Daily goods
576 regular paper bags

Daily goods - cold storage
576 regular paper bags

Durable goods
45 m² (>1980 packages of
100x400x500)

Registration

E-com
fitting
room

E-commerce
bulky goods

Help-to-order computers

Reception

Cafe - initial generator

The Lindängen Lobby

*- an investigation of how e-commerce can regenerate neighbourhood retail
in a splintered landscape*

Björn Englöv

The Lindängen Lobby

*- an investigation of how e-commerce can regenerate neighbourhood retail
in a splintered landscape*

Content
Part one

Content
Part two

Introduction

For someone born in the late eighties, shopping is just there and always have been; something I have taken as a precondition for urban life. I am a child, one might argue, of a generation captured by shopping.

But then, influenced by the claims from countless of articles describing the imminent death of the physical store due to digitalisation and mallification, I have more and more so been asking myself if our city centres have a future and how that might manifest itself. It has been proclaimed how the future of retail is digital, and that many of our forthcoming purchases will be undertaken in-front of our computer or mobile screens. The main street, we are told, is facing a cul de sac.

Rather early in the process of this thesis I realised two things:

1. That is only partly true.
2. That is not the main issue.

In short: this thesis aims to explain what I mean by that. More elaborately speaking: I will investigate how digital retail might affect our cities. It will be asked if an advancement of e-commerce, contrary to popular belief, can have a positive effect on the urban realm and subsequently how it can be facilitated in the fields of architecture and urban design.

By examining retail I am seeking to understand my own role as a future architect concerned with urban issues; and therefore the discussion is linked to the overlying theme of physical and metaphysical urban fragmentation, which functions as a web in which the topic is discussed. Architects, I believe, have a tendency to neglect the overall immaterial landscape in which the tasks of producing architecture is set. Instead we tend to resort to narrowed site specific research which in the end results in thepretty much the same generic solutions. So in order to aid the following architectural and urban design proposal a broad grip on consumerism is undertaken by putting the topic in a context of politics, economics, culture geography, sociology and service management.

By so I will construct a case; which is that we need to revise our understanding and our tools regarding the planning of retail on the various scales of the contemporary regional city, and among these scales we will more thoroughly be examining a suburb (förstad) in Malmö from the early seventies.

If fragmentation and the structure of retail are to be challenged it is simply not enough to revitalise dying scenes of retail by a logic of more of the same. Such methods, it will be argued, are limited. As an alternative this paper presents a scenario in which a local neighbourhood centre is redeveloped with the introduction of a new retail typology together with an urban plan that introduces more understandable sequences of public space. It will by such be explained how the scale of a building together with that of an urban masterplan potentially can regenerate local retail and local publicness.

The sum of the proposal should neither be seen as detailed nor schematic, but somewhere in-between with room for improvements and discussions.

Main research questions which will be discussed include:

- What is the fragmented city and what are its characteristics?
- What characterises the retail landscape of today and how has this emerged?
- How will retail of tomorrow function and what sort of urban spaces will it require?
- How can we, through architecture, transform e-commerce from a threat into a possibility for better and more fair urban life?
- How do we best adapt a modernistic neighbourhood centre for the needs of today and tomorrow?
- What type of program is needed for a more sustainable and resilient scene of local neighbourhood retail?
- How is this represented in a suitable architecture and urban design
- language?

Structure/method

This thesis is at large divided into two segments, in which the first should be understood as the theoretical framework for the latter. Simultaneously the two parts can be viewed and discussed independent of each other.

The first part serves to put retail and shopping in a broad societal perspective. Findings are divided into chapters with subcategories touching upon a varied of relating subjects. By taking a cross-curriculum stand it is explained how Swedish retail has developed along with modern society, and how the current retail landscape affects our cities and sets the framework for social interaction between the urban dwellers. The underlying philosophy is that by being familiar and acquainted with the fundamental structures, more mature architecture can be produced.

The first part is a rather general exposé over the whole retail scene in Sweden. However, by using examples from Malmö, the third biggest city in Sweden, I aim to show how these developments are witnessed in a local context. Malmö is furthermore chosen as, besides being the author's hometown, it holds multiple types of physical retail zones represented in the modern age. These zones are roughly three in numbers: the regional shopping malls, the city centre and the local neighbourhood centres.

Malmö is moreover a city that underwent great changes during the twentieth century, and thus clearly illustrates the ideals of the modernist movement. Meanwhile the city of today showcases a number of contemporary social issues such as high numbers of unemployment and escalating income gaps. Issues as such, I will argue, are crucial when retail landscapes are planned.

The first part is concluded with questions of what is to be expected of tomorrow and what potential effects such development will have on retail in Sweden in general. In writing I will highlight what type of actions are required for each respective zone to operate more sustainable. With this conclusion I structure my theoretical understanding for the following design task.

The second part of this paper is a site specific intervention. In this phase I begin by inquire the dilemmas of the present system of e-commerce as well as attempts of regenerating local neighbourhood retail.

Thereafter a scheme of thinking when planning for improved retail in the suburbs (förstad) is investigated. A new type of shopping typology, orientated towards e-commerce, has been implemented within the frame of an urban masterplan. The site chosen is Lindängen, a suburb (förstad) in Malmö. The guidelines drawn are however to be seen as broad and general methods that can be applied when working with similar areas.

The design aims to challenge fragmentation by presenting an economically feasible alternative for how a greater portion of retail can be done in the local neighbourhood. Philosophically the design aims to marry the ideals of big-box architecture with a process-driven urban planning inspired by the ideals of re-urbanism.

The design proposal should be read as a natural interpretation of the general trends dissected in the previous chapters, although set in a local context. Therefore this part of the thesis is supplemented with more classical architectural research such as site visits, observations and interviews with locals, together with architectural representations in the form of plans, diagrams and visualisations.

Limitations

This thesis rests upon the prerequisite that current economical and societal development continues in the same fashion as it has during recent decades. That is; a deregulation of governmental control and increasing influence from the private market. By the time of writing, humanity is facing great challenges, but within this limited frame of work I have chosen not to go into depth of plausible scenarios where either the monetary system, world peace or the environment has collapsed. It should however be noted that the convenience of modern consumerism is greatly dependent on each of these.

There will hardly be any discussions regarding the various spatial attributes affiliated to the different typologies of retail, or how retail stores will change in the future in-terms of omnichanels, staff-free stores or mobile stores on wheel etcetera. Many of these innovations, I argue, are either gimmicky or do not connect to the overall focus of the thesis.

It should be noted that I am using words such as shopping and consumerism rather loosely. Depending on the context it might refer to either the consumption of daily or durable goods. These are to some extent different aspects of shopping, but I have bundled them together as they are both integral to why fragmentation is on the rise. With that noted, one can look at different aspects of transactions and whether they are undertaken out of necessity or as leisure. That is however a field of its own and not discussed in this paper.

The design task sits somewhere between schematic and detailed and it could have been undertaken in multiple different ways. It could have been done in a more diagrammatic way, illustrating the potential of working with e-commerce in the whole of Malmö. However, on a personal level, I wished to come closer to more detailed architecture. Therefore I present a rather "finished" prototype of a building with a proposed program and layout of spaces. This type of building however should naturally be developed together with the users in questions. The building illustrates spaces and materiality that in a latter phase can be further detailed. For this paper and the discussion I do not see it fitting to go into more detailing than I have already done.

The proposed urban plan should furthermore be read as a structural plan, emphasising the introduction of a new retail typology with the introduction of better spatial sequences that will promote more street life. What type of typologies of housing or offices are needed has not been of any particular concern for this work.

Definitions

Fragmentation – NOUN

The process or state of breaking or being broken into fragments. (Oxford)

My understanding of fragmentation as it is presented in this paper is based on numerous sources discussing the topic (among many Baeten 2011, Graham and Marvin 2001, Hemmersam 2004, Kärrholm and Nylund 2011). From these sources I rest upon a definition of urban fragmentation as:

A process undertaken, intentionally or not, to break up the spaces, social processes as well as rhythms of the urban realm into, from one another, independent entities.

Shopping – NOUN

1. The action or activity of buying goods from shops. (Oxford)

1.1 Goods bought from shops, especially food and household goods. (Oxford)

Commodification – NOUN

The action or process of treating something as a mere commodity. (Oxford)

Neoliberalism – NOUN

A modified form of liberalism tending to favour free-market capitalism. (Oxford)

Branding – NOUN

The promotion of a particular product or company by means of advertising and distinctive design. (Oxford)

" In no other field of business is the mutability greater and so dramatic as in the field of retail. Consumers, competitors, branch structures, deliveries - in brief this whole world of retail is under fundamental changes.

(Tonndorf, 1967, quoted by Sellerberg 1978, quoted by Aslan and Fredriksson 2017, my translation)

" After shops have become limitless in size, after shopping has overtaken all activities, and after all aspects of our lives have been quantified and analyzed, shopping will still find another vehicle by which to survive and expand.

In the end, there will be little else for us to do but shop.

(Sze Tsung Leong, 2001)

History of modern retail in Sweden

The bourgeoisie

The industrial revolution by the end of the eighteenth century came to be significant for the development of European cities, and especially for the creation of an urban culture in Sweden. It is rather telling, that up until the 1830s the Swedish language did not have the word "public" (offentlig) in its vocabulary, and the type of Parisian or Londonian urban life we witness in the lyrics of Baudelaire or novels by Dickens, did not fully have a Swedish counterpart.

Figure 01. Klostergatan, Lund 1900.

One might argue that in a pre-industrialised Sweden, commerce was not an integral part of everyday life, as the main means of trade could be pinned down to the necessary transactions, undertaken in small general stores (handelsbodar). Periodic markets could once in a while be held, and although the significance of these temporary outdoor markets should not be devalued as they provided the city dwellers with a flair of continental pulse, most of the time the urban conditions looked quite different (Bergman 2003, 14-19).

In the wake of industrialisation and urbanisation, a new type of urban class was emerging during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The bourgeoisie came to influence urban life in the whole of Europe; though our present conception of the public realm still rests on these formative years, and what Jürgen Habermas (1962/1989, 31-43) described as the "Bourgeois public sphere". Inherent in this way of looking at the city is; everyone's right to be present and circulate freely in the urban sphere (inclusivity). Furthermore everyone's presence should be seen as equally important and people should have the ability to meet and see one another independent of social status or prejudgements (disregard of status). Within those circumstances, topics which before were monopolised by state or church authorities, could be discussed (domain of common concern).

As new means of socialising in the urban realm, the bourgeoisie gave rise to institutions such as hotels, cafés and social clubs. Thus, the act of being present in the public sphere became increasingly important, as this was the way of consolidating the new urban order. Consequently streets and parks became loaded with symbolic values as the stages for urban plays, catering a wide range of ritualistic acts. Through looking and greeting one another in the streets, every individual as well as the system was enforced (Bergman 2003, 22-23). We are in this way able to understand the bourgeoisie as the last dying breath of the preservation of a pre-modern community and unity in a rapidly urbanising and changing world.

The storefront

As the Swedish urbanisation process was set in motion, small stores and shops became a more prominent part of the cities, although the commercial units were still rather small and anonymous with little exposure towards the streets. Stores were still principally focused around the important squares and the busiest flows, and an architecture reflecting the shift to a society of commodities was yet conspicuous by its absence.

Quite contrary; one might argue how the modern city in Sweden was erected in brick and stone as proper representatives of the bourgeoisie, with underlying ideals of symmetry and classicism. In order to maintain order and regularity, the architects seldom treated the bottom floors differently from those above, thus resulting in what the historian of urban planning Bosse Bergman (2003, 31) has described as the "dictatorship of cohesive window axes". This arguably speaks of a time when the representation (of an individual, a building or a city) was seen as more important than their respective function or benefit.

For a contemporary audience this not only appears strange, but plainly counterproductive for the creation of urban pulse (see for instance Gehl 2006, 29–47). However, shopping as a generator of street life is a new phenomenon, and consumerism could almost be seen as an anti–thesis to the bourgeois strolling. In fact, the most visited public spaces were still the parks, and in the newly constructed esplanades; the tree–lined middle lanes, and not the store–lined edges, were the most frequented (Bergman 2003, 32–33).

Yet, the industrial revolution was a time of drastic changes. Gas–driven street lights and sidewalks would be introduced to Swedes during the latter part of the nineteenth century, but the real game changercame with the introduction of low weight cast iron for structural purposes. This enabled buildings to be erected with a lighter shell and more glass; a feature in Continental Europe already by the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it would not reach Sweden and Stockholm until the 1860s. The new innovation came to influence and alter the storefronts, and in a fundamental way change our cities, as larger glazed openings became an increasingly important tool for merchants to attract the attention of the urban strollers.

When the urban population rapidly grew, so did the range of commodities available from the factories, and the number of people trying to sell these. Just like large and attractive storefronts became instrumental for the attraction of customers, location began to play a more and more significant role for the success of a merchant, resulting in a rapid wave of constructing (and retrofitting) retail spaces at the ground floors in the city centres. Emerging was also a market for differentiation, as many of the shopkeepers discovered the opportunity to specialise in certain goods for certain classes of people (Bergman 2003, 39–45). Arguably this presented a new mode of sojourning in the public realm, though a swelling number of people began to pay more attention to what was beyond the other side of the glazed storefront than to the passersby, thus producing a first step in a gradual shift of making the act of being in the urban realm individualised.

Walter Benjamin emerged as the prime interpreter of this transforming urban landscape, as he in his iconic descriptions dissected the flaneur of Baudelaire and the Parisian boulevards, painting the picture of a shift from the earlier years of an urban unity into a more fragmented blend of communities. Even though the flaneur in the urban landscape of Sweden never became as prominent as in Paris they serve to illustrate how the urban realm in a decisive way was transformed and the new condition was anonymity. Or as Benjamin (1937–1939/1983, 48) wrote about Edgar Allan Poe's "The Man of the Crowd":

> To Poe the flâneur was, above all, someone who does not feel comfortable in his own company. That is why he seeks out the crowd; the reason why he hides in it is probably close at hand. Poe purposely blurs the difference between the asocial person and the flâneur.

The liberalisation of the streets and loss of control for the bourgeoisie can, ironically, be ascribed to very same processes which they had nurtured and fed; such as the ideas of the enlightenment as well as the establishment of free enterprise. Bergman (2003, 47–49) describes how all people and means of transportations on the streets of Sweden were crucial in making the city into something we can describe as belonging to "all and none". The larger flows of people demanded a new set of codes of conduct, as the streetscapes became places for all to feel at home and secure in. Therefore, unwanted and provocative elements was to be eradicated; but so also the act of stopping in the middle of the pavement to socialise became increasingly frowned upon, as it severely affected the realm of others. The maintenance of an undisrupted flow cemented itself as the predominant norm.

Figure 02. Curious window shoppers
Göteborg, 1952.

Figure 03. Christmas rush at Epa,
Uddevalla 1960.

The department store

Inspired by French and British predecessors, K. M. Lundberg inaugurated Sweden's first department store in 1898, soon to be followed by institutions such as NK and PUB. Their common denominator were their electrical lit interiors, and with a luxurious touch they aimed to create a certain mood and experience in order to attract, but more importantly, to ensure the visitors to stay and circulate. Therefore we might look upon the department store as the last bastion of the bourgeoisie, but also as the bridge between the urban strolling of the past and the consumption of the future.

However, the luxurious department stores merely became a footnote in contrast to what was about to happen, as around thirty years later Epa's and Tempo's (present day Åhlens) first department stores were inaugurated. These soon, along with the latter Domus, established their dominance all over the country, and their impact on urban development in Sweden can not be underestimated, as these were department stores free from the yoke of the bourgeois past. Quite the opposite, Epa and Tempo, conveyed an aura of unpretentiousness and steps towards present day shopping culture, owing a great deal of their success from uniform pricing on standardised products (Bergman 2003, 87–98; Kärrholm 2012, 27). The ideological success of these stores could very well be linked to both the rise of social democracy in Sweden but also to the modernistic movement in architecture and urban planning. From that perspective Epa and Tempo manifested the ideals of a clean slate, free from the burdens of a hierarchical past.

Bergman (Ibid.) describes how a new public sphere was able to develop in the department stores. Epa and Tempo, oftencases had multiple entries, thus making it possible to utilise the stores as urban passages. They moreover revolutionised the way customers were able to come close to the goods and commodities, in contrast to the formalised mode of transactions of the past. Even though it would defer until the 1950s before self–service established itself as the predominant system in retail, the foundation was laid for less and less interaction between retailer and customer.

In a general sense, this was yet another step towards an urban anonymity, as it eased the conditions for strolling around and inspecting without any (unspoken) need of purchasing.

Just like the customers' physical relation to goods and salesmen were altering, so were their relation to each other. Bergman (Ibid.) states how our intercourse with strangers in the urban realm is guided by norms such as the feeling of rotation and suitable physical distances. However with the emergence of Epa and Tempo these norms came up for discussion, as the crowd of strangers were elbowing each other in front of the goods at the counters. Some decades earlier Benjamin (1927-1940/2002, 43) described the Parisian department stores:

> For the first time in history, with the establishment of department stores, consumers begin to consider themselves a mass. (Earlier it was only scarcity which taught them that.) Hence, the circus-like and theatrical element of commerce is quite extraordinarily heightened.

Benjamin goes on to state how instead the goods became the focal point, representing the unique, and without a doubt this was a major step from the bourgeois idea of the public realm.

Regarding the department stores in Sweden Benjamin description is both true, yet false, as the standardisation of commodities hardly made them unique. What is fascinating regarding the success of Epa, Domus and Tempo is that even though shopping gradually became an act of solitude we are able to talk about the birth of a type of a new urban community in the sense of "shoppers", as the Swedes bought the same type of standardised products to fixed prices, no matter who you were or where you lived.

One might conclusively argue that the self-service revolution was in particular suited for the Swedish state of mind, as the country had not had time to develop the same type urban culture as mainland Europe. We can quite easily depict how the great majority of people in Sweden did not know how to respond or act towards the rituals of the traditional counter sales. Instead the new system of retail enabled the care-free anonymity of the street to move inside, and be equated with retail space.
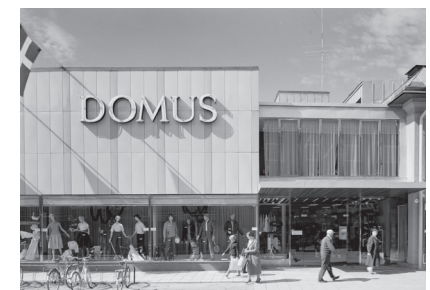
Figures 04-11.

Figure 12. Sergelgatan, Stockholm 1969.

A pedestrian revolution

1947 was an important year as the Swedish state promoted municipalities to establish general plans (generalplaner**) over their imagined development. This resulted in a demarcation process where the main streets and adjacencies began to be identified as "service areas" and titled with the Swedish word "city" (or** citykärna**, id est the centre of the town).**

The same year the government also published a report (later revised in 1954) over the need of reorganising the city centres, which would have severe consequences for the future. During the mid-decades of the twentieth century, great parts of the old urban cores were eradicated to give room for the modernistic city. Even if the most notable examples today are found in the three major cities, this was a countrywide phenomenon of various scales as manifested in the images of department stores on the previous spread or figures 14–15. Bergman (2003, 164) has argued how the reconstruction of the Swedish centres was made easier than in the rest of Europe due to our lack of urban culture, which was reflected in easily handled street grids, and a population which had not have centuries or more to develop an independent urban culture, related to typologies of city space.

Actions as above described should be seen in the light of the advancing modernist movement, which advocated zone planning, separation of traffic and efficiency rather than sentimentality over the works of previous generations. The city was looked upon as a body in which the range of complex elements was to be separated into organs, with their own respective role (Graham and Marvin 2001, 53; Olsson et al. 2004, 21–25).

The growing number of department stores along with their tendency to gather in clusters became instrumental in that they concentrated the already small city centres of the Swedish towns. Bergman (2003, 151–166) concludes that rather fine barriers in the landscape of the city (such as streams, heavy trafficked road crossings etcetera) now became rather large obstacles in the mind of the consumer, when you had the convenience of the department stores situated next to

each other. Therefore, assisted by the newly developed general plans, commerce became fixed with clear boundaries where the centre of shopping (köpcity) started and ended.

If we imagine a Swedish city centre by the mid-50s we see a myriad of people concentrated in a small area, criss-crossing the roads to be soaked up by large anonymous structures. The next (modernistic) step would be to ease those crossings and further merge the public street with the consumption space, by inhibiting the car traffic in the area. Even if zones free of cars were highlighted already in the Athens Charter 1933 (with some predecessing European examples) the definite success of the pedestrian street correlates with the rise of the car-orientated shopping centres in America during the forties (Kärrholm 2012, 41). By so, we see a first step in an ongoing exchange and dialogue between the mall and the urban centre, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the chapter "Territories of shopping".

The centres were imagined to be small and dense concentrated areas of consumption surrounded by heavy trafficked roads with adjacent parking houses (Bergman 2003; 151-166). As suburbs began to grow in the periphery of the cities, it is easy to imagine the vision of taking the car from the zone of dwellings into the centre and parking it in one of the conveniently placed parking houses, in order to be soaked up by the zone of retail.

The prohibition of cars along with the agglomeration of department stores had a major impact on how we utilise and move in our cities. If the pre-modern city had been linear and easy to monitor and understand (people moved along fixed axes and came in and out from the same doors), the new city took shape of a complex network in which the pedestrian street and department store became harder to distinguish. If anything, as Bergman (Ibid.) points out: "the pedestrian street operated as a lobby which everyone passed, in order to a majority of time be somewhere inside the arcades or department stores" (my translation).

It should be noted that as centres increasingly catered towards shopping, other functions got lost. Though if the main streets of yesteryears had held a wide range of functions and through-traffic all day (and night), the pedestrian streets soon were desolated by the time when shops closed in the evening (Bergman 2003, 118-124).

Figure 13.
Malmö general plan 1966.
The centre in red; indicating it as a zone for services.

Figure 14. The local nazis protests the demolition of an old building - a new Epa store is coming. Malmö, 1930/1931.

Figure 15.
The construction of a
new Stockholm.
1961.

Figure 16. Nydala,
Malmö 1960-70.

The fragmented landscape

But not only did the urban cores change. The average national standard of living was already by the beginning of the thirties deemed as being too low, with a considerable portion of the population living crowded under impoverished conditions. Hence, by the thirties and onwards, the Swedish state gradually became more involved in the process of urban planning and in steering the construction of dwellings. (Olsson et al. 2004, 26-41).

