent so light can enter. It should go over both the street and the square to connect them experientially when you walk underneath it and extend towards the metro station. It should be fitted for the market. Some seating elements might need to be moved, but the current space might not require landscaping as it already transitions into the street.

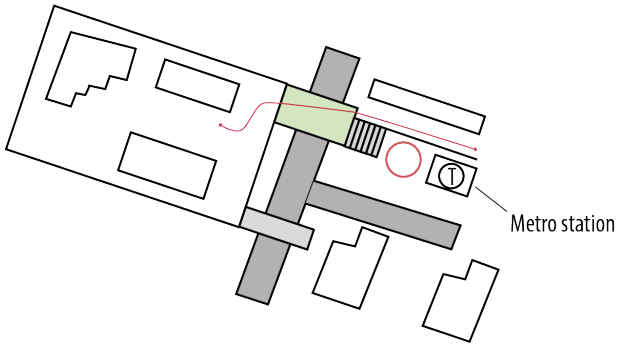
Case - Tensta centrality connection with community space

1. Widen bridge



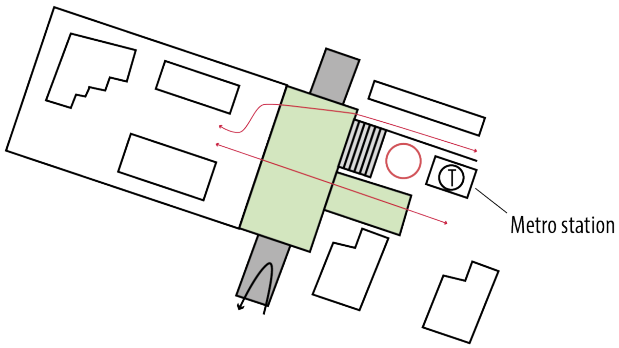
Widening the bridges to connect both sides, effect is minimal but costs and effort are minimal as well. This probably does not do much good, it is too small an intervention to make a difference.

2. Extend into stairs of public theatre (Tunnel or landscaped)



Intermediate option, road could be cut off when landscaped. Not an issue as the ring road around Tensta still facilitates a connection. Again people probably do not use the car for such small distances anyway. Now there is a sort of carpet leading from the school environment into the Tensta centrality, which better connects the street, the public space and the school environment.

3. Extend landscaping, close of street and arrange parking elsewhere



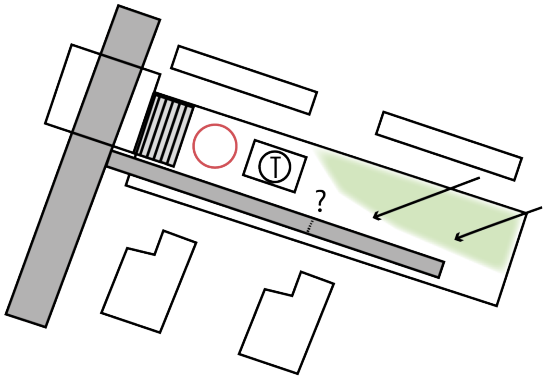
A larger landscaping where the road towards Tensta centrality is cut off, this requires a different parking solution. The connection with both sides is absolute and integrated. However quite expensive and extensive, is it realistic? The parking issue also is troublesome.

8. Appendix

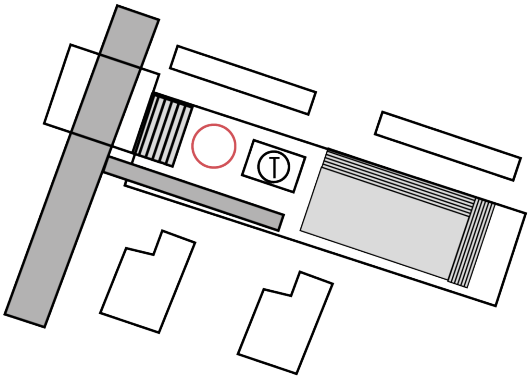
5. Design sketches log

Sketches from notebook (retraced due to low scanning quality)

Case - Tenstaplan connection to Tenstagången and possibility for open events



Landscaping the Tenstagången onto the Tenstaplan, possibly with some seating possiblities. This would look like the current site, but then less stoney. It takes away possibility for the local events according to the reference, or it needs to be very smartly combined to have incidental seats and areas which are more flat (platforms) to host certain kind of activities. Another idea is to keep the space, modify it a bit and use a canopy. This would balance investment in either side of the square a bit as it requires no extensive landscaping. A possible canopy could be rather inexpensive if materials are used smartly.

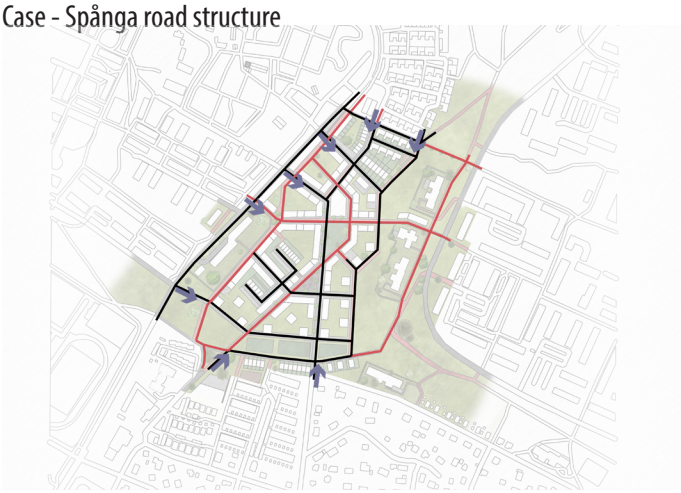


This would leave room for an open event square, which could facilitate events like a market, ice skating rink and other events (possibly tennis court like in the reference project below?). However, then the square becomes very disconnected from the street, because of the height difference. Also, to what degree is the above already facilitated by the stairs on the west side of the square? It is suitable for performances and small gatherings (lectures, workshops, speeches) but perhaps not so much for a market. This version could also require the street to be shorten and could this cause parking problems and supply problems for the shopping centre?

References from Koksijde front square - Source: https://www.booking.com/

References from Koksijde front square - Source: https://oostduinkerkest-

Case - Spånga road structure



Version 1 - Mixed

A mix of car and pedestrian paths. Where the car intersects the main pedestrian route, it should be the streetware of the pedestrian path that dominates, so that they are the dominant figures in space. Examples like the Lijnbaan where the car lane is narrow and the pedestrian route is wide could work here too. This location is more remote however, and it is unlikely that there will be a continuous stream of cars running through these streets. Therefore pedestrian walkability will probably still be of decent quality.

Version 1 - Cars on the outside

Version with cars on the outside. Inside urban space is really dedicated to pedestrian, which is pleasant for walking and public space. But cars on the outside mean a lot of cars that conflict with the landscape. Also, how can cars reach some of the inner blocks now...?

Version 1 - Cars on the inside

Version with all car in the centre and pedestrian on the outside. Cars play minimal role in landscape which is good. However, many cars in the centre, how is that good for the quality of the pedestrian experience? Many centered parking needed in the center, which means garages...

Mark Scholten - 4364548

Delft University of Technology
MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment

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