Great and at large monofunctional residential zones began during this time to be constructed outside of the urban cores. Modelled after functionalistic neighbourhood schemes, these areas offered improved standards of living, with green vistas, safe playgrounds and local centres, catering for community activities besides the basic everyday services. The new areas were to be secluded by infrastructure and greenery, and meanwhile present their own architectural language. The scale of housing and the spaces in-between were still up until the sixties graspable within these neighbourhoods, with care towards spatial sequences. These were areas shaped by the underlying ideals of fostering the "good Swede" in areas resembling small towns in the big city (Ibid.).

Within the limited zone which constituted the neighbourhood centre, one could typically find functions such as a health clinic, a library and a school, besides the essential retail. The social importance of these centres was initially stressed, but the idea of the secluded small town would however never be realised, and hardly ever produce the desired effects. Studies already undertaken in the forties and fifties showed how the residents of the new areas tended to have most of their friends and social ties in other parts of the city, but those in power neglected to see the warnings signs, and instead went one step further in the construction of a new Sweden (Ibid.).

The postwar decades are not seldom referred to as the golden years of Swedish economical development. The industry was booming and the nation witnessed a great influx of foreign labour. Thus it was with great ambitions the ruling social

democratic party in 1964 proclaimed the aim of constructing one million new housing units (Miljonprogrammet) during the decade to come. By doing so the construction of dwellings became something scientifically quantifiable and measurable.

Olsson et al. have discussed the Swedish neighbourhoods constructed during the mid-decades of the twentieth century in terms of the dimensioning of socially stable entities as well as quantifiable foundations. They have been pointing towards how during the boom of construction less and less interest was paid to how the new areas would perform in a social landscape. Instead one saw how the neighbourhood scheme had shown to be an efficient and rational way of organising suburbia, but the difference from the sixties and onward was that the scale rose, along with an escalating focus on industrial production. Spatial sequences were replaced by open vistas, and neighbourhood centres began to take greater proportions, as they were designed to support a growing number of consumers (as seen on the images on following spread) (Ibid.). The neighbourhood centres from the sixties and onward were often modelled after the same type of principles as the newly sanitised urban cores. Designed to be pedestrian and free of cars, whilst separated from functions such as dwellings and offices, they were typically laid out around an open square, or as Kärrholm (2012, 71) puts it:

> [...]space was homogenised and desynchorised of different activities, to produce predictable landscapes where every activity had its special place, for example streets were reserved for transport, residential areas for housing, squares for retail and public activities, and playgrounds children's play.

The social democratic aim of modernising society did however not stay by remodelling the physical landscape. Franzén (2004, 94-96) paints a picture how a series of political reforms during the sixties was introduced in favour for large scale retailing. This, together with faster transports and greater storages, accelerated a process of fewer but larger actors in the retail sector, as more and more stores turned into chains, offering a predictable range of goods. Hence retail became an instrument for efficiency in a much wider discourse (see figures 21-22).

The aim for efficiency can be spatially witnessed in the 1970s new phenomenon of hypermarkets (and the latter shopping malls) at the periphery of the cities. Their birth is a direct testimony of the newly implemented reforms, together with the car-dependency of the suburban dwellers. These markets, originally an American concept, were located by the newly constructed infrastructure and their success was highly attributed to their location. In the fragmented city, highways were the new main streets, and though the price of land in the periphery was cheaper, the hypermarkets were able to take previously unseen retail proportions, and thus offering a range of goods with prices traditional retailers were not able to compete with.

This evidently had an effect on the cities centres. In the 1980s the typologies of the department stores and external shopping centre were merged into a new type of urban mall (galleria). Many of the old department stores were now reconstructed into urban malls which, designed as an inverted city block and often borrowing the streetscapes of the traditional centres, presented a high density of small retail units in the same kind of convenience as the external malls. The establishment of the urban malls often had the effect that consumers made most of their errands within the mall, and not seldom, the surrounding streets became desolated.

But nevertheless broad consumption in the centres, as witnessed in the previous decades, was left on the loosing edge. From the 1970s and onwards the hypermarkets secured larger and larger shares of the total pie of consumption. A study made in 1990 of six Swedish towns where one or many hypermarkets had been established, showed how retail in the urban centres noted a ten to twenty percent decrease in revenue (Handelns planinstitut 1990, 17).

We are able to understand the first steps of the sprawling city as a consequence of a restructured planning of infrastructure. Whilst the pre-modern city offered a rather homogeneous grid of streets, the sprawling city orientated itself towards efficiency, where particular streets were upgraded into highways and through streets, which separated local areas from one another. Particular zones were singled out as service areas of high accessibility, whilst others were forgotten or neglected (Pope, 1995). Thus, although investments in infrastructure was seen as a way of democratising society, by exploding the non-hierarchical infrastructure districts and areas were becoming disconnected enclaves.

In parallel to the zoning of functions, where every activity had its own particular space, one can ironically point how spaces became unclear, due to their lack of understandable sequences. Olsson et al. (2004, 53-54) have highlighted how the city of the past consisted of "socially defined formations of space". The traditional city was constructed in a series of spaces, from the private dwelling to the greatest

parks and squares, as a gradient of publicness. These spaces instinctively present-
ed a sense of understanding for whom they were indented for and what sort of
usage they supported. Meanwhile, the great openness of the modernist planning
eradicated the sequences of space, as it seldom presented any variations other than
public or private. Houses offset from the streets did never support life in-between,
and the great lawns of greenery seldom became appropriated.

Before we conclude this chapter we can return to some numbers. From the sixties
up until the mid-nineties, the density in the larger Swedish cities dropped by a third,
whilst their total area rose by seventy percent (Arnstberg 2005, 20). During roughly
the same years 13 000 hectares of the country's most valuable agriculture soil was
built upon in Skåne; soil which can only be found in Skåne. And ever since then
this has been an ongoing trend; in 2006 the administrative board of the county in
Skåne (Länsstyrelsen) expected an additional drop by around 4 100 hectares of the
same category of soil in the twenty to thirty years to come; due to sprawl. All in all
forty-four percent of exploited land for construction is expected to be agricultural
soil (Kallioniemi 2006).

Figures 17-18

Year	Number of stores (daily goods)
1951	35 000
1960	23 000
1970	13 000
1980	9 200
1990	8 300
1997	6 590
2007	4 430
2017	3 100

(Elvingson, 2001, HUI 2017)

Year	Number of hypermarkets (larger than 400 m^2)
1951	-
1960	25
1970	800
1980	1 550
1990	1 860
1997	2 060
2007	2 005
2017	2 137

(Elvingson, 2001, Tillväxtverket 2018)

Figure 19. Guldheden torg
Göteborg 1945.

Figure 20. Solna centrum,
Stockholm 1966.

Figure 21. Årsta centrum,
Stockholm 1954.

Figure 22. Farsta centrum,
Stockholm 1967.

Figure 23. Wessels ,
Örebro 1967.

Figure 24. Täby centrum,
Stockholm 1960-69.

Figure 25. Migo, Uppsala.

Conclusions

We have up until now been studying a shift from how cities prior to the twentieth century, feeding a certain type of urban life and architecture, has been transforming into an architecture and urban design promoting another type of urban life. If the first can be looked upon as an anti-thesis to consumerism, the latter has in an increasingly fashion promoted centres of monofunctional consumerism and a sprawling, fragmented city.

Whilst the Swedish welfare state was consolidated after the second world war, the vast majority of people experienced an increase in the standard of living. As social security rose, number of working hours were regulated and the man in common got richer; the society changed. In the wealthy social democratic state the hierarchies of the past was to be eradicated, reflected in social reforms as well as in the early embracement of self-serviced retail. The formalities of the bourgeoisie were by such replaced by informality and trivialisation. The fact that the consumerism of an abundance of goods was "allowed" to conquer the city centres could be argued to have led to a shift of democratisation and liberalisation of the public realm. Everyone was welcome into the classless and depersonalised community of consumption, making shopping a uniting force in the urban realm (Bergman 2003, 170-176; Boorstin 1973, 90).

This shift is further demonstrated in the evolution of retail typologies, from the scene of the main street with its few and small units of stores easy to supervise, to the mega structures of the car-orientated mall. The former presented a regulated and predictable order and structure of being and understanding the public realm, in contrast to the latter which presented a fragmentation of spaces and meetings, thus making the experience of shopping more depersonalised and informal.

The development of the fragmented retail did not only result in shifts in the physical landscape, but, as will be dissected in the following chapter, increasingly so in the fragmentation of what the consumer could buy where and who buys what.

Situation today

Symbolic shopping

We shall in this chapter further investigate modern examples of how fragmentation is being manifested, and how Malmö in recent years has been transformed by private interests in order to accelerate consumption and fragmentation. We will hereby broaden the discussion by linking the landscape of consumption with terms such as neoliberalism and branding. These are phenomenons which not only affect how we consume, but consequently what type of landscape we consume in. This chapter aims to present how post-modern fragmentation can not simply be understood as a spatial phenomenon, but simultaneously relates to and affects urban social processes. Hence, before returning to the physical realm, let us briefly examine the invisible driving forces behind modern consumption.

Consumption distribution of Swedish households
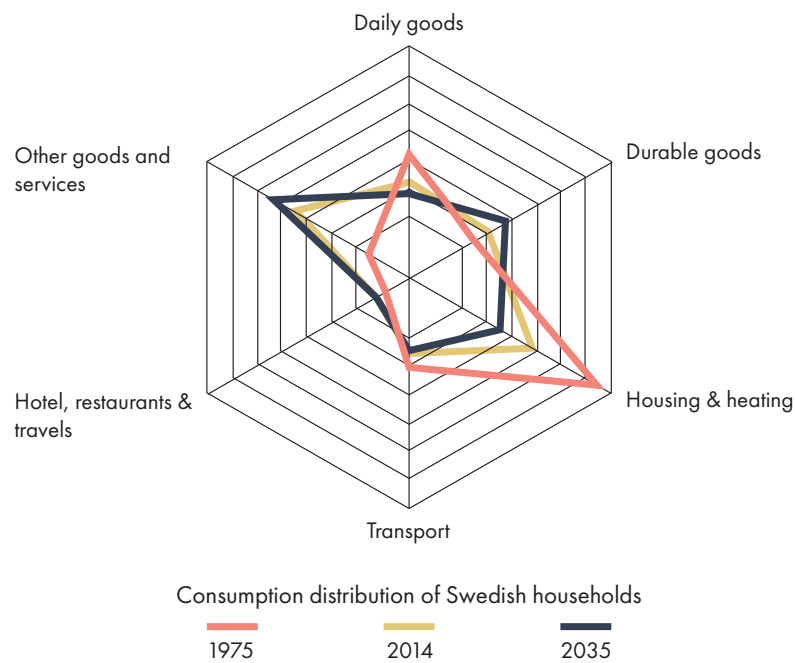
— 1975 — 2014 — 2035

Figure 26 (Rämme U. 2017)

We consume more than ever in Sweden. Rising wages, liberal regulations regarding retail establishments, an accelerating scene of import and taxes to stimulate private consumptions, have all contributed to higher levels of consumption. Hence, even if prices on everyday goods are rising, they are by percentage becoming cheaper for the average Swede (HUI Research 2011).

There is of course no single or definite answer to the question WHY we consume (see Miller, D., P. Jackson, et al. 1998, 1–30). However, one important aspect stresses the diminishing role of industrial production as a generator for Western wealth and success. Instead of the Fordian factories; retail, banks and capital investments, we are told, are today's guarantee of wealth and economic growth.

This shift towards greater economic specialisation has nurtured the need for a high-educated specialised labour force, a development which since the 1980s has been correlating with a growing attention and interest for our city centres – by some dubbed an "urban renaissance". Since the specialised workforces have specialised needs and consumption patterns; they feed specific ranges of goods and services only to be found in the urbanised areas (Adolphson 2014, 19-32; Miles & Miles 2004; Miller, D., P. Jackson, et al. 1998: Zukin 2004, 39-40). This helps to explain both how our cities have turned into "cities of consumption" (as stated by Zukin in 1993), but moreover the overall attraction of popular urban areas. Whether Stockholm, London or Singapore - one can be sure to find what one is looking for.

By putting emphasis on urbanity and city life, this movement can be understood both as an idealistic counter-movement against modernistic planning values, but also as a restructurer of social processes. Post-industrial economy has stressed and maintained social fragmentation, by celebrating the importance of "symbolic capital", a term first presented by Pierre Bourdieu (1979/1984). He argued how man, in opposition to his surroundings, seeks to invest in his economic, social and cultural capital. Through symbolic demarcations, groups or individuals are aided to better understand their position vis-à-vis others in an ever-changing society. This type of logic has during recent decades gained ground within the sociologist discourse. Among others, Zukin (2004) has been highlighting how our modern consumption has less and less to do with price and quality, but rather with styles and the creation of an identity.

Symbolic demarcation does not only concern the inhabitants of the cities but also the cities themselves. Contemporary development is showing how cities, regions, as well as whole countries have rapidly been marketised and turned into brands for sale. Selling the idea of a city or a new urban district, often with architecture, culture or eco-friendlyness, supports means of creating city identities as well as to attract further capital investments from private sectors. Human geographer Guy Baeten (2011, 24) has argued that from a neoliberal point of view "cities are first and foremost locational products for investors and should be sold and marketed as such". Not surprisingly, in the Malmö municipal comprehensive plan over 2032 (2014, 33), we find how retail and tourism has been lumped together, with a digital link encouraging us to see how the brand of Malmö is being advertised. Branding and the identity-making of cities are thus, as we shall discuss below, important factors relating to the fragmentation of retail space.
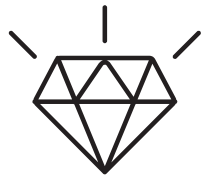
In 2011 during the financial crisis luxury spending rose by ten percent in Europe (Svensk Handel).

Sanctuary

The keyword and concept for architect Gert Wingårdh and the property owners as Emporia was developed.

Post-modern fragmentation

Although a growing interest for our cities, the general trend regarding commerce has continued from where we left off in the previous chapter. In a Swedish context, where retail has been growing consecutive for twenty years, the number of external malls has doubled during the last fifteen years, profiting from the diminishing power of municipal planning offices.

After the construction boom in the sixties and seventies, the Swedish market haltered, giving more room and possibilities for the private capital to influence the development. And from the eighties and forward, not seldom has it been private investments which have been allowed to set the agenda for urban development, enthusiastically approved by the municipalities (Hagberg and Styhre 2013, 365-366, Kärrholm & Nylund 2011, 1043-1057; Thufvesson 2017, 21-22).

And the market likes sprawl. Even though big-box retailers often are criticised due to their negative impact on the environment, their dependency on car travel or their uninspirational milieu, they are nevertheless popular among the consumers. The big-box landscapes attracts with convenience, lower prices and a greater range of goods. Meanwhile, investors and retailers profit on lower rents and larger stores, which render higher efficiency and greater earnings (Bergström 2000, 332; Elvingson 2001, 7-11; Kärrholm & Nylund 2011, 1043-1057).

Other European countries have been quicker to react upon the threats of external commercial centres, and therefore decided upon nationwide policies regarding their establishments. Such policies are yet conspicuous by their absence in Sweden. Instead national legislations have made it harder for municipalities to hinder the free establishment of retail (Hui Research 2011). Moreover, the Swedish legislation still promotes the planning monopoly of the municipalities; a structure which offers problems though the advancement of the private sector, as a rule of thumb, correlates with promises of new job opportunities and further investments.

Not seldom are they sold as opportunities the weakened municipalities can not afford to lose to competing neighbouring municipalities (Elvingson 2001, 11–16, Kärrholm & Nylund 2011, 1043–1057).

National as well as international studies, have however been showcasing how jobs and wealth hardly are created, but merely redistributed from somewhere else (Bergström 2000, 333; Elvingson 2001, 10; Dobson 2015, 17–39; Trafikverket 2011, 15; Vägverket 2003). The following redistribution might span over multiple municipalities, as the establishments of external commercial centres have far greater effects than on the municipality they happened to be situated in, with the general effect that retail becomes concentrated to the most populated municipalities of the region (Trafikverket 2011, 22). Therefore, the current legislation is highly problematic, as it does not take into account cross-municipal effects, due to the increased mobility of people.

Even though over sixty percent of the Swedish municipalities acknowledge the impact regional shopping malls has, and calls for new means of regional communication, there are yet no legislative guidelines on how to handle external agglomerations on a regional level.

Internal and transitional municipal effects (SEK millions) from establishments of external commercial centres if external commerce increase their sale by 100 million crowns

City centre retail   Other retail

73

8

Net effect
regional centre
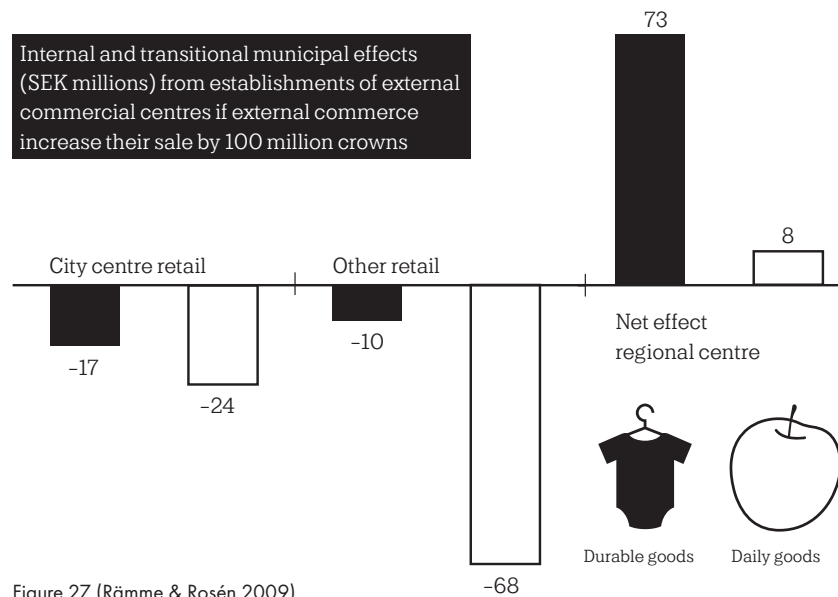
–17

–24

–10

–68

Durable goods   Daily goods

Figure 27 (Rämme & Rosén 2009)

And just half of the municipalities in Sweden have made pilot studies of the potential impact new establishments of external commerce might have; and less than a fifth have analysed their actual impact (Kärrholm & Nylund 2011, 1043–1057; Vägverket 2003).

In parallel to the sprawl of the built environment, the urban discourse has changed, as terms like "Regional cities", "Città diffusa", "Splintering urbanism", have gained ground. If the cities of yesteryears consisted of a central focal point with a surrounding periphery measured in distance, the modern cities tends to be more flexible with less interest in actual kilometres from point A to B, but rather focused on the amount of minutes it takes.

This shift of scale is exemplified in the mall Emporia, constructed in 2012 in Hyllie, Malmö. The mall sits conveniently next to a newly constructed regional train station, thus making it better connected with surrounding municipalities like Lund and Trelleborg, than areas within these cities themselves.
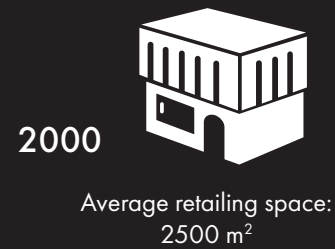
Another local example is the mall Mobilia in Malmö. In 2008, as it was investigated whether a refurbishment of the existing mall would be economically viable, it was concluded that the malls of Malmö were expected to find around forty percent of their purchasing power from the municipalities surrounding the city (HUI 2008). Attracting the consumers from neighbouring towns has become an integral factor when retail is planned (Trafikverket, 2003). Therefore, local governments might even be welcoming investments in the big-box landscapes, referring to studies showing how even the city centre might gain via spillover effects from the incoming purchasing power (Rämme & Rosén 2009, 8; Bergström 2000, 333).

However, big-box investments tends to have their greatest consequences on small local retail zones. In their impact analysis, HUI (2008) stated that the greatest effect an expansion of Mobilia would have, is likely on the small businesses and neighbourhood centres, which do not have the resources to compete. This is nothing unique to the circumstance of Mobilia, it is today rather a well known fact, as figure 27 indicates.

Pie chart

- Other physical retail 36%
- City centres 19%
- Big-box landscape 17%
- Malls 20%
- E-commerce 8%
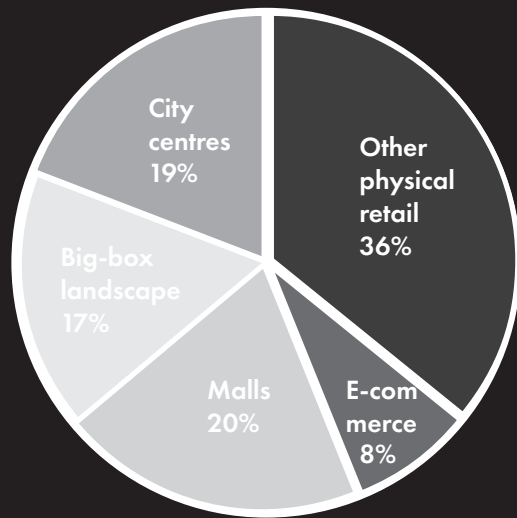
50 % of the Swedish retail can attributed to only thirteen actors.

1970
Average retailing space: 400 m^2

2000
Average retailing space: 2500 m^2

9/10 Trips to the external commercial centre are done in cars.

RETAIL SALES
Fixed price. 1995=100

210
190
170
150
130
110
90
70
50

1956 1966 1976 1986 1996 2006 2016

Preferred mode of transportation in relation to distance to shop
(German numbers regarding shopping for daily goods)

0-200 METERS	62%	31%	7%
200-400 METERS	46%	47%	7%
400-600 METERS	31%	63%	6%
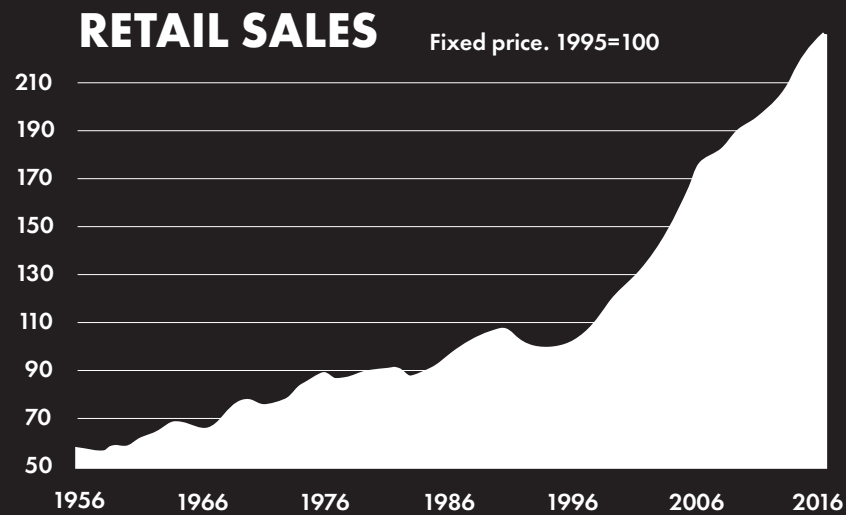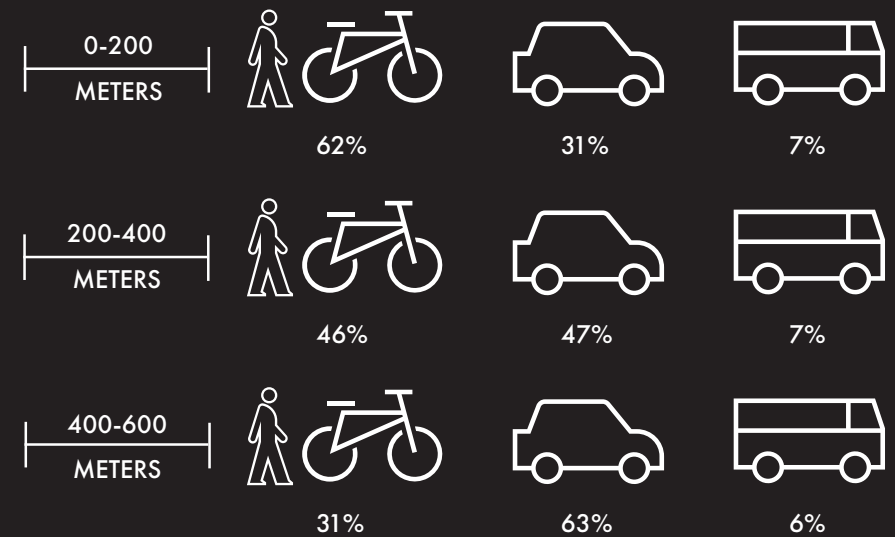
(Rämme, 2017, HUI Research 2016, SCB 2018A, Franzen, 2004; Vägverket, 2006; Trafikverket, 2011)

One might argue how this presents a democratic issue. Twenty-five percent of the Swedes do not own a car, and the elderly or poorest in society, who are not able to rely on time-consuming public transport systems to reach the external establishments, are particularly badly affected by such development. Instead they have to depend on an increasingly expensive local service with a limited range of goods. That is; if these services survive at all. (Elvingson 2001, 8; Svedström & Holm 2004, 15-17).

I believe the absence of debate over neighbourhood retail and the overall emphasis on the big-box landscape versus an urban core, reflects a shift of thinking. As Mobilia was analysed, it was done so in-terms of its potential impact on the urban centre, the surrounding malls as well as the overall regional retail. A shift of scale is thus normalised, in which the traditional scale of regional-urban-local is flattened into one or two levels (Kärrholm 2012, 32-35). The discussion over neighbourhood retail was merely left as a footnote. Meanwhile, when local retail shuts down and shopping appropriate the mall, other activities follow; as the functions of the local square either die out or move to the mall. Mattias Kärrholm has argued on this type of landscape:

> [...] as retail separates itself from the need of spatial proximity to residential areas it also begins to follow a different logic, a logic of agglomeration and territorialisation. (Kärrholm 2012, 35)

Other
We are able to understand this as when the natural focal point of a city becomes less important, and more clusters of retail (or other functions) are separating itself from the urban fabric, they do so strategically by shaping monofunctional spaces, serving nothing more than the logic of retail. It is also done by niching. Spaces of retail relates to and are shaped with targeted groups in mind, relating to everything from what goods are sold, to targeted user groups, to price classes etcetera.

This consequently has effects on how we perceive and utilise our cities. One aspect is that today, more than ever, due to increased connectivity it is easier to dwell in the urban environment in homogeneous groups. Graham and Marvin (2001, 11; 222-233) points out how modern planning tends to amplify this by neglecting cities as entities, and rather be district orientated. Thus not seldom are premium districts developed and linked together along with premium infrastructural investments.

Guy Baeten (2011) puts this reasoning in the local scale of Hyllie in the Öresund region. He argues how the construction of Hyllie is another piece of an "Örespectacle", following the logic of interconnecting districts and areas of Copenhagen, Malmö and Lund by spectacular architecture and infrastructure.

The consequences of such developments are two-folded Graham and Marvin (2001, 11; 222-233) argues: firstly, these areas tends to rely upon increased surveillance and control of public space, because they nurture privatised spaces such as shopping or entertainment spaces, for a particular class of people. Meanwhile, areas not included, such as non-profitable surroundings, are steadily neglected and shielded off. Hence this type of neoliberal planning ideology is not only enforcing fragmentation, but as a result spatial segregation.

In other words: Hyllie, a former field of agriculture, now surrounded by multi-lane roads, functioning just as well as moats protecting the new area from deprived neighbouring areas such as Kroksbäck, Holma and Lindeborg, as they are in serving the car or train-borne shopper on her way to Emporia.

Therefore we are able to understand the present sprawling city as a continuation of the modernist city, married with ideals of neoliberalism. The sprawl is still rooted in separation of functions and rhythms, although not necessarily because we still believe in it, but rather because it is the economically cheaper way of building. Moreover it serves the purpose of shielding the disturbing elements of the Other from the affluent middle class (Elvingson 2001, 10-11, Hajer and Reijndorp 2001, 53; Arnstberg 2005, 12-13).

Kroksbäck

Holma

Lindeborg

Emporia

Figure 28
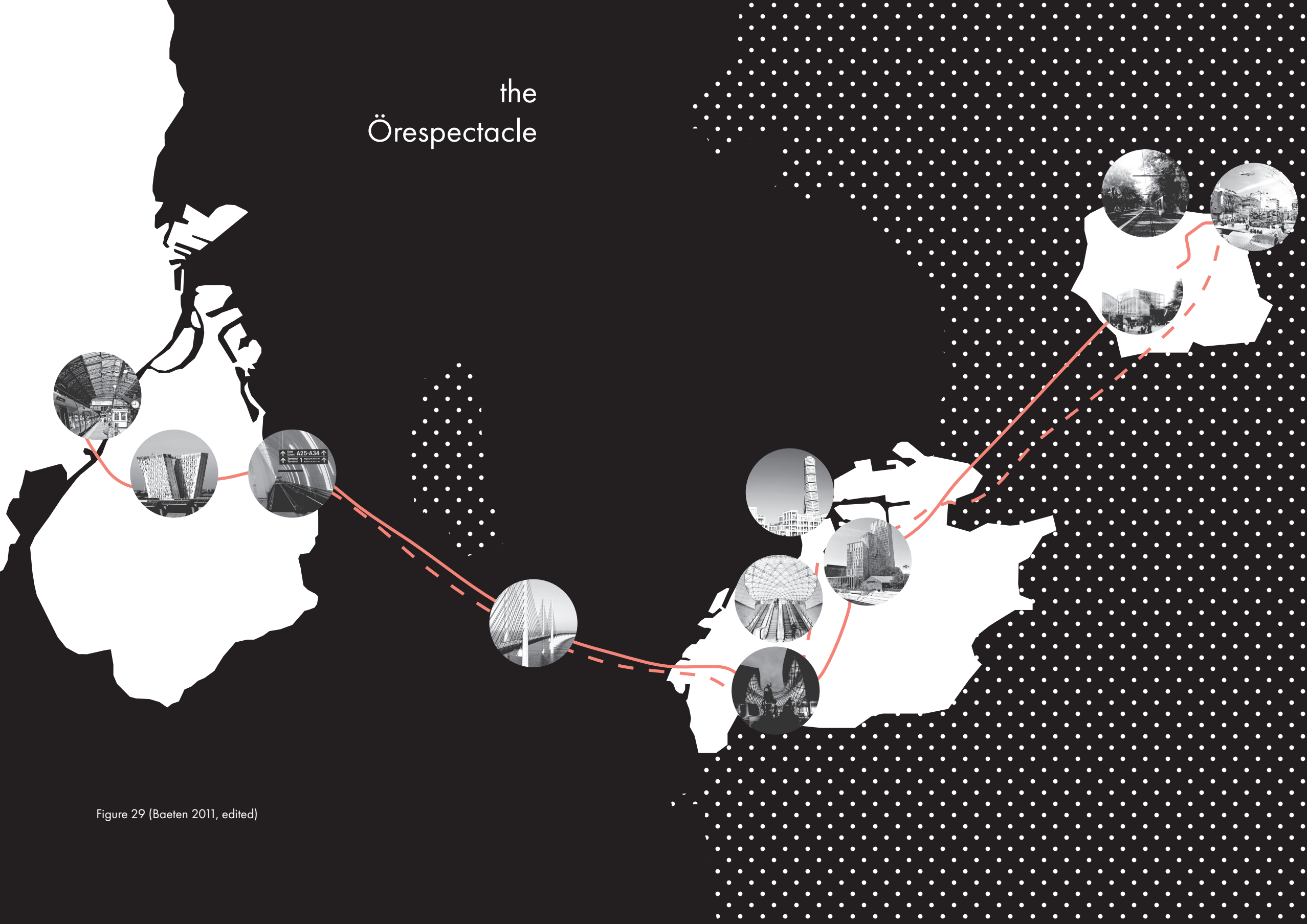Hyllie 2017

the
Örespectacle

Figure 29 (Baeten 2011, edited)

Figure 30. Elderly ladies at the local service centre
Söderkulla, Malmö 2018

Social fragmentation

With the aid of Anthony Giddens' (1991, 14–21) theories of late modernity, researcher Marcus Adolphson has highlighted the feeling of being lost and estranged in the regional city. He no longer knows or understands the processes of the city, less he feels he would ever be able to change them if he wished (see Giddens' juggernaut allegory 1991, 28). Adolphson states:

> I live, work and dedicate myself in various activities outside of my neighbourhood. I do not know my neighbours. I do not know what they are working with, or where they are from, or to where they are going in the morning. By so, I am a stranger in my own neighbourhood (Adolphson 2014, 24, my translation).

By in a schematic way analysing the fields of neighbourhood, work, service and leisure, Adolphson goes on to distinguish the differences of society in the past with that of today (figure 31). In a pre-modern society these functions tended to be spatially intertwined, whilst during the industrial era, work began to follow another spatial as well as rhythmical logic. Today's society are characterised by lost social systems as many of the social processes of the past have been streamlined. Adolphson points how faceless organisations have overtaken the tasks which before was handled by local communities. In this landscape, where functions have spatially, as well as rhythmically, separated themselves from one another, we instead shape our identities and understanding of ourselves at work or through leisure time (Ibid. 27–32).

A noteworthy clarification to the subject is given to us by Olsson et al. (2004) who have distinguished between a "cosmopolitan public sphere" and a "local public sphere". Whilst the former relates to the full public (and anonymous) exposure among strangers, not seldom in unfamiliar places and previously depicted by Habermas and Benjamin, the latter concept provides us with a terminology to describe a type of public sphere within well known places among well known people. Within this realm we might still not know people by name or their profession, but there is a sense of comfort in the recognizable faces and an informal social control.

Pre-industrialised society
Local city or village

Industrialised society
Local city

Service society
Regional city

Work, dwell,
service, leisure

Dwelling   Work   Leisure   Service

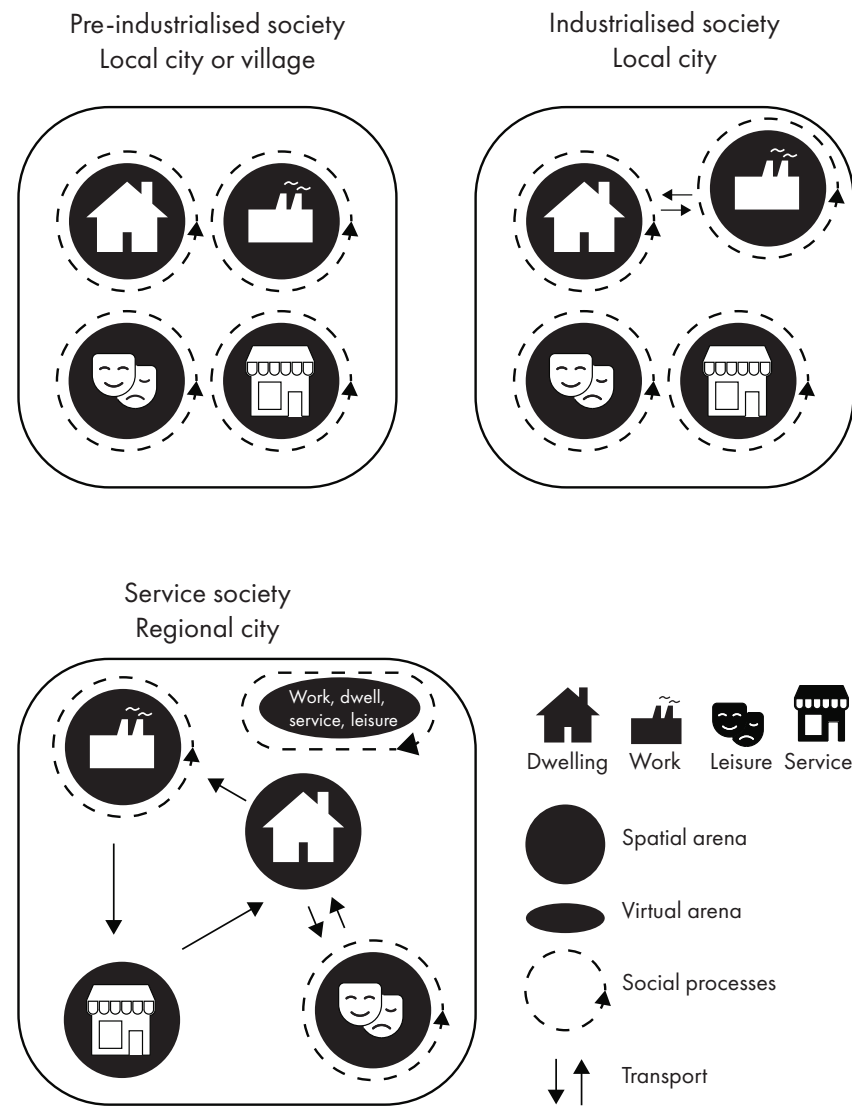Spatial arena

Virtual arena

Social processes

Transport

Figure 31 (Adolphson, 2014)

As a consequence of the urban renaissance, the cosmopolitan public sphere has not only been victorious but to a higher degree it has been populated by people by will instead of by need. More and more so the act of being present in the public has become an active choice, a type of leisure time activity in order to see and to be seen by others, well reflected in the interst spurred over public festivals and the ever-growing number of cafés and bars in the urban realm.

By so we understand the value of the distinctions made, as on one hand the public realm has perhaps never been in a more healthy state, whilst on the other it has been neglected and dismantled and the consequences of its downfall are to complex to here give full justice. We should however be aware that neighbourhoods which do not produce sufficient valuable social processes might very well instead feed alienation and deprivation for groups of its citizens, and such experiences tends to be amplified in socio-economically deprived areas.

Moreover should we pay attention to the claim that workplaces and leisure activities are increasingly important for the shaping of modern identities. In the report "Meetings in the city" (Möten i staden) produced by the Malmö municipality in 2007, the importance of working towards social contact in-between the urban dwellers is highlighted. The report describes how a segregated residential structure might not be a problem in itself, as long as the places of meeting are not. Today however, Malmö is characterised by monofunctional and themed urban spaces, the report states. Not seldom are these spaces catering one particular activity for a certain crowd of people. Modern day Malmö nurtures different types of lifestyles which seldom intersects, though paradoxically increased mobility has resulted in that it is easier to live and work in homogeneous groups (Malmö Stad 2007A, 6-9).

Inequality and gaps in disposable income are today rapidly growing in Sweden, and especially in Malmö (as indicated in figure 32). Even though it is difficult to compare international statistics, we are clearly witnessing how Sweden is moving away from the position as the world's most economically equal country. Within that pattern Malmö has become an extreme; already greatly more unequal than the nation as a whole, whilst the levels of disposable income are significantly lower. What happens when the inhabitants of a city are living parallel lives, whilst their respective income differs more and more for each day? Sociologist Loïc Wacquant (1996, 125-127) has argued how certain areas, within the minds of the affluent, become stigmatised and territorially fixed as deprived:

On this level, whether or not those areas are in fact dilapidated, dangerous, and declining matters little: the prejudicial belief that they are suffices to set off socially detrimental consequences.

As such areas become fixated as "no-go-zones", the stigmatisation process seeks its way into being about the people living there, by evaporating the sense of community in the area:

All too often, the sense of social indignity can be deflected only by thrusting the stigma onto a faceless, diabolized Other - the downstairs neighbors, the foreign family dwelling in an adjacent building, the youths from across the street who 'do drugs', or residents over on the next block whom one suspects of illegally drawing unemployment or welfare (Wacquant 1996, 125-127).

Wacquant goes on to stipulate how such development leads to the loss of "place" for the people living in the areas in questions. Instead of a secure and identity bearing "place", the dwellers increasingly find themselves living in an intangible "space" of "potential voids" and "possible threats" (Ibid.) By such, we can see how the fragmented landscape have multi-scalar consequences, as a result of where citizens shop and enjoy themselves. Fragmentation thus supports territorial fixation and stigmatisation, which in turn feeds territorial alienation and the dissolution of "place' within areas concerned (Ibid.).

The Swedish police has nationwide identified sixty-one neighbourhoods as "vulnerable" (utsatta områden). Among these, four are situated in Malmö, where three of these (Rosengård, south of Amiralsgatan, Nydala/Hermodsdal/Lindängen and Seved) are considered "particularly vulnerable" (särskilt utsatt område). That makes roughly 55 000 out of Malmö's 330 000 inhabitants "vulnerable" (Polisen 2017; Malmö stad). Hence, we are able to see how the territorial fixation of areas is even enforced by the authorities in power.

Household disposable income
Gross adjusted, US dollars/capita
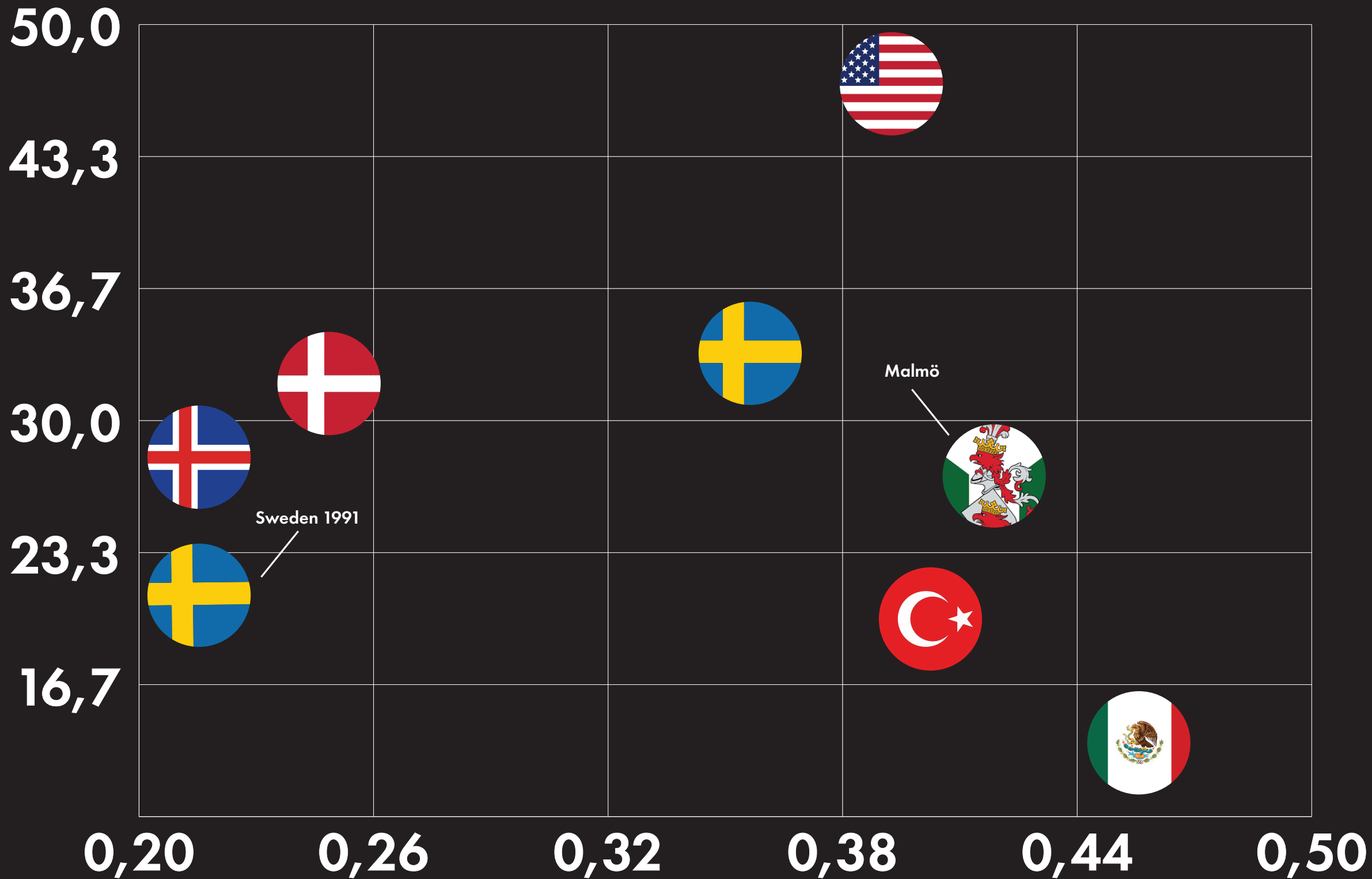
GINI coefficient (lower value indicates higher equality)

Sweden 1991

Malmö

Figure 32 (OECD, SCB)

[...] Mr Halpert unlocking the laundry's handcart from its mooring to a cellar door, Joe Cornacchia's son-in-law stacking out the empty crates from the delicatessen, the barber bringing out his sidewalk folding chair, Mr. Goldstein arranging the coils of wire which proclaim the hardware store is open, the wife of the tenement's super intendent depositing her chunky three-year-old with a toy mandolin on the stoop, the vantage point from which he is learning English his mother cannot speak.

- Jane Jacobs, 1961 (my italics).

Feel-good in the centre

At the opposite side of the spectrum, in contrast to feeling lost in the urban sprawl and motorised city, Jan Gehl has risen to the challenge, by promoting step-by-step solutions for the "good city".

Margaret Crawford (2016, 81-98) has argued how this dogmatic and highly simplified view of cities is running the risk of excluding the "unwanted", by applying universal truths about the "good city" for the few invited. Instead of ensuring a sustainable mix of people and functions, municipalities and urbanists get caught in a game of counting numbers, neglecting to examine the actual qualities of urban activities.

We can look upon the search for the "good city" as a counter-movement against the bigness of the fragmented city, and a pursuit for a greater social meaning in the urban (retail) landscape. Jane Jacobs' depiction on previous page is, I believe, what many urban dwellers now are searching for, though somewhat ironical, what Jacobs is describing is a fine set of social processes; social processes which are now long gone in the urban landscape. Instead, her words are left to be interpreted and adapted in a post-modern fashion by the market. Where do we end up? Themed centres leaning towards nostalgia, with stone-oven bakeries and stores selling handmade soap for those who can afford; urbanity packaged as a lifestyle. Hence the urbanity of Jacobs and Gehl becomes the step-by-step solutions for an artificial feel-good urbanity (Crawford (2016, 81-98; McMorrough 2001, 371-378).

In Sweden this has been contextualised by inner-city retailers which have taken arms, assisted by national organisations such as "Swedish city centres" (Svenska stadskärnor) and local municipal initiatives such as city associations (Cityföreningar). The one founded in Malmö (Malmö Citysamverkan) is by one-third owned by the municipality, and two-thirds by retailers and property owners.

Although differently structured and certainly with less legislative power, they nevertheless share similarities with "Business Improvement Districts" (BID) found in the United States and "Town Centre Management" (TCM) in England. In a similar fashion, the Swedish initiatives are aimed for retailers and authorities to collectively organise more attractive and competitive city centres. In multiple Swedish towns this has been done by trying to maximise the number of retailers within the centres; a rather limited tactic however. Instead a growing number of cities now understand the importance of a more holistic grip, turning to methods of tourism and destination development. Such methods can be pinned down into four bullet points, affecting one another in a circular fashion (Thufvesson 2017, 24):

· By making the space stand out, people will come.

· These people should be encouraged to stay longer than they initially planned (or more frequently revisit).

· One should strive towards making the same people spend money.

· Lastly, making the process come full circle, one should work towards making the visitors recommend the place to others.

The underlying idea is that if visitors are enjoying their environment they are more likely to be generous and eager to spend. Thus, architectural and urban design qualities are becoming increasingly important for a "successful" city centre (Ibid.). Offering unique experiences is moreover visible in aims of creating micro-identities, where certain streets or squares are identified with certain qualities to be enforced and built upon; such as restaurant squares, fashion streets etcetera (see Kärrholm 2012, 54-55, 75).

A survey made on the pedestrian street Kullagatan in Helsingborg is confirming the need of making the act of shopping into an experience. The study was interested in the visitors' primary reason behind their stay on the pedestrian street. It was shown that only a fifth of the respondents had a specific errand in mind, instead almost four out of ten claimed that their main reason for visiting was to stroll and enjoy the overall atmosphere of the street (Eskilsson and Thufvesson 2017, 43-59).

With that in mind, let us return to Malmö. The inauguration of Emporia in 2012 resulted in a more competitive retail landscape, as existing malls saw the need of refurbishment. This rapid expansion of retail had of course a great effect on the pedestrian precinct in Malmö. By the beginning of 2014, a bit over a year after Emporia was inaugurated, sixteen percent of the retail spaces in the centre stood vacant. Just the short strip between the urban mall Triangeln and the square Gustaf Adolfs Torg, displayed fourteen vacant storefronts (Häggström 2014). The city association (Malmö Citysamverkan) and the municipality saw the need for an indepth analysis of the pedestrian precinct, thus hiring the retail analysis company "Re-team Group".

The collaboration between "Re-team Group" and Malmö Citysamverkan has resulted in that four zones of the urban core have been identified to be guided by different activities, types of stores, graphic profiles and so on. These are as follow (Ibid.):

· Malmös shoppingmekka

· Malmös catwalk

· Chic Boheme

· Malmös metropolzon

The analysis and action plan presented by "Re-team Group" has since 2016 been approved by Malmö Citysamverkan, as a strategic document to guide future transformations of the city centre (Malmö Citysamverkan 2016). Although, this report has never been published for the public, fragments of it can be found on the internet. We are furthermore able to study the (public) reports "Re-team Group" has made for cities such as Hässleholm and Trelleborg. All of these reports follow a similar pattern, where first the city's retail scene is evaluated, whereby the users of the pedestrian precinct are in detail analysed. It is investigated how many they are, their age, gender, favourite brand and store and how much they are ready to spend on impulsive purchases, etcetera etcetera.

To fully recapitulate the further analysis made of the built structure are not within the scope of this thesis. Although, we shall note that "Re-team Group" in their findings continuously return to the need of refurbish "dirty and shabby facades", and the importance of giving the pedestrian streets a unison and harmonious design.

Malmös metropolzon

Malmös catwalk

Malmös shopping-mekka

Chic boheme

An extract from the (non-public) paper regarding "Malmös catwalk" states:

> A design manual should be developed for Södergatan, in order to find a solution for the street's straggly facades and storefronts. That will give the place a more coherent and harmonious look. This will (also) emphasise the zone of retail and make it more uniform in its visual communication. (Malmö Stad 2015, my translation).

The report even goes on to discuss the contribution of particular retail actors:

> [...] the China Box café (freestanding fast food retailer, my remark) on Gustav Adolfs Torg is in need of a refurbishment, by replacing the sunshades and the lighting. The fence should also be replaced. These features impoverish the experience of an otherwise nice glass building that has the potential of becoming a decent meeting place. (Ibid. my translation).

And regarding Trelleborg it is suggested:

> One should improve the accessibility and visual connection to the stores. For example, on the pedestrian street, outside of Valen Gallerian, the trees should be pruned so that they do not cover the storefronts. One should be able to see what type of stores there are on the other side of the trees (Re-team Group, 2015b, my translation).

And so it continues. The potential democratic threat and danger of municipalities inviting the retail market to alter the heart of the public domain is rather obvious. What is rather surprising and alarming, is how they in collective resonance seem to have given up on believing in anything else but the power of retail and placemaking to attract the masses.

Victor Gruen, the father of the modern shopping mall, resided in an understanding of the twentieth century city not to far from that of "Re-team Group". Gruen described the chaos of the city and "the mess that constitutes our urban environment". While laying the cornerstones for suburban shopping, Gruen in parallel sought to revitalise the downtowns of America, by applying "the same planning principles to both urban and suburban centres" (Leong 2001B, 381–387).

Namely:

- Safeguard surrounding areas against blight.

- Expose retail facilities to maximum foot traffic .

- Separate mechanized traffic types from each other and from foot traffic.

- Create a maximum of comfort and convenience for shoppers and merchants.

- Achieve orderliness, unity and beauty.
  (recited from Leong 2001B, 381–387)

Now, with our previous knowledge of growing economic inequalities, we are able to compare how TCM and BID have been operating in the United States respectively the United Kingdom, countries which historically has been known for greater economical inequalities. Just like the Swedish city associations they are following the logic of "malls without walls", by theming the streetscapes with unison pavements and furniture. However, their process of separating themselves from the surrounding urban fabric have gone further compared to their Swedish counterparts. The American BIDs are for instance able to collect their own taxes and cater their own private policing. Graham and Marvin (2001, 262) describes how The Grand Central Business Improvement District in New York:

> [...] has closed streets to make outdoor eating spaces for rich commuters, and has employed private security companies and 'outreach' workers to ensure the immediate removal of homeless people or vagrants from the BID boundaries.

In a similar fashion, the less autonomous TCMs of Great Britain, are exercising zone of control by expelling "[...] users seen to be 'unaesthetic' or 'antisocial'" and has assisted in making the British one of the most monitored people in the world due to CCTV (Ibid. 263–264). Such influence from the private sphere might today seem alien and far-fetched in a Swedish landscape. However, the neoliberal Sweden is following the developments in the US and UK, and camera surveillance has been rapidly accelerating aided by more liberal legislations introduced in 2018.

Such is the beauty of modern urban regeneration, and what Margaret Crawford (2017, 81–94) has titled "feel-good spaces".

During yesterday's preview for the press it was not the exclusiveness of the stores which made the greatest impact. Neither the bold colour schemes, the sound installations nor the spectacular roof garden on top of the 26 700 square meters (of shopping). Neither was it the lavished choice of materials, such as the leather wreathed railings.

Instead, the greatest impact made the care taken towards the shopping family:

Large, brightly lit - and free - toilets.
Seatings for weary legs and backs.
Small oases with tap water to quench your thirst.

- Journalist Henrik Bredberg, Sydsvenskan, days before the opening of Emporia in 2012 (my translation and italics).

Territories of shopping

How shall we understand such initiative, as depicitied above, and what sort of consequences might it bring? The following pages will be discussing what characterises modern retail spaces in privately owned malls as well as in the public city centres and ask: is there really any difference?

When shopping malls are compared to urban centres, the discussion often lands in talks over private versus public space. Rather unfortunately, though we tend to have an overly romantic and platonic image of the public realm of yesteryears. Neither the agora or bourgeois streetscape were all-inclusive spaces. It might from time to time be of importance who owns a particular space and what rules consequently dictates the codes of conduct in that particular realm, but idolising the public realm as truly open for all and free from commercial interest is hardly fruitful. Instead I believe the way of looking at public space (and good urban spaces in general) is through more mature models of measurements, such as looking at their territorial complexity. Kärrholm has for example identified public spaces as holding a large number of non-hierarchical territorial productions at one place (Kärrholm 2012, 119). Behind this conception lies that no other function (or territorial production) is dominant over others.

The typology of the mall is per se not a threat towards a sustainable urban land-scape (although in-terms of land-use and environmental sustainability it is doubtful). In this discussion, however, the mall as a typology becomes problematic as it is often cases homogeneous, serving one overlying and dominant function: to consume. Added functions, it could be social services or such comforts as being described in the quote of previous page, are therefore operating in order for visitors to prolong their stay so that they spend more. The space might then take on characteristics of other types of spaces (the public street etcetera), whilst the overall material design directs the visitor to consume (see for example Kärrholm 2012, 67–94 about synchronisation).

Today, more than ever, the pedestrian precinct faces the same type of problem. In the first chapter we saw how the pedestrian streets of Sweden have rapidly been homogenised, by loosing many of their previous functions, a process which during the last thirty years has been consolidated by specialised consumption patterns and strategic actions to strengthen retailing. Successful city centres, in terms of visitors and sales, have been those which being kept dense, have been orientated towards fashion retail and other exclusive durable goods. By such the urban core becomes a tension-free zone presenting a coctail of sweet ingredients such as culture, historical settings and experiences (Crawford 2016, 81-98; Larsson 2006, 19; Kärrholm 2012, 45).

The pedestrian precinct could therefore be explained as having lost its original traits of an urban core, by having separated itself from the surrounding fabric. In order to support retail and street life, the material design has been uniformed and homogenised, while the rhythms of urban life have been subordinated to the rhythms of retail (Kärrholm 2012), with the ironic conclusion that after shops have closed in the evening, one finds large portions of the pedestrian streets as desolated as the parking lot adjacent to the external mall.

Hence, the strategical document produced by Malmö Citysamverkan and "Re-team Group" could be understood as a continuation of an old tradition. The exception today is that the competition of the consumer's will is tougher than ever, therefore the strategies needs to be implemented even more decisively. Not only are the malls attracting costumers, but so also other municipalities due to improved infrastructure. But predominantly is it e-commerce which is putting an increased stress on traditional retail.

We are indisputably witnessing a shift from how the malls used to be modelled and inspired by the urban core, to now find that centres are using the same type of strategies as when malls are developed and branded. When the pedestrian precinct in an increasing fashion becomes specialised and themed, it is also loosing its characteristic of traditional public space. The paradox is that for every action city associations and municipalities are taking to strengthen retail in the urban core, the more homogenised the space needs to be moulded, and specialised the retail needs to become. Everything in order to serve, in the words of Gruen, "the desire of shoppers for a quieter, safer, more restful environment" (recited from Leong 2001B, 381-387).

One is further running the risk of getting caught in a costly spiral of constant refurbishment. Shopping malls tends to follow a cycle of five years before a revitalisation is needed, whilst after fifteen year a more extensive renovation is required for attracting shoppers keen on new experiences (Hagberg and Styhre 2013, 364). Shall public space follow this trend are we soon entering a stage of all-over Koolhaas-esque junkspaces, where cultural heritage has been fully eradicated. In the best of worlds, a homogenised centre might just be lacking substance and genuine depth. From another view, it is as a democratic issue, where Malmö stad is working against their own goals stipulated in Möten i staden. Thus, instead of the heterogeneous blend of people, they have enforced a fragmented and unsustainable urban landscape and subsequently social segregation. In any case, when voices are raised to save our dying centres, we shall ask how and why, because a preservation is hardly an end in itself. Let us start by asking what we are so keen on preserving, and for whom?

What about e-commerce?

After the first half of 2017, it was concluded that for the first time e-commerce could be accounted for all the growth in sales of durable goods in Sweden (Postnord 2017a). But as we are approached by headlines such as "E-commerce has broken all previous records!" it is crucial to keep in mind that it stands to a rather small share of the total pie; by 2017 around 8,7 percent of the purchases in Sweden were made online. (Postnord 2017b).
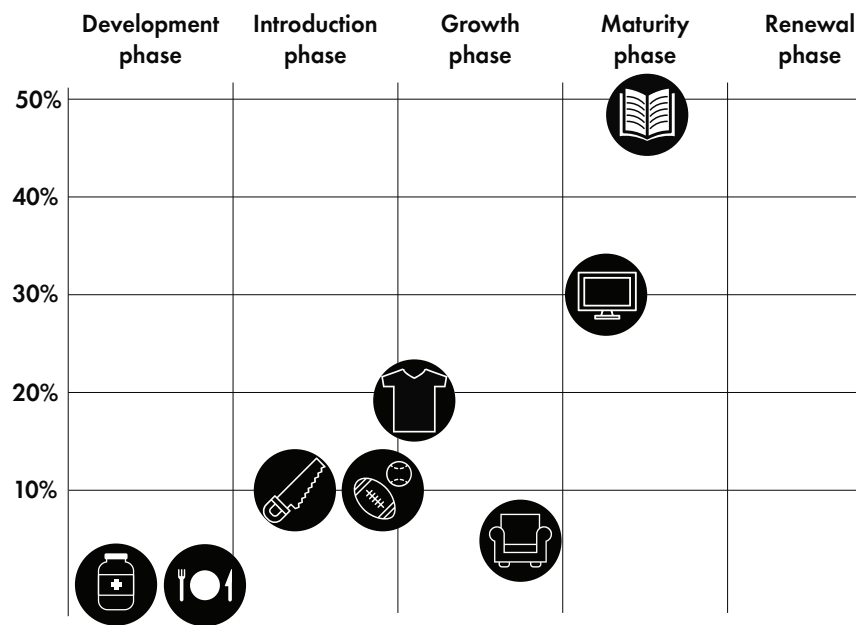

Figure 34 (HUI 2016)

Another aspect to keep in mind is to make the distinction between the different segments of e-commerce. Some fields have already met a stage of maturity and often cases outcompeted their physical counterparts; we are not only having less and less encounters with books- and record stores in the urban landscape, but these mediums are in an increasing way being consumed digitally. These markets will not likely develop further in any radical way in the years to come, whilst other markets are yet to be exploited. Buying furniture, drugs or food, for example, is presently not part of the mainstream Swedish e-commerce pattern. These are either at an initial developing phase (drugs), or in a various phases of growth (furniture and food) as illustrated in figure 34.

Meanwhile, e-commerce is cementing and further accelerating the trend of fewer, but more powerful actors on the market. E-commerce works as an agent for price pressure, where prices on durable goods have dropped sixteen percent between 2003-2015 (see figure 35). Keeping up with the ever-changing structural redevelopment requires capital, and smaller actors are in general not able to compete in a market where the prices of commodities keep dropping year by year. In a future aspect, there should be an incentive among the big players to further invest in e-commerce and thereby enforce this process, as statistics are also showing that the profit per employee is greater in the field of e-commerce. Future advancements in the field of robot technology, fully-automated storage and distribution centres would provide additional economic benefits for retailers to invest in the digital platform.

The popularity of e-commerce has further resulted in the rapidly growing number of foreign e-traders who have chosen to establish themselves in Sweden. In just seven years (2009-2016) this number rose from 12 to 489 (Ibid.).

Another aspect why e-commerce will continue to expand is the present age gap between online consumers. The users of e-commerce today are predominantly fifty years or younger. In ten years this gap is expected to have been pushed to sixty, and so on. Online consumption among the generations to come is expected to at least stay on the same level as present younger generations (Ibid.).

During the recent global economic recession Sweden managed to stay rather unaffected. For many years instead, the country has been exceeding the European average both in economic as well as in retail growth. Meanwhile, the economic growth has not been on the account of industrial export but through an advancing banking sector, making the economy further unpredictable and sensitive (Estman, 2017). What if the bubble bursts? In case of an unforeseen event, if the average Swede finds that his or her disposable income is severely affected it would be likely that he or she will be even more careful with money, thus turning to the cheaper goods online. Worth noting is that the country never before has witnessed an economic recession parallel to a major technological jump, so potential consequences are hard to predict.
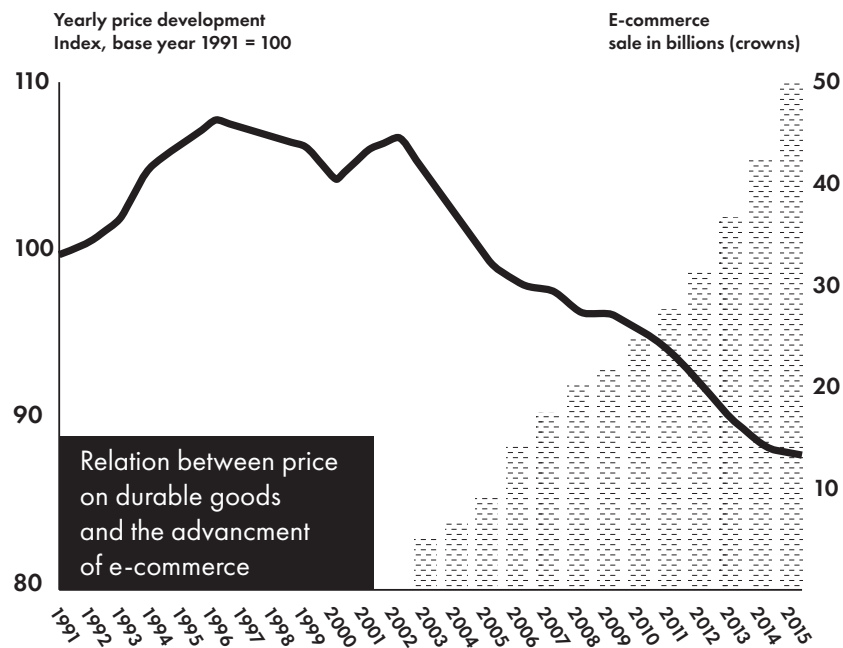
Figure 35 (HUI 2016)

Reports of the future

Predicting the future of e-commerce in the same type of accurate long-time perspective which is needed when cities are planned, is more or less impossible. The retail market is, as we have seen, in deep affiliation with trends and events of the surrounding society. Nevertheless, are we able to produce fairly reliable predictions for shorter periods of time, such as a decade forward.

Making prognosis for the future means constructing a handful of more or less likely scenarios. These scenarios are constructed from historical patterns in relation to expected sales in traditional retail. However, the two reports presented below is not capable of incorporating any type of unforeseen technological advancement. Furthermore are any type of unforeseen economic or political event on the national as well as global scale impossible to take into account. Another major bank crash, environmental crisis or a global war, will for example have great impacts on the retail market.

The union of retailers in Sweden (Handelsanställdas förbund) published in September 2016 a report over the near future of e-commerce in Sweden. Their starting point is that e-commerce will either have a low (ten percent), medium (sixteen percent) or high (twenty percent) growth up until 2025. Six scenarios are presented, depending on the future growth of traditional, as well as the total growth of commerce. From there the six scenarios are paired into three groups, as listed in figure 36. All of the scenarios implies an overall increase of consumption in society, but they predominantly differ in what percentage e-commerce has established itself by that time. It should be noted that the author is identifying the two medium scenarios, following the linear trend of recent years, as the most likely ones (Rosenström 2016).

The author of the report claims that we will not see a decline in the presence of physical stores during these years, no matter which scenario will be realised. On the other hand, the author concludes, if traditional retail halters and e-commerce keeps on going strong, then we will face a rapid decrease in the number of physical stores (Ibid.).

This opinion is contested in a report from the Swedish Trade Federation (Svensk Handel), published in December 2016. By 2025, according to their calculations, and depending on scenarios, we will have witnessed a drop in between 5 800–10 600 physical stores from today's 46 800 in the field of durable goods. Such development will have a major impact on society as a whole, as the number of employees in retail is expected to drop between 21 800–40 800 from today's 177 800 (HUI Research 2016).

Consequently, the previous conclusions of the union (Handelsanställdas förbund) are somewhat naive, especially if one investigates the two fields where e-commerce in Sweden have come furthest; books and home electronics. In the former; electronic retail accounts for more than half of the money spent on books (Glansholm, 2015) while the latter sector has witnessed the bankruptcy of chains such as PC City, ONOFF and Expert and a decrease of around 1 000 stores in the last fifteen years (HUI Research 2016).

The Swedish Trade Federation distinguishes between two scenarios. In the first scenario total e-commerce (domestic and international trade are discussed separately in the report) will witness a growth of twelve percent (similar to the first scenario in the report above), while the second scenario is based on the current trend of a sixteen percent growth in the e-commerce sector. In the first scenario, traditional retail is expected to expand as it has in recent years, while the second presents a small decline. All in all e-commerce will, according to the report, account for either twenty or thirty percent of the purchases by 2025 (HUI Research 2016).
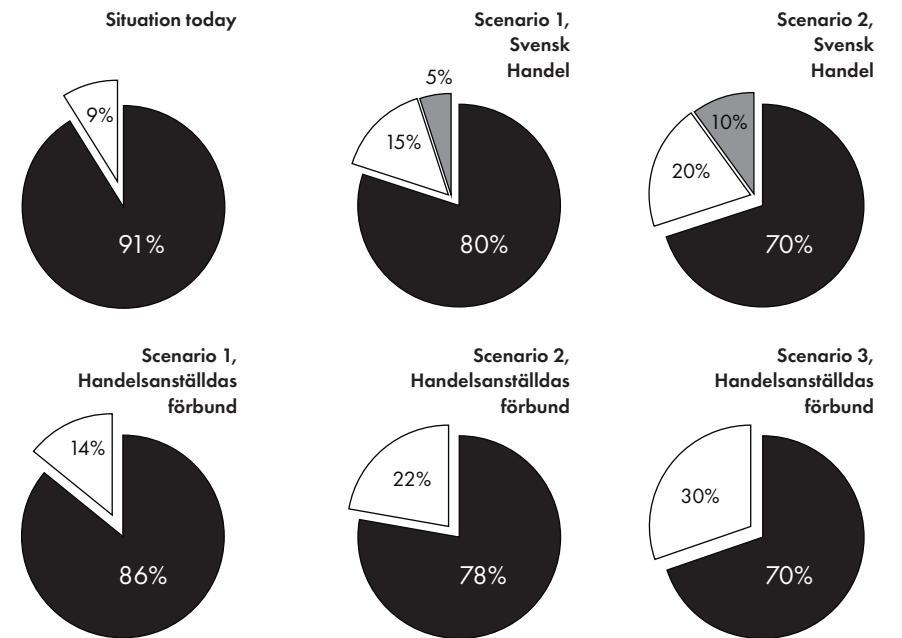

Figure 36 (HUI 2016, Rosenström 2016)

Conclusions

What we have learned

Before going into a concluding analysis of what is tobe expected of tomorrow's retail , and before any proposals are made what could be done; let us first recapitulate our knowledge so far.

The first chapter illustrated how Swedish shopping and commercial activity has gone from a position of little importance in the society of pre-modern age, to rapidly accelerate with the birth of industrialism and urbanisation.

In the pre-industrialised Sweden, urban centres catered a wider range of functions and material designs, whilst activities within the urban realm bore greater social meaning. However, as nationwide wealth was accumulated and the Swedish welfare system was established by the mid-twentieth century, shopping for commodities became increasingly popular amongst the middle class. This was represented in department stores such as Epa, Tempo and Domus. With these stores, the Swedes underwent a self-serving revolution, where social interaction in the city became of less importance.

During this time Swedish city centres were reconstructed into zones and as a result, other functions than service and retail, gradually vanished. The centres therefore became separated from the surrounding fabric. During this time, the footprint of the cities also expanded rapidly. Modeled after the same principles as the urban core, new zones of homogeneous and motor dependent areas were constructed. By this time retail began its dramatic decrease in number of stores, while the sizes of those surviving expanded. This shift was eased by Swedish legislations, seeking a greater efficiency in society.

The second chapter could be said to describe the rise of neoliberal planning, and the death of a Swedish welfare system. The sprawl of the Swedish cities continued, even though the number of dwellings constructed decreased. Instead, during this time hypermarkets and shopping malls began profiting from more liberal legislations and decreasing power of municipal offices. These stores are generally relying on motorized infrastructure, and poses their greatest threat on local neighbourhood retail. Depending on the size of the city and the general attractiveness of the urban core, inner-city retail is rather irregularly affected.

Along with a sprawling retail, the scale of planning seems to have been flattened into mostly concerning an urban and regional perspective, whilst the scale of local neighbourhoods tends to be neglected.

As a result of urban sprawl and regional focused planning, social fragmentation has occurred. Reasons for that, among many, are that the fabric of traditional urban infrastructure have been downplayed, whilst district development have been commonly prioritised. This offers dilemmas in a post-modern society, where increased specialisation of identities and types of consumptions are feeding parallel lifestyles and ways of utilising the fragmented city.

By highlighting some examples from Malmö we have seen how investments in big-box landscapes, has been undermining neighbourhood retail. Furthermore is the construction of Emporia and Hyllie an example in a series of regional investments serving the region's affluent; an "Örespectacle".

The pedestrian precinct has in parallel been territorially stabilised by retail. With recent initiatives by the city association, this development will accelerate in the years to come. The transformations of cities today appears to follow the same logic as when shopping malls are planned. The pedestrian precinct will thus be branded into segments for particular kinds of consumers, while Malmö today is more economically unequal than both the United States and Turkey.

Conclusively we have scratched the surface where e-commerce is today and what it so far has meant for the retail scene in Sweden. Reports regarding its near future has been presented to illustrate how great effect the digitalisation of retail will have in the decade to come. Hence, will the final segment of this chapter discuss what broader consequences this will have on the scene of retail and how actions could be undertaken to shift present fragmentation.

What we can expect

So, in what sort of fashion will traditional retail and e-commerce operate in the future? The answer is naturally multi-folded, depending on what scale of retail we are discussing and what type of setting it relates to; id est small or large town. Primarily though, it depends on what sorts of political and architectural actions that will be undertaken. Below I will describe what is to be expected, following the logic of present day market economy.

Experts are in an almost unison choir proclaiming how our level of consumption will only increase in any foreseeable future. For instance, The Swedish Property Federation (Fastighetsägarna) refers to the current retail growth and professes that an annual growth of around 2,7 percent is excepted in the twenty (!) years to come (Rämme 2017).

Analysts are further pointing out how the distinction between offline and online retail is misguided, as the line between the physical landscape and virtual reality will gradually blur. It is claimed how digitalisation will ease the ability of purchasing items by for instance simple QR-scanning. Combining experiences and entertainment with retail will furthermore be an important aspect of the future (Steen & Strøm 2011). Bergman has been pointing towards the establishments of more megacentres. We have so far seen prototypes of this in domestic malls such as Emporia and Mall of Scandinavia in Stockholm, but even more so in other countries; where retail is combined with leisure activities, such as cinemas, ice-hockey rinks, indoor gardens and other more or less spectacular phenomenons (Bergman/HUI Research 2011). This will be a forthcoming way for external malls to distinguish themselves and offer unique experiences in a competitive landscape. All these changes are, however, more or less cosmetic variations of present day market; such analysis are done by the capital, for the capital.

Following that reasoning, and with current development in mind, it is likely that public spaces such as our city centres will exercise even harsher border controls and territorial stability for those invited. My understanding is that the city centres, in order to offer what neither e-commerce or big-box landscapes can offer, will embrace their uniqueness and cater for more and more of the (imagined) "genuine" experiences of a city. This includes small scale retail, like delicatessens and such, where price of goods or services is not an issue. Our present understanding of private-public will thus likely evaporate as public life will even more so take place in privately owned (or controlled) land.

Today's fragmentation will therefore likely progress, as also the welfare system is gradually becoming obsolete for a growing part of the population, in favour for private alternatives (HUI Research 2011). We have previously seen how income gaps in recent years have accelerated, and even if this trend is haltered, the already favoured today will be even more so tomorrow in comparison to those with low income as indicated in figure 37 (HUI Research 2011). Consequently, it is likely that society in the future will be steered to cater for the already affluent; with prices and commodities adapted for the majority middle and upper class.

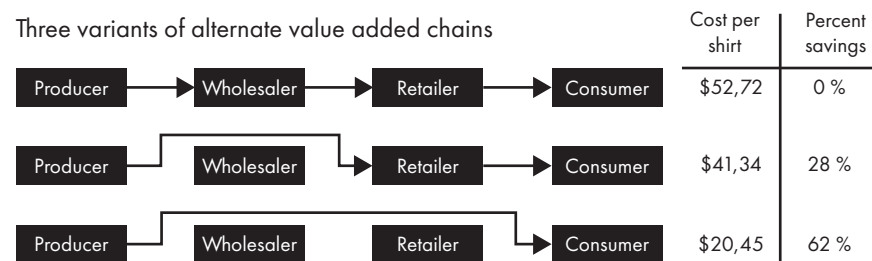| Real growth of gross income for different segments of earners in Sweden, depending on low or high average growth in the years to come. Numbers are indicating monthly salaries.		Year 2010	Year 2040
	Index (annual growth 1,5%)	100	157
	Low income earners	10 000	15 700
	Middle income earners	20 000	31 400
	High income earners	30 000	47 000
	Index (annual growth 3,0%)	100	246
	Low income earners	10 000	24 600
	Middle income earners	20 000	49 200
	High income earners	30 000	73 800

Figure 37 (HUI 2011)

By so we understand that symbolic capital will only be more important in years to come, and fragmentation of retail will become greater. We have previously examined the role of identity making and branding when it comes to shopping malls and city centres, and in the future this will become more important. We are likely to see how areas, both within our centres as well as in the big-box landscapes of our cities, will cater for certain income groups with certain types of brands or qualities of goods.

Today's competitive landscape, where retail has been concentrated both in physical terms, but also in terms of actors on the market, will likely progress. However, as globalisation progresses Swedish retailers will also have to face competition from foreign actors entering the market, and radically alter the structure and hierarchy of retail. When for example the American e-commerce giant Amazon decides to enter the Swedish market, the after effects will be a series of Swedish companies going bankrupt.

However, we might also be on the verge of an unprecedented structural shift of retail, where suppliers and manufacturers are coming closer to the consumer, thus making the retailers less important. An alternative to this is already being witnessed today, however in an opposite fashion, where retailers also have become suppliers, seen for example in grocery retailers now selling their own brands. An increased digitalisation might potentially downplay the role of the distributor and wholesaler. These ideas were presented already in the nineties by Wigand and Benjamin (1995), as they were investigating price on commodities in relation to stakeholders in the value chain of retail.

Even though the traditional chain of distribution has been shown to be more costly for the consumer, since the process involves more middle men, it has up till now also been the most efficient option. Difficulties for individual stores or consumers to directly be in contact with producers (who might operate in a foreign country) has been contributing to the stabilisation of current structure (HUI 2011). Nevertheless, as digitalisation advances we might witness the emergence of new, physical as well as digital, platforms were the wholesaler and retailer becomes obsolete. Imagine instead an efficient platform which enables the Scanian apple farmer to sell directly to the retailer, or the independent clothes designer to sell directly to consumer, thus skipping the line of wholesaler and retailer. By promoting such solutions, we accordingly offer possibilities for architects and urban planners to come up with new solutions for better interaction between producer and customer.

Three variants of alternate value added chains

	Cost per shirt	Percent savings
Producer → Wholesaler → Retailer → Consumer	$52,72	0 %
Producer → Wholesaler → Retailer → Consumer	$41,34	28 %
Producer → Wholesaler → Retailer → Consumer	$20,45	62 %

Growth in value added and selling price

	Producer	Wholesaler	Retailer	Consumer
Value added	$ 20,45	$ 11,36	$ 20,91	
Selling price	$ 20,45	$ 31,81	$ 52,72	$ 52,72

Figure 38 (Wigand & Benjamin. 1995)

What we can do

What has been described so far is rather dystopic and gloomy, if one favours an open and socially important urban landscape. There is however hope. In terms of changing this scenario it very much comes down to politics, and for us as architects or urban planners we need to establish a rule of thinking on how we look upon the fragmented city.

On a regional planning level, Sweden is in dire need of updated legislations concerning the establishments of external malls and big-box landscapes, and inspiration for such can be found in multiple of neighbouring countries. In the Netherlands, for example, land is classified by a ABC-scheme, where C accounts for land outside the urban core, mostly accessible by car. In these locations only functions that demand a great footprint or rely on motor transport is allowed, for instance storage centres or particular bulky retail (Elvingson 2001). In Denmark, similar laws have been introduced, by stressing the importance of centrally located retail. Only specific instances of retail, concerning large and bulky goods, are allowed to be established in the periphery of the city centre.

Meanwhile Great Britain serves as a good example when it comes to regional analysis of retail. Effects on economical, social and environmental sustainability must be examined prior to the establishment of external retail facilities (Ibid.).

With that concluded, the damage is, in some ways, already done. If we accept that the two major factors behind the rise of big-box retail are: lower prices along with higher convenience, it is not difficult to see why many retailers not quick enough to respond to the threat of e-commerce, will become outcompeted. E-commerce is able to offer the same qualities, but amplified. Hence we are, without planning ahead, running the risk of finding great parts of the urban landscape turning into brownfields. Some of these big-boxes can be transformed into storage centres for e-commerce, while other needs to house new functions, perhaps indoor football pitches for the youth, or new experimental dwellings/workplaces similar to "NDSM Wharf" in Amsterdam. There should nevertheless be incentives to engage local communities in their transformations. Others, at particular valuable land, could instead be dismantled (and recycled) in order to house more traditional urban fabrics.

Our city centres are facing other types of threats, depending on their sizes. In larger towns, such as Malmö, retail will find its way through offering more unique experiences. But that will likely come at the expense of excluding significant parts of the population. Therefore, in a society where income gaps are accelerating, centres must include new, non-commercial activities. Municipalities must be ready to invest and subsidise such functions and services in central locations, even though rents are higher. If not, they will probably need to pay an ever higher economic price later. Why not a skateboard park in the old grocery shop or a contract bridge place next to the fashion store? Or a makers workshop and a youth centre? All in all, as densification of cities are progressing, these types of city centres will need to address their monofunctionality, social exclusion and their isorhytmic realm.

Smaller regional cities are running the risk of turning into ghost towns or sleep cities. They will here not be discussed separately, since I believe they are facing similar type of issues as local neighbourhood retail, thus their potential solution is somewhat similar to that of the neighbourhood retail.

The neighbourhood retail is arguably the most important one for a wholesome society, and likewise the most threatened in today's landscape. Greater ties between a dweller and her neighbourhood provides opportunities for a sustainable lifestyle, where distances are shortened and thus favouring walking or biking. Improvements in existing neighbourhoods can provide new possibilities for workplaces and retail services and thereby challenge their often cases monofunctionality. By doing so, social ties can be strengthened.

At present time this sort of reasoning resembles utopian mumbo-jumbo without any grounding in what is economically feasible, since retail in the neighbourhoods centres often fails since it falls in-between the type of retail offered in the centre and in the big-box landscape.

E-commerce however provides great opportunities for politicians and architects to steer retail into a new direction. It has been concluded that a majority of people want to conduct their consumption in a neighbourhood store with a wide range of goods (Forsmark 2001). A new direction could therefore offer pickup-places for goods purchased online as the new anchors in neighbourhood retail. Let us imagine a scenario where you have just finished work. Normally you would perhaps take a detour to look for new clothes or that specific garden tool you need for your plants on the balcony. Thereafter you end up in the ever-so uninspirational supermarket

before you, exhausted, are home three hours later. In an alternative future, where time is ever-so precious, you have already ordered your garden tool and bags of groceries. These are waiting for you at the local service station, open all day long. Next to your click-and-collect spot, functions such as the local library and youth centre has been established, along with more retail that has found an improved market to survive. Perhaps a pop-up fashion store has just opened, or the local community has established a barter system for exchanging goods not needed anymore.

This is a brief, perhaps utopian, scenario but it serves to illustrate how e-commerce can help to strengthen placemaking in struggling neighbourhoods. By regulating e-commerce it can be steered into serving society at large, and not only the private market. Though everyone needs to purchase, that is particularly true in terms of daily goods. If retail of daily goods in the neighbourhood can offer the same range of goods and increased convenience, there is no longer a need for car trips to the big-boxes outside of the neighbourhood.

E-commerce of daily goods can have the same type of effect in smaller towns, and especially in the sparsely populated areas of Sweden. Only in years between 1996 and 2001 three hundred Swedish municipalities lost their last retailer of daily goods (Malmsten 2002, 5). These towns will likewise be heading towards a renaissance thanks to electronic retail and the birth of modern service stations.

Part 2

from shopping space to shopping place

Reasoning

Up until now the image painted has been rather dark and dystopic. We have been discussing the expansion of shopping malls, the decline of local retail and the inner city captured by retail. With that being said; shopping is neutral. It is something we all have to undertake, whether we find enjoyment in it, or not. And the majority of it is done out of necessity in artificially lit boxes as we are trying to decide what daily goods are needed for the following days. Therefore it feels natural to land in a design proposal that puts this essential part of our everyday life in some of the most mundane spaces of the modernist fabric and our everyday life: the local neighbourhood centre.

The dwellings from the golden years of Swedish economy (1965–1974) are now roughly making up one fourth of the total housing stock, and are situated in areas which are products from a time when the Swede had the option between two channels on the television, when vacationing abroad was exotic, and there was still a belief in collectivism and that the Swedes united had fostered the model nation. Today however, in an era of choices, are we witnessing a growing disbelief to institutions and hear more Swedish spoken in parts of Thailand than in certain areas of Sweden.

Many of these areas of the mid-twentieth century are today operating poorly, not being resilient enough to handle a country of global influences and newly woken individualism (Stenberg 2016, 121). By so I wish to accentuate how a revised take on retail in the modernist neighbourhood can operate in a more sustainable (social/economical/environmental) way, which better suits present conditions and ways of living.

So how is that done? Well, it would be naive to merely try to re-bundle the fragments by traditional tools alone, hoping that the mere essence of a revitalised city grid solves modern challenges in terms of fragmentation and an unbalanced scene of retail. If so, we are forgetting that the present fragmentation is more complex than a specific urban morphology. We will instead be focusing on the implementation of a new type of retail typology orientated towards e-commerce of daily goods, in a local centre in Malmö. It is however of greatest importance to not solely present a new type of retail typology, but instead to actively question how such a typology

can correlate to other functions in the urban realm, because otherwise we are just repeating the mono-functionality of the present city.

The discussion is therefore framed by a proposed structure plan for the area, which takes its root in what the municipality is having planned. By partly challenge the municipal plan, I wish to illustrate how retail in the suburbs can be rethought and restructured on both an urban design as well as architectural level where the two scales feed into each other; by so the traditional and new tools combined.

The method I seek to implement is both thought to be general as well as showing care towards site specific conditions. The generic side of the proposal deals with certain guidelines developed for the proposed structure plan as well as the typology. The core ideas (or concepts) should be able to be implemented in similar neighbourhood schemes with success. It should however naturally be adapted and restructured after local needs, conditions and demographics.

The principle is nevertheless broad; a medium to large-sized intervention, weaving e-commerce together with community functions, provides a stepping stone not only for a more resilient local scene of retail, but furthermore as a possible step in a larger scope of urban transformation concerning densification and structural inequalities.

By so, I argue, the scale of the intervention is crucial; as it should not be "too big" or "too rapidly" implemented and thus shake the existing dynamics in the area. But it should neither be to small so that it becomes trivial or without any impact.

Philosophically I am following the current of Koolhaas-esque "bigness", but marrying these ideals with a mindset of re-urbanism. To some extent the proposal is focusing on architecture as an object, but by forming a place which is economically feasible, the architecture will bear significance for the local community, as well as allowing the individual to express oneself.

My obvious wish with the design project is therefore to open up for a discussion of how e-commerce can be become architecture, but also a discussion regarding the project's implementation of scale, time and if retail can be captured by designers as a generator for "greater" causes.

The issues of e-commerce

E-commerce is today a terra incognita in the field of architecture. The spaces it has generated are unplanned, unwelcoming and little but junkspaces for the consumer. They are additionally under-dimensioned, and more and more reports are showing how post agents are having troubles keeping up the tempo of deliveries, which threatens the whole concept of consuming online.

Moreover; commodities purchased online are going through various delivery firms, such as the governmental Postnord, before it is stored at a post agent where the consumer can pick it up. These agents are generally retailers of daily goods or independent kiosk owners.

This system has proven to be highly problematic for many of the larger retailers, as the work put into handling the packages are not profitable in relation to the compensation from the delivery firms. The storage of packages are furthermore taking up space which could be used for a more lucrative ordinary retail.

We are therefore, if nothing is done, running the risk that the development of e-commerce halters, or alternatively that an increasing number of people are ordering things straight to their doors, after post agents have given up and decreased in number.

Fig 39

Fig 40

Fig 41

The issues of local retail

Issues on another level refers to how we on an urban scale are seeking to improve local retail. As discussed in the previous part of the booklet the local scene of retail and publicness have in a rapid pace declined. Therefore, more and more projects and investments in Sweden are now concerning the milieus of the sixties and seventies, and not seldom are improvements of service and retail identified as key aspects for bringing back people to the desolated public spaces.

The difficulties in this are obvious and are stretching further than solely a lack of retailers or qualities in the urban realm, as highlighted in the first part. More so, as will be discussed below, do investments in local retail require careful considerations regarding the sum of investments and the potential effects generated. Kärrholm et al. (2012) have for instance been pointing to how the planning of retail in Malmö (both within the municipality as well as the private sector) seems to have got stuck in a "more of the same" kind of logic. Regarding local retail that accounts for more of the small and independent actors not seldom with subsidized rents, which might just be the problem - that we at an initial stage have fixated the various scenes of retail with a certain scale, id est that the local square is primarily to attract the neighbouring population.

The following two pages will frame and discuss different investments in local retail and their potential gains as well as issues. These are projects ranging from being sweet and cute to megalomania.

Fig 42

Culture Casbah, Malmö
To be built

Fig 43

One type of modern investments refers to the spectacular, such as the Culture Casbah project in Rosengård, Malmö. Investments such as these are using the tools of urban planning and a great magnitude of retail space to facelift stigmatised areas. Even though Culture Casbah seems wholesomely designed it is not orientated towards the existing population of the area. This is evident in the projects expected price tag of two billion crowns, financed jointly by the municipality as well as the private sector. Such neoliberal and spectacular investment will much likely result in gentrification and further alienation of the group of people which has not been favoured by previous Örespectacle investments.

Bokalerna, Malmö
2010

Fig 44

The predecessor to the Culture Casbah was the construction of Bokaler (combined retail and dwellings). Existing dead facades was extended with the new typologies. The added retail is small scale (around forty square meter excluding the living and administration area) and are positioned along a pedestrian and bicycle path.

Such a strategy is relatively cheap (thirty-nine million crowns), interesting, visionary and has had positive effects on the local area. The problem however is that this type of small-scale retail is hardly a game changer. A couple of Bokaler will not have any major long term effects as it does not address the main reason why local retail fails; price and range of goods.

Rinkebystråket, Stockholm
2016

Fig 45

A similar type of investment although greater in scale has been done in Rinkeby, a suburb to Stockholm. The aim has been to promote walkability in the area, and introduce city-street qualities to a stigmatised area from the mid twentieth century. Besides remodelling the existing infrastructure, the project introduced fifty new retail spaces along an important spine.

This type of investment falls into the same category as the Bokalerna in Rosengård, although greater in scale. It might have positive future effects and it is admirable to see the need of working with the public spaces along with the scene of retail, but it will hardly change retail habits.Not surprisingly at present time, two years after its inauguration, the retailers of Rinkebystråket are looking out on a desolated street, with rents that are too high for many too survive, since with a greater price tag (two hundred fifty million crowns) the strategy is becoming a lot more vulnerable.

## Idea Stores, London
2002 and onwards

Fig 46

The concept of the Idea Stores in London is an interesting one in order to provide spaces for meetings in the fragmented city. The Idea Stores can be described as educational community centres, combining the services of the traditional library with places for learning and formal and informal meetings. The typology is borrowing many of the traditional traits of the retail environments. The first Idea Store was inaugurated in 2002, and by now that number has expanded fifth-fold, a testimony to their success.

Some of the Idea Stores are combining retail space, thus blending the border between shopping and meeting place.

The Idea Stores are relatively cheap in construction and have a flexible interior which can adapt after future needs.

Vision & concept

The building
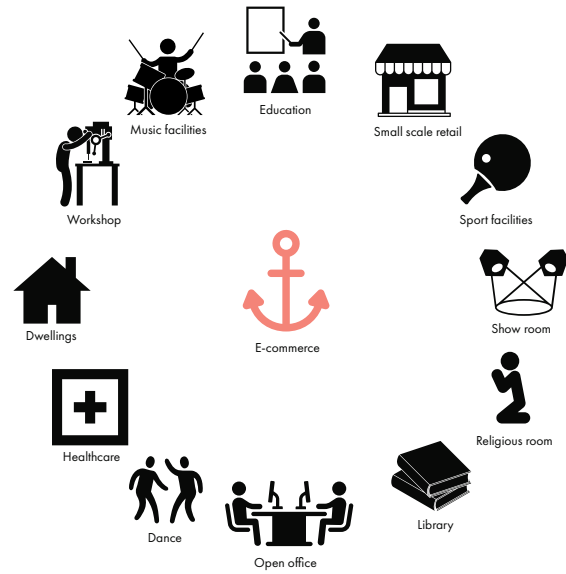
The introduction of a new retail typology in the suburbs, with special care put into a e-commerce depot. A typology that combines retail with a broad program of social services, and therefore embraces economic reality and simultaneously strengthens social bonds and surrounding small scale local retail. In short: an anchor store of the future. Why go to the mall when the prices and range of goods are greater in your neighbourhood?

(Note – the schematic program above does not correspond to the latter design proposal)

The district

Because more inhabitants can fulfil their needs in their neighbourhood the new typology has the possibility of functioning as a generator for future investments, such as upgraded services/retail and more welcoming urban spaces. With a well functioning scene of local retail there is also a greater incentive for densifying with additional housing and offices.

Site background

Malmö

Fosie 1960

Fosie 2018

Sweden
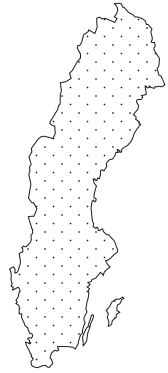
Population
10 135 303

Average age
43,7

Employment rate
76%

Job opportunities per capita
0,48

Percentage of people with foreign background
31,5%

Cars in use per capita
0,48

Malmö
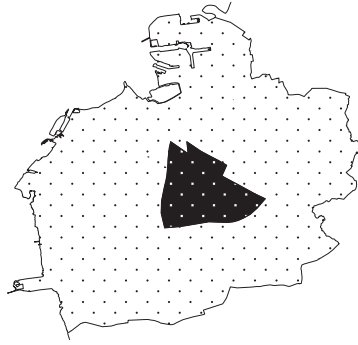
Population
333 633

Average age
38,4

Employment rate
61%

Job opportunities per capita
0,53

Percentage of people with foreign background
45%

Cars in use per capita
0,36

Greater Fosie
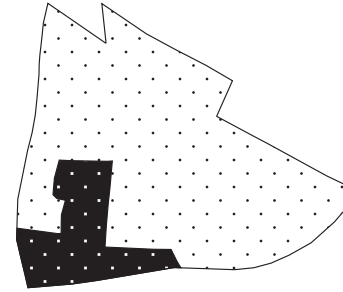
Population
46 134

Average age
37,2

Employment rate
?

Job opportunities per capita
0,40

Percentage of people with foreign background
w70%

Cars in use per capita
0,23

Lindängen
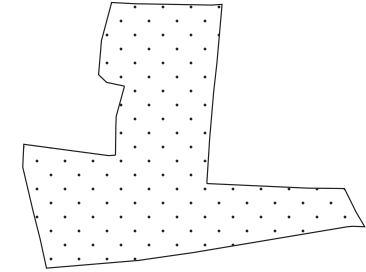
Population
7 620

Average age
35,1

Employment rate
47%

Job opportunities per capita
0,13

Percentage of people with foreign background
74%

Cars in use per capita
0,21

(SCB 2018B, Malmö Stad 2018)

Failed municipal visions

For over a decade Fosie has been the sub-
ject of a substantial amount of municipal
plans, few that has been realised. This has
fostered a great skepsis among many of
the inhabitants towards the municipality.

Among the many spectacular plans,
the municipality has been wanting to
connect the area with the rest of Malmö
through a tram line as well as con-
structing a train station in Fosie for the
re-opened train line Kontinentalbanan.
None of these projects are however likely
to happen in any foreseeable future.At the
southern edge of Lindängen a massive
botanical garden has been planned, a
park which would connect Lindängen to
the eco-district of Augustenborg in the
north through a green spine (the NHL-
spine). Present condition of the park is
however a haunting reminder of how
neoliberal planning can end up. After the
great words and beautiful illustrations
the park, set to cost around 200 million
crowns, is today somewhere between a
quarter finished, two parts abandoned
and one part postponed.

Besides these massive and ambitious
projects the municipality has identified
that the future of Fosie should be a district
of an upgraded blue-green structure, with
more dwellers who have more service
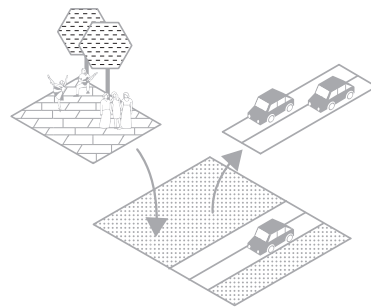and retail options as well as more places
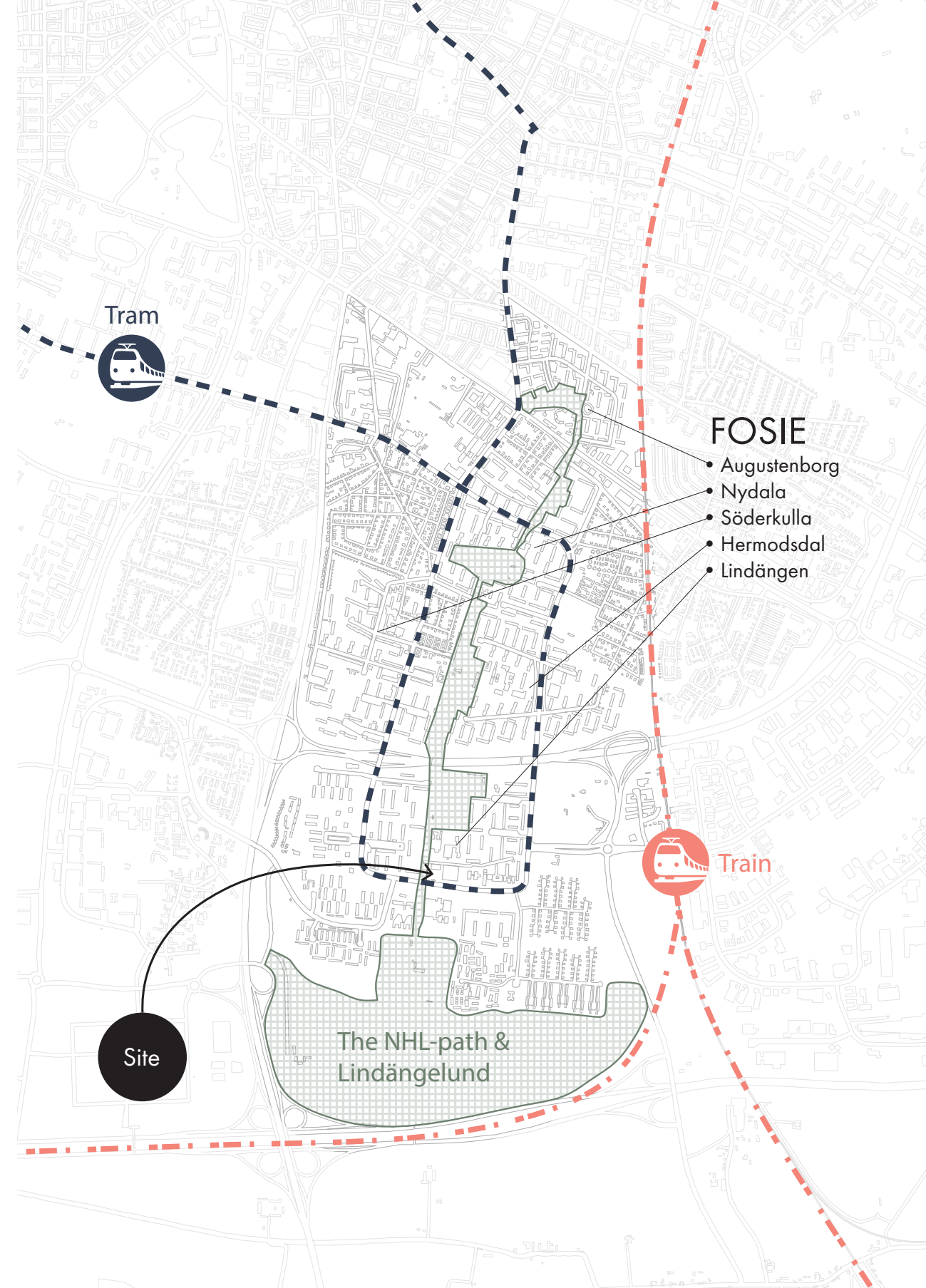to meet.
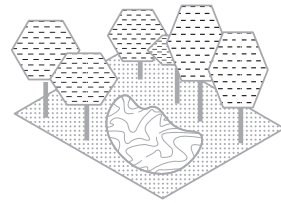
A turquoise district
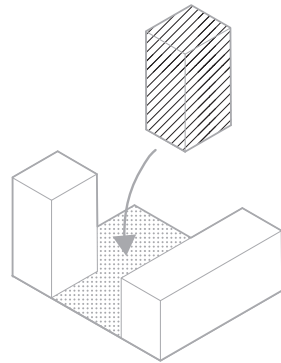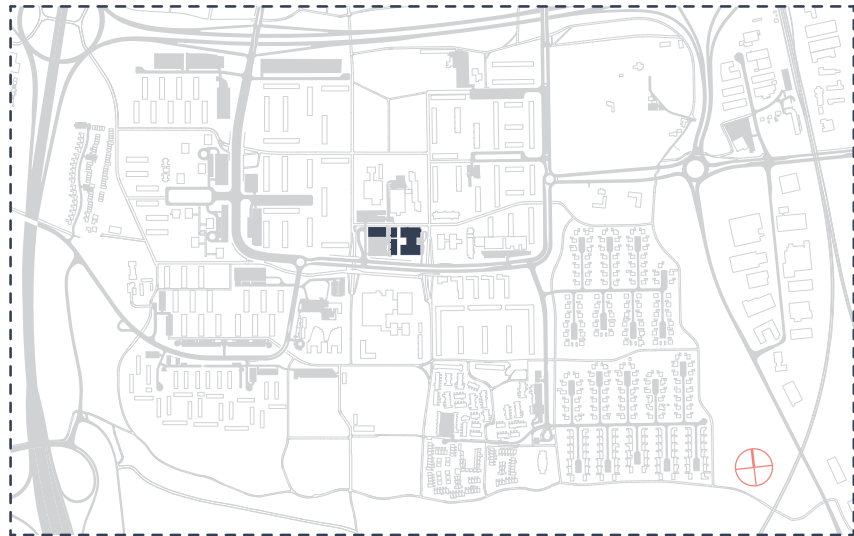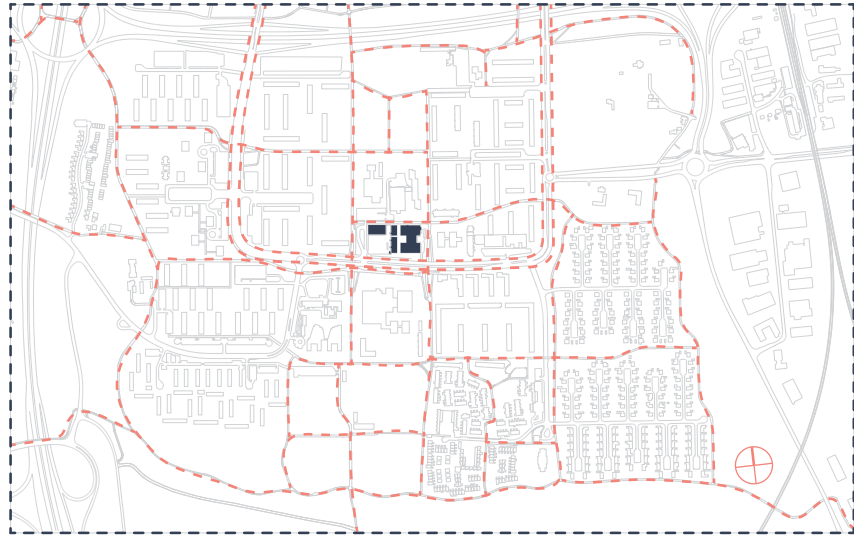
Densification of dwellers
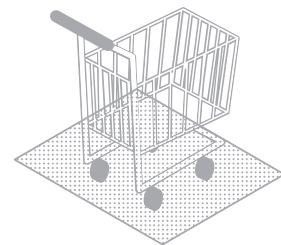
Improve service and retail

More places for meetings,
less for cars

Tram

FOSIE
• Augustenborg
• Nydala
• Söderkulla
• Hermodsdal
• Lindängen

Train

The NHL-path &
Lindängelund

Site

Motor network

Pedestrian and bicycle network

■ Private housing ■ Rental housing

Public farm and pre school | Football pitches | Recreational gardens | School | Barter store | School & Activity house | Community house | Outdoor swimming | Fosie church

Infrastructure

The inner ring road cuts Lindängen from the rest of Fosie.

The main road Munkhättegatan by the centre.

A myriad of pedestrian walkways.

Tunnels are seperating modes of transportation.

Recreational activities

Plenty of football pitches south of centre.

Outdoor swimming pool north of the centre.

Plenty of allotment gardens south of the centre.

Educational farm west of the centre.

Built environment

Mobilia

3 km

Emporia

2 km

1 km

Jägersro

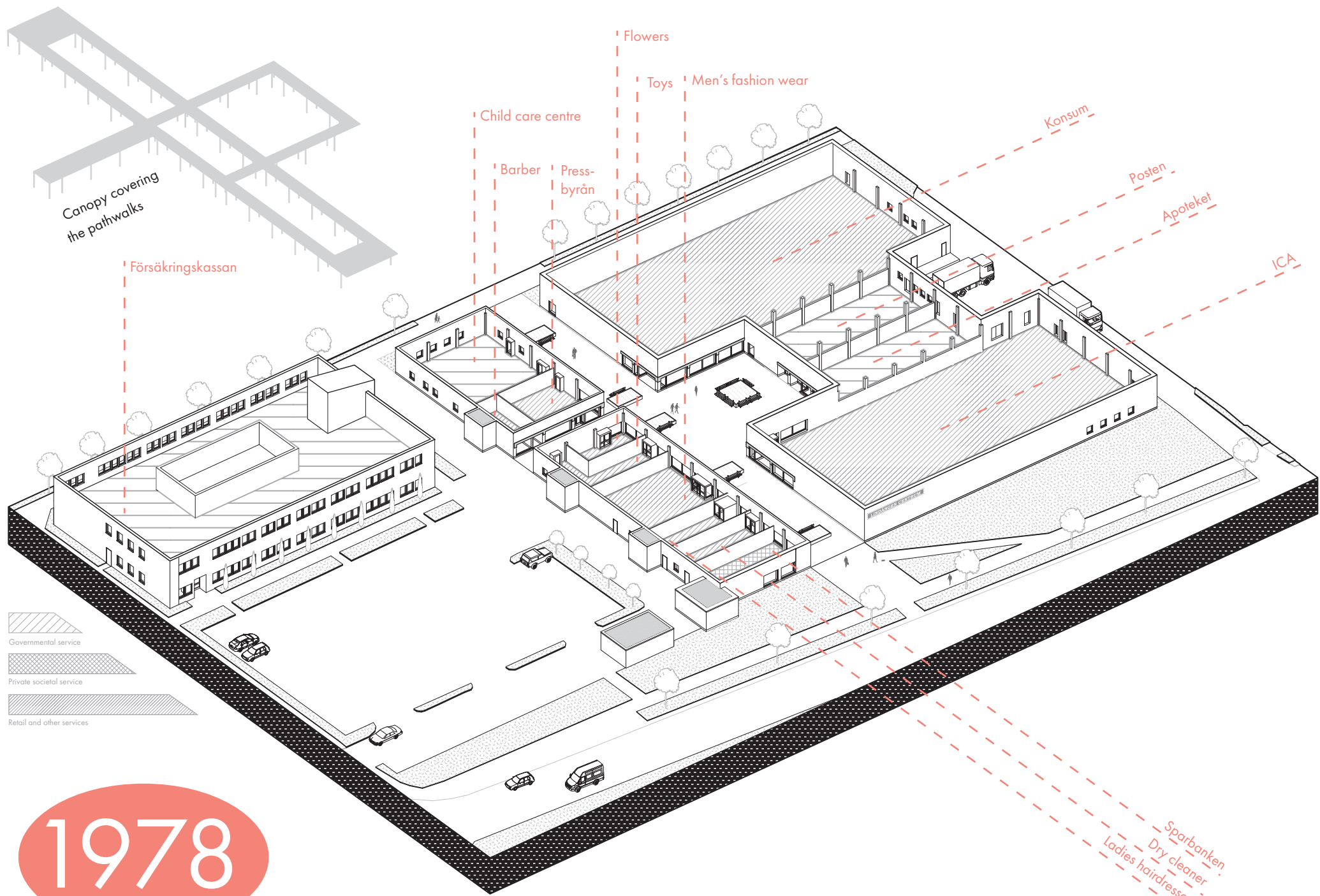Svågertorp

Local retail   Big-box retail

The centre

The following axonometric views of Lindängen centrum are illustrating a rather typical Swedish development regarding neighbourhood centres. From the time of building up until today the centres have gone from nearly full-fledged service centres till increasingly trivial, with retail specialised in the most essential.
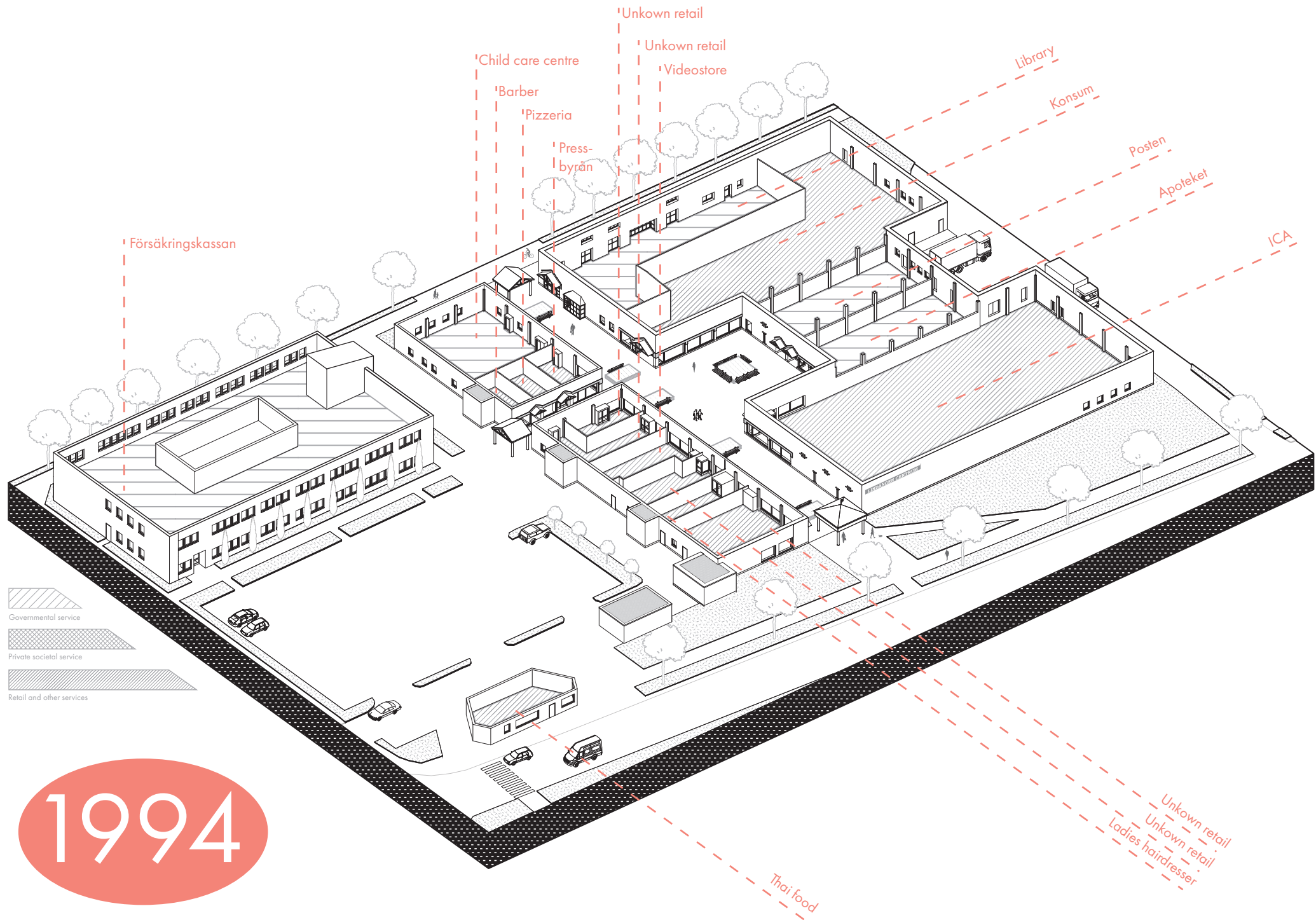
In parallell the centres have also become more specialised in their range of goods, as small stores of ethnic food are increasingly visible. Meanwhile governmental services have moved, along with traditional retailers.
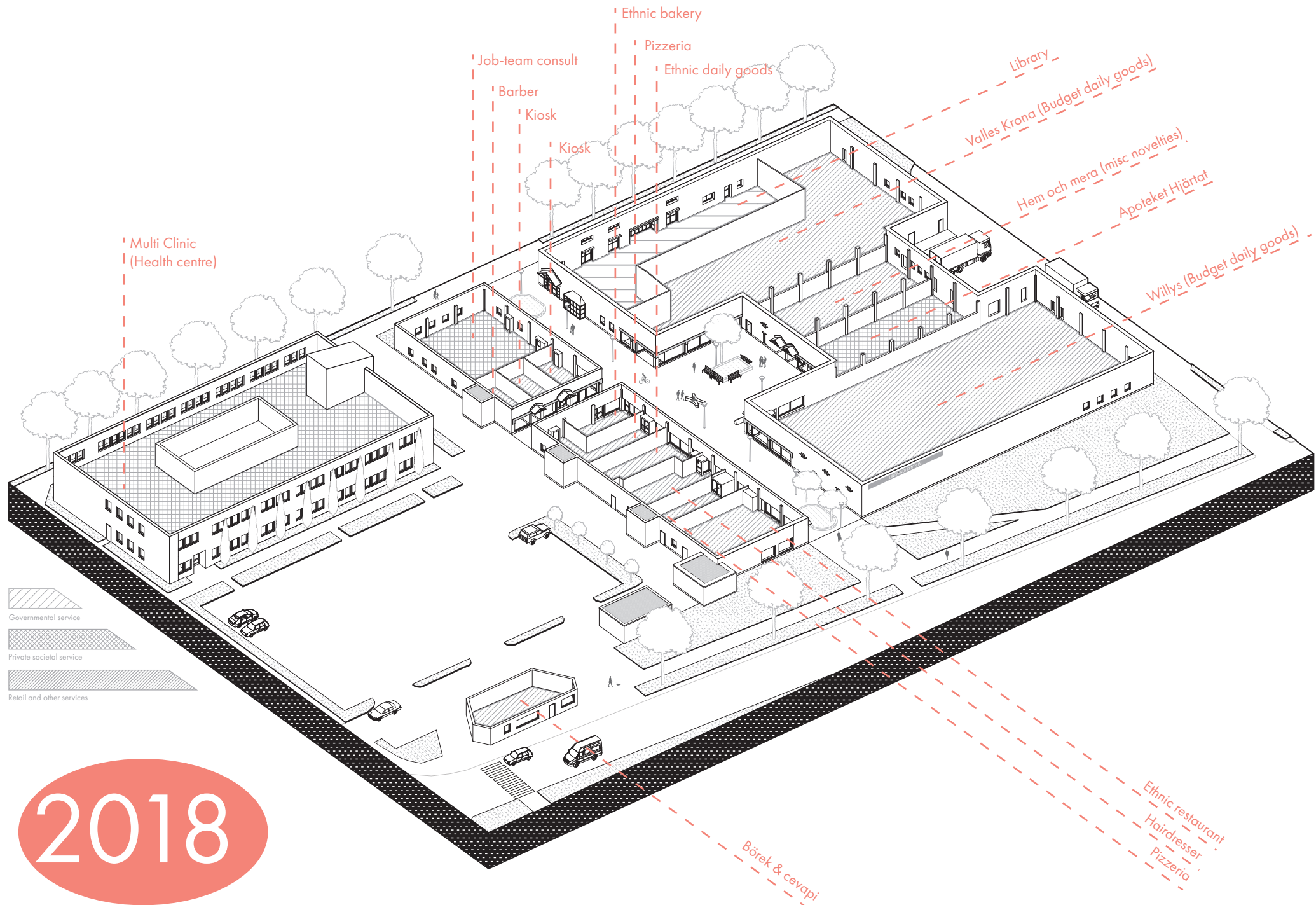
Canopy covering
the pathwalks

Child care centre

Barber Press-
byrån

Flowers

Toys

Men's fashion wear

Konsum

Posten

Apoteket

ICA

Governmental service

Private societal service

Retail and other services

1970

Sparbanken

Dry cleaner

Ladies hairdresser

Canopy covering
the pathwalks

Flowers

Toys   Men's fashion wear

Child care centre

Konsum

Barber   Press-
byrån

Posten

Apoteket

Försäkringskassan

ICA

Governmental service

Private societal service

Retail and other services

Sparbanken
Dry cleaner
Ladies hairdresser

1978

Försäkringskassan

Child care centre
Barber
Pizzeria
Press-
byrån

Unkown retail
Unkown retail
Videostore

Library
Konsum
Posten
Apoteket
ICA

Governmental service
Private societal service
Retail and other services

1994

Unkown retail
Unkown retail
Ladies hairdresser

Thai food

Multi Clinic
(Health centre)

Job-team consult

Barber

Kiosk

Kiosk

Ethnic bakery

Pizzeria

Ethnic daily goods

Library

Valles Krona (Budget daily goods)

Hem och mera (misc novelties)

Apoteket Hjärtat

Willys (Budget daily goods)

Ethnic restaurant

Hairdresser

Pizzeria

Börek & cevapi

Governmental service

Private societal service

Retail and other services

2018

The development plans

The centre today

Lindgården /Re-turen

Second-hand barter spot and meeting house.

Högaholmsskolan

From pre-school up til year six.

Motetten förskola

Pre-school

New housing

First newly built housing in Lindängen since 1973.

NHL-spine (main path)

Lindängelund vård-boende

Retirement home.

Lindängeskolan/ Activity centre

Pre-school up til year nine. Opens up to the public after school.

50 m

100 m

Reflections over the municipal plans

The municipality is now aiming to rebuild the central part of Lindängen, which will be executed through two detail plans (where DP 5404 already has been approved). The main reason, they claim, is to enable the centre to become a focal and meeting point, which will be done by adding more housing according to the prevailing scheme of the area: park dwellings (hus i park). The municipality is furthermore suggesting to demolish the old centre, in order to give room for more retail and a bigger library/culture house.

These actions are not surprising if you have followed the discourse regarding Lindängen. Spokesmen for the municipality as well as property owners have continuously been coming back to how the centre is badly designed with insufficient contact with the adjoining Munkhättegatan. I argue that they have embraced a discourse of stigmatisation, where it is claimed that the centre is unsafe and hazardous to pass after the sunset; a kind of rhetoric which is not to far from that during the sixties, when another type of "slum" was eradicated. The rhetoric seems to sinisterly correspond with a strategy of not maintaining the centre.

Aside from this rather subtle discussion of semantics, I will now in short go over what I think is problematic with the municipal plan, and thereafter present an alternative where the possible transformation of Lindängen are executed with a more visionary take on retail.

First of all, the shopping centre of today is showing multiple signs of local appropriation. Small scale retailers in Lindängen have put their marks on the centre and the intimate scale and rather linear sequence of moving is giving multiple opportunities for social interaction. By so, in the logic of Sharon Zukin, I argue that the centre is an authentic place which will be lost when demolished.

Spatially the municipal proposal resembles the existing one with a rectangular/linear public space, although widened. By so I ask if you should not provide another type of space if you decide on tearing down the existing. Spatially I also question the sequence that the municipality is providing. Rather than a tightly knitted sequence the spaces are coming out rather random in place and shape; there is for instance a greater potential of tying the NHL-path together with the centre. Lastly, regarding the spatial qualities I am puzzled why an investment such as proposed does not come with greater modifications in the infrastructure. Is it really worth the

hassle of building a new centre but keeping a street width of over forty meters? My final question is about the new library. Why is that kept at its original location, and why not closer to the street and the existing house of activities?

I have sought to work with above presented issues and my strategy is presented more thoroughly on the following pages.

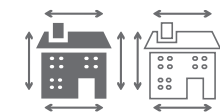## Opinions from the local inhabitants and business owners about the centre of Lindängen

Many feel unsafe around the centre, especially at night.

Many experience the centre as introvert with little contact with the street,

Many complain about the bad state of the centre and the lack of maintanence.

Many appriacte the diversity and small scale of the centre.
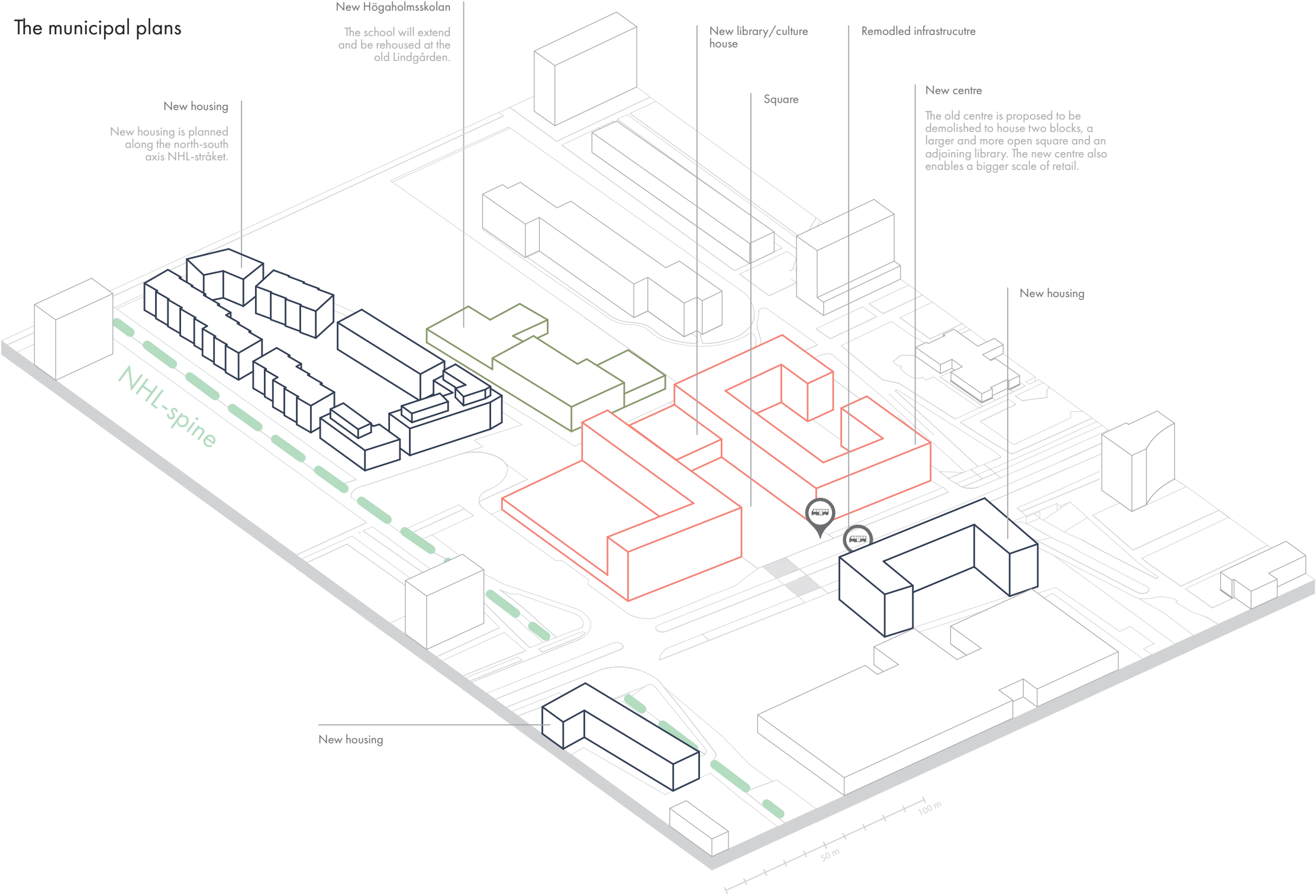
Many complain over increased littering of the centre.

Many business owners report good turnovers.

Many requests places to sit, and places to meet in the centre.

The municipal plans

New Högaholmsskolan

The school will extend and be rehoused at the old Lindgården.

New housing

New housing is planned along the north-south axis NHL-stråket.

New library/culture house

Square

Remodled infrastrucutre

New centre

The old centre is proposed to be demolished to house two blocks, a larger and more open square and an adjoining library. The new centre also enables a bigger scale of retail.

New housing

New housing

NHL-spine

100 m

50 m

My proposal

Please note: building heights and openings should be adjusted and reworked in a later stage.
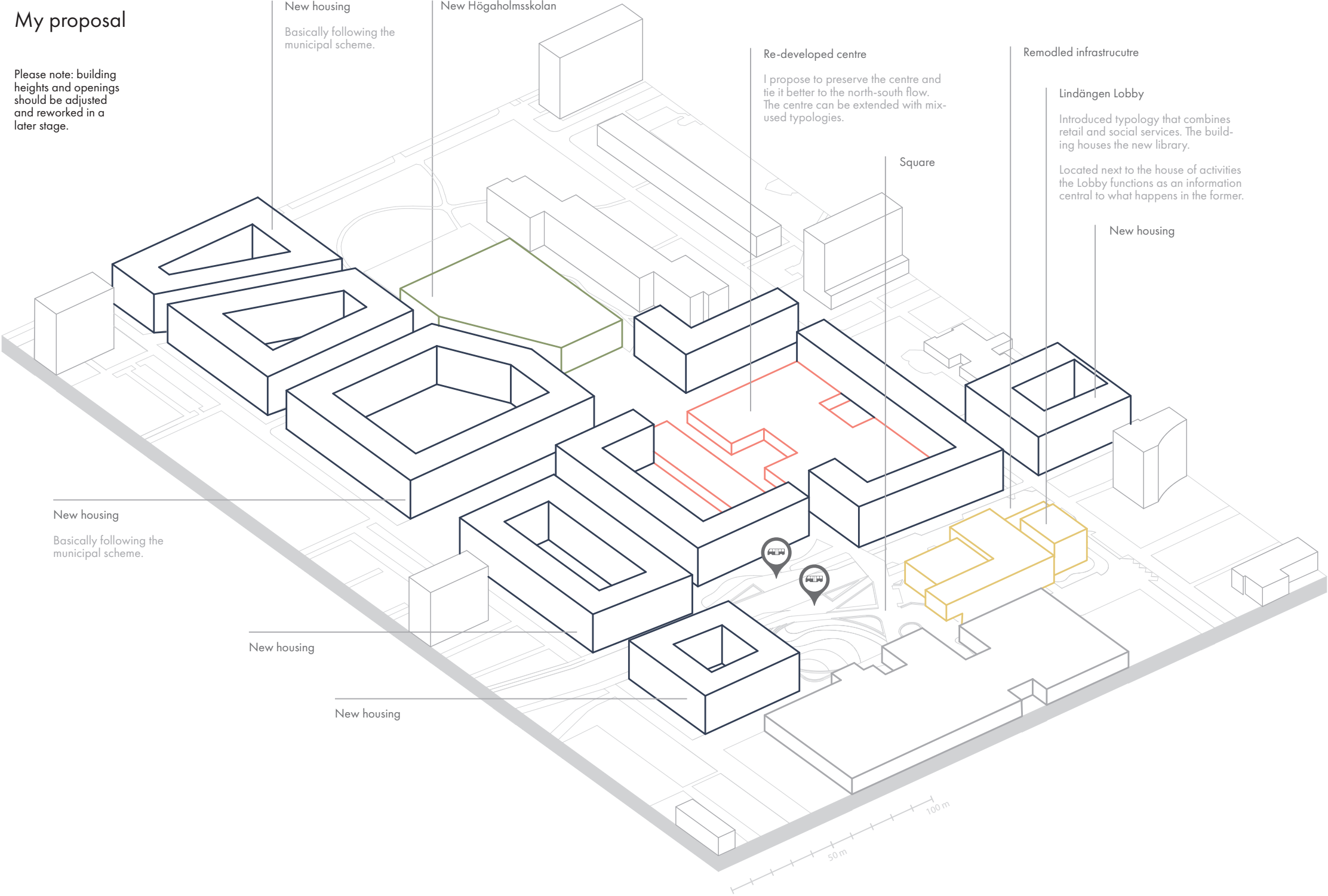
New housing

Basically following the municipal scheme.

New Högaholmsskolan

Re-developed centre

I propose to preserve the centre and tie it better to the north-south flow. The centre can be extended with mix-used typologies.

Square

Remodled infrastrucutre

Lindängen Lobby

Introduced typology that combines retail and social services. The building houses the new library.

Located next to the house of activities the Lobby functions as an information central to what happens in the former.

New housing

New housing

Basically following the municipal scheme.

New housing

New housing

100 m

50 m

Connect and invite
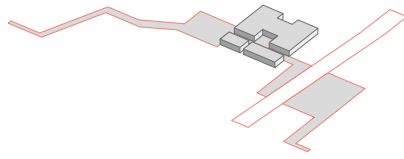
The municipal idea of better connecting the centre with the east-west flow of Munkhättegatan is reasonable. The north-south flow towards the rest of Fosie, is however vague in the municipal plans. I aim to strenghten this by redirecting the flow to pass through the centre, making it into a bazaar row.

Preserve and re-define
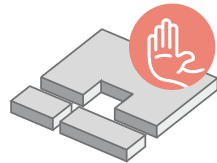
The centre of today is not only a great example of the modernistic architecture, yet it works. The centre is showing multiple signs of local appropriation. Therefore I find it fitting to at large be preserved.

Meanwhile the modernistic idea of sparse, free standing buildings in the green is challanged. The plan proposes a denser spine in-between the areas of freestanding slabs, in order to represent the planning ideologies of today.

Tighten and open up
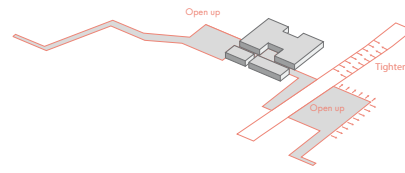
The modernistic cities are not seldom having difficulities in providing spatial sequences and gradients in private and public space. Lindängen is typical in this sense. Hence it is crucial that the main road Munhättegatan is made into an inviting street, and therefore the street is narrowed by the centre in order to efficently make use of space and improve the spatial overview.

Meanwhile the north-south spine encourages curiousty thorugh its twists and turns. It offers public spaces of varieying sizes and usages. By the centre and the future bus stops the spine opens up to a large open space, where bigger events and gatherings can be held.
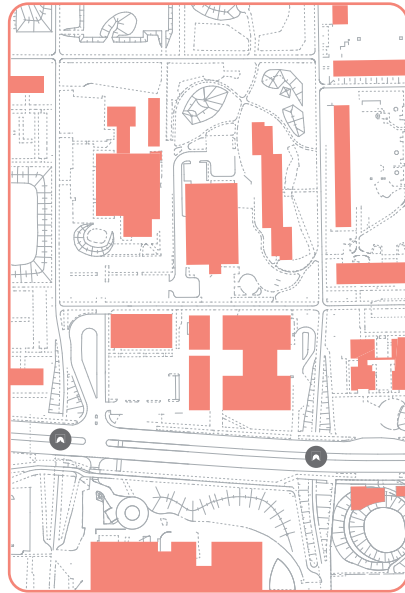
Bigness
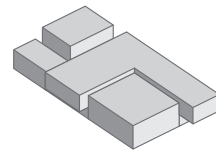
The main generator and anchor of public life is a large, multifunctional structure.
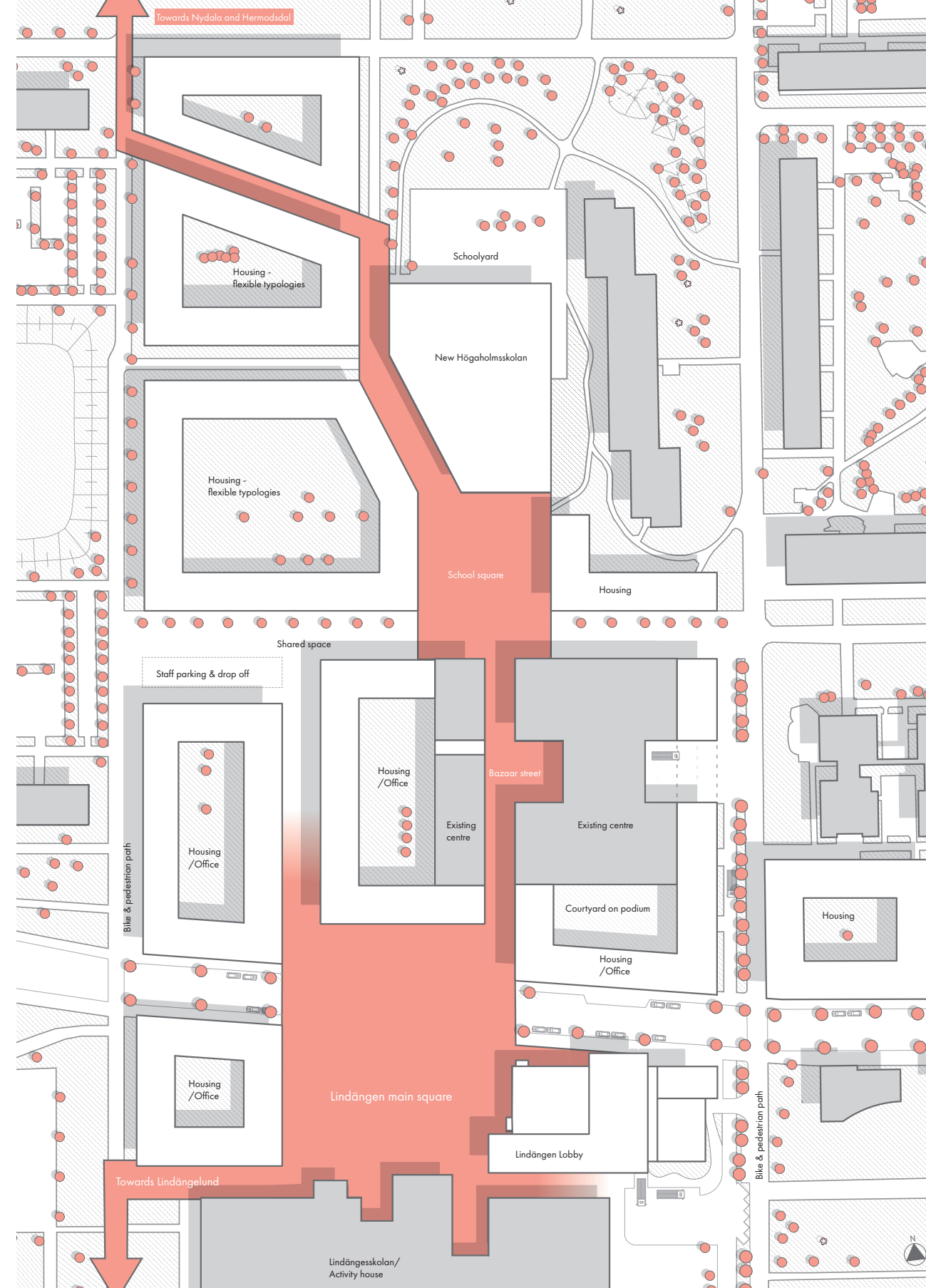
Phasing and scenarios

Today

The area of today is a rather typical ex-ample of a local centre from the sixties and seventies.

The buildings, mainly housing one function, sits with long distances from the main road Munkhättegatan. Street crossing is predominantly done through submerged pedestrian tunnels.
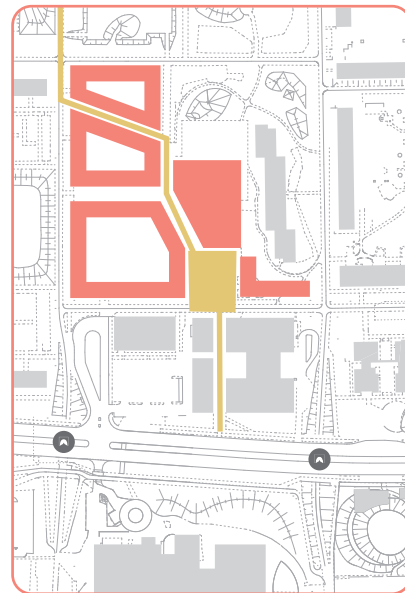
Phase 1

The first phase begins north of the cen-tre. The demolition of Högaholmss-kolan and Lindgården have by the time of writing already begun.

I generally accept this part of the mu-nicipal plan but with modifications. My changes are done to incorporate a stronger spatial sequence between the existing centre and the new develop-ment and phases to come.
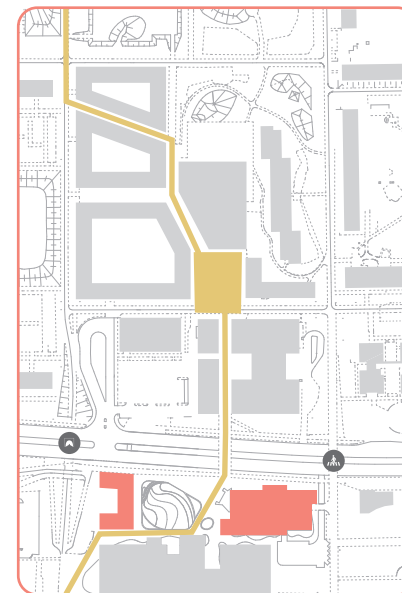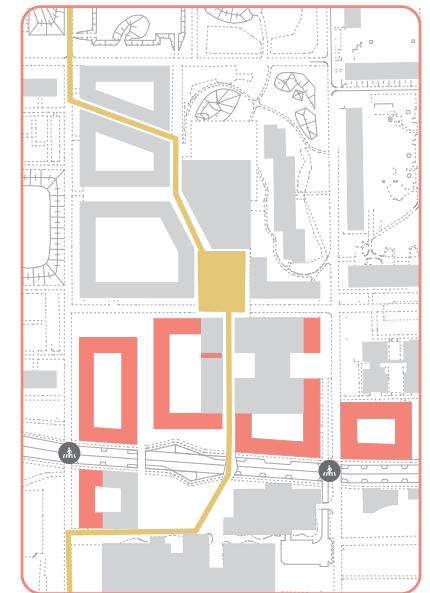
Phase 2

Phase two is the most essential, which enables latter stages. But phase two might also work as the last stop, if the Lobby will not have the anticipated im-pact.

The proposed typology is introduced along with half a block of new dwell-ings. Together these frame a new public space, by the house of activities, con-nected by a continuation of the NHL-path (yellow).

One of the pedestrian tunnels is lifted to ground level, by so it can be evaluated if further such actions should be done.

Phase 3

The final phase is dependent on the suc-cess of the proposed typology building. If the Lobby is able to redirect the con-sumers to do their errands in Lindängen there are greater possibilities for more local retail to be established and survive.

By so a successful typology is also an incentive for the construction of more housing, and a radical transformation Munkhättegatan.

Principles

The NHL-spine is diverted in-between the great vast areas of greenary into a sequence of more urban character fitted for a centre.

Park Urban
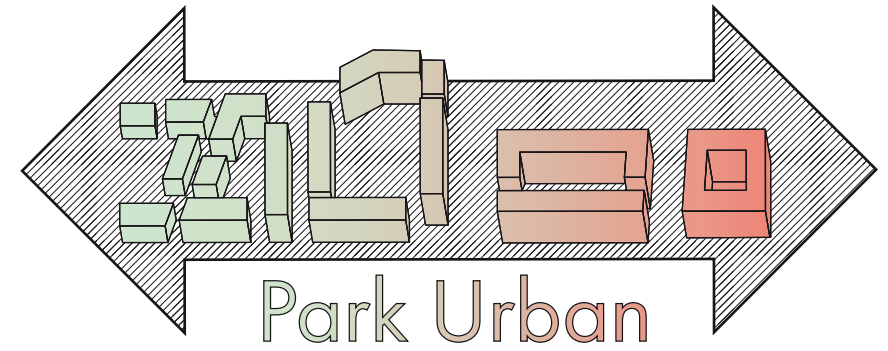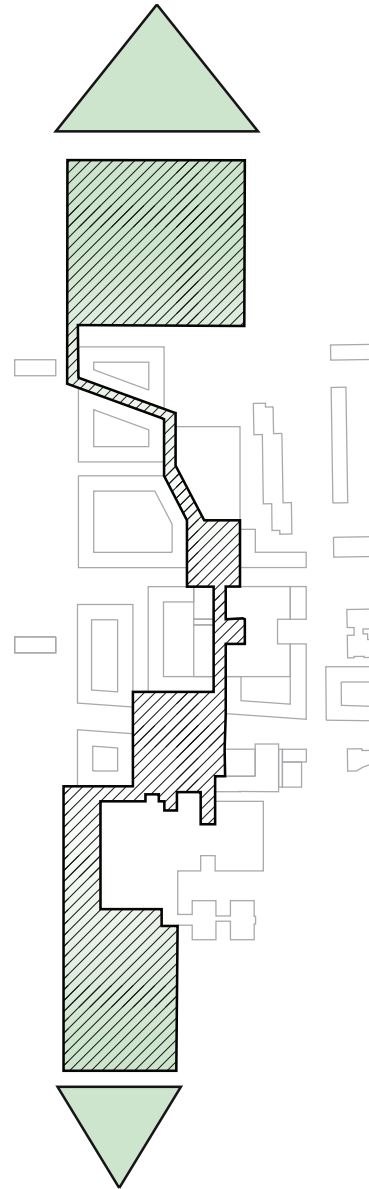
The typologies are proposed to follow the introduced sequence; from more permeable closer to the parks, to more of traditional blocks around the centre.
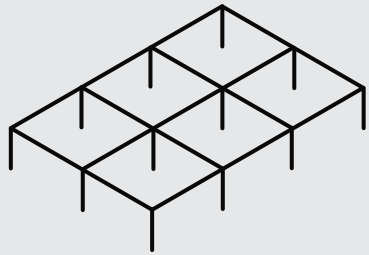
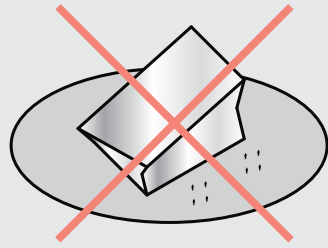# Interventions in context

# The typology

Typology guidelines

Flexible

The structure of the building should provide possibilities for changes in spaces and program. Therefore a scheme of IPE beams and columns are proposed.

Humble

The modernist city does not need more monolithic and stern landmarks. Therefore the building should be humble and inviting in its approach, with a warm and well balanced palette of materials.

Rich in contrasts
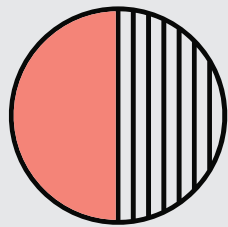
The design must be rich in contrasts, so also the program and the rich number of functions within. Commercial functions and community services are by such blended.

Balanced

No single function should be allowed to dominate the building so that it becomes predominantly a library with e-commerce or vice versa.

Program

Ground floor
–

Indoor square	Tech. eq.	E-com.	Cafe

Retail	Returen	Makerspace	Showroom

Service	Staff

First floor
–

Private rooms	Group rooms	Kids

Indoor square	Reading	Lectures	Studies

Computers	Books	Kitchen	Service

Second floor
–

Flexible	Staff	Service
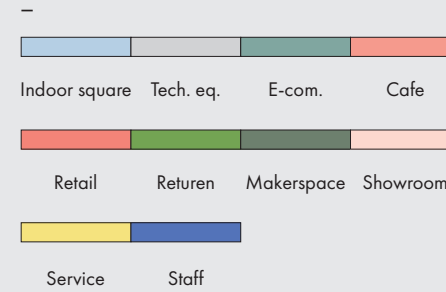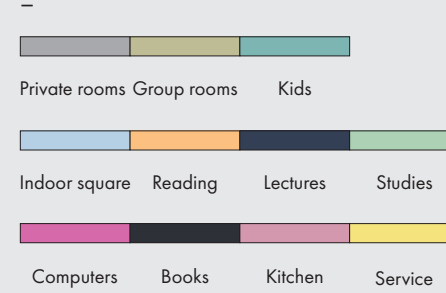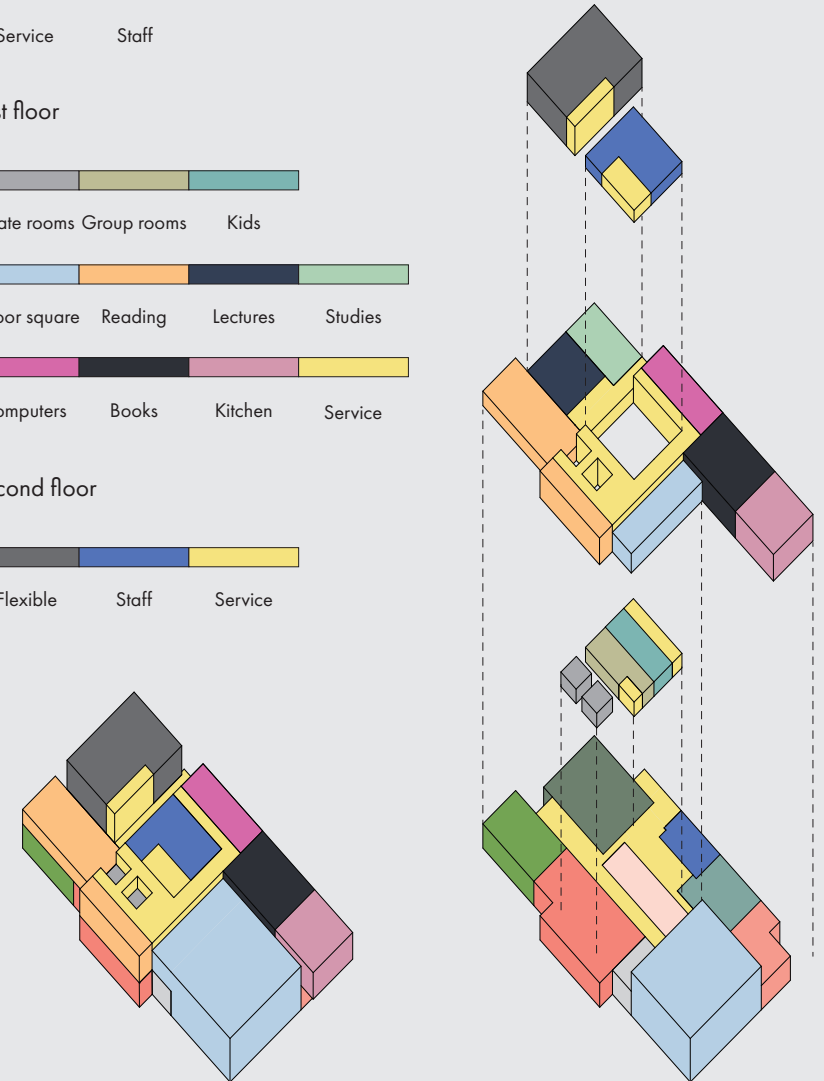
Typology concepts

1
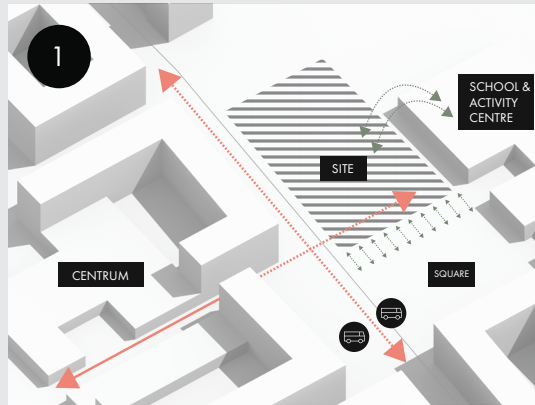
The site is chosen by the intersection of the east–west and north–south flow, and next to the existing activity centre and proposed bus stops. By so the idea is that the building serves as a lobby for both the whole of Lindängen as well as for the existing activity centre.

2
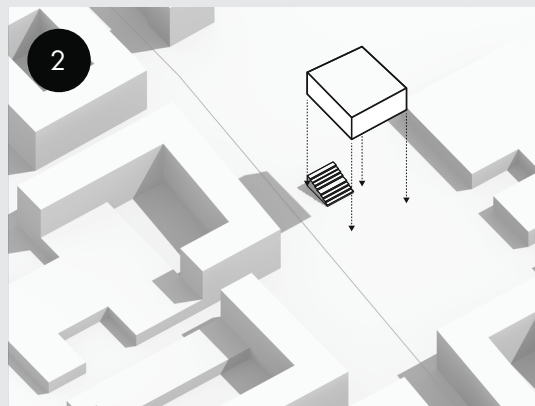
A large open indoor square in established with generous stairs. This is the heart of the building, a space which provides a good overview over the activities going on.

3
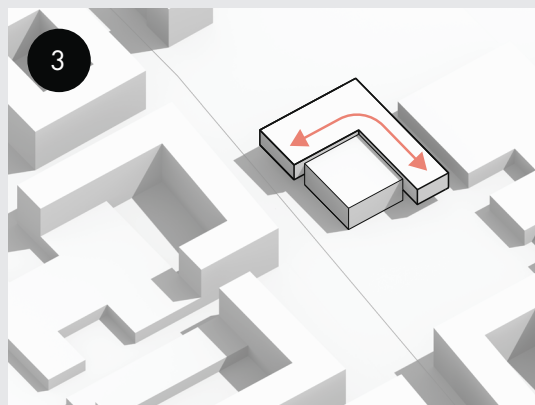
Spaces are laid out to encircle and define the indoor square and accentuate the building towards Munhättegatan and the outdoor square.

4
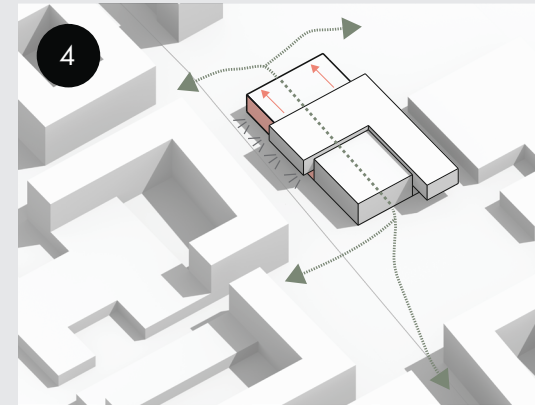
The structure is expanded to activate the street, whilst a secondary indoor path is secured, in order to blend indoor and outdoor spaces.

5

Commercial functions are located on the bottom floor, social services on the floors above.

6

Volumes and materials are adjusted in order to break up the structure.

Mix-used extension of
Lindängen Centrum

Raised courtyard
(Below large scale retail is
proposed)

Proposed
housing/
office.

Bazaar street

Prop
hous
offi

Possibilites for
activities to spill
out

Mix-used extension of
Lindängen Centrum

A-A

New bus stop

Munhättegatan -
narrowed

New bus stop

Parking along the
street

Bicycle parking

Storage

Proposed
housing/
office.

Bicycle parking

Public lectures

Technical
equipment

Retail/
pop-up stores/
offices

Retail/
pop-up stores/
offices

Retail/
pop-up stores/
offices

Returen (Barter store)

Adm.

B-B

B-B

Flexible square/
Extension for the
activity house

Indoor square/
Exhibtions

Showroom

Storage

Help-to-order computers

Machines

Returen worshop/
Makerspace

Playground

E-commerce
collect/
information

Fitting
room
e-com.

Regi-
stration

Bulky
storage
e-com.

Elevator

Dressing room

Café kitchen

Dry food storage

Cold food storage

Staff office

Main-
ten-
ance

Staff kitchen

Loading area

Durable
goods
storage

Garbage

Bicycle parking

Lindängesskolan/
Activity house

Delivery bikes

A-A

Loading

Staff parking

Lindängesskolan/
Activity house

N

0   10m   20m   30m

View of the western entrance from the new square

Ground floor 1:250

Public lectures

Technical equipment

Retail/ pop-up stores/ offices

Retail/ pop-up stores/ offices

Retail/ pop-up stores/ offices

Returen (Barter store)

Storage

Adm.

Indoor square/ Exhibtions

Showroom

Storage

Help-to-order computers

E-commerce collect/ information

Fitting room e-com.

Regi- stration

Bulky storage e-com.

Elevator

Dressing room

Machines

Returen worskhop/ Makerspace

Café kitchen

Dry food storage

Cold food storage

Staff office

Main- ten- ance

Staff kitchen

Durable goods storage

Loading area

Garbage

First floor 1:250

Voyeur seatings

Reading

Reception

Private studies | Private studies

Private studies | Private studies

Private studies | Private studies

Private studies | Private studies

Reading and talking

Flexible group room

Flexible group room

Flexible group room

Storage

Movies and lectures

Children's room

Foldable doors

Elevator

Storage

Public kitchen

Books

Computer lab

Quiet studies

Second floor 1:250

Open to
floor below

Open to
floor below

Storage

Meeting room

Staff
workplace

Quiet
room

Elevator

Quiet
room

Ceiling window

Ceiling window

Flexible room

Ceiling window

Sections

Section A-A

New housing

New housing

New housing

New housing

Library kitchen

Library storage

Reading and relaxing

Computer lab

Children's room

Group room

Quiet studies

Staff kitchen

Showroom

Passage

Retail

Extension of the centre - proposed large scale retail

Munkhättegatan

Section B-B

Proposed housing/office

Proposed extension of Lindängen centrum

Staff kitchen

Stairs

Flexible room

Children's room

Storage

Movies/ lectures

Showroom

Return storage

Return workshop
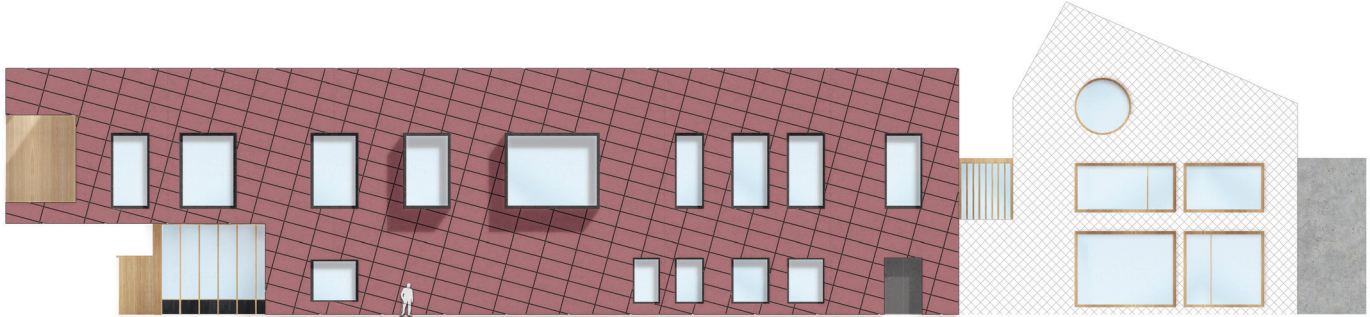
Sun seatings

New activity square

Elevations 1:400

North elevation

West elevation

South elevation

East elevation

Materials

Exterior

Exterior materials are suggested to contrast the rigidity of the exterior volumes. The materials play with the existing colour scheme of the centre, but in materials currently not present.

A shou sugi ban treated (Japanese burnt wood technique) facade of pine is suggested. Wood treated like this becomes increasingly durable and will give the building a unique and organic approach. The vertical pine boards are further contrasting the horizontality of the building.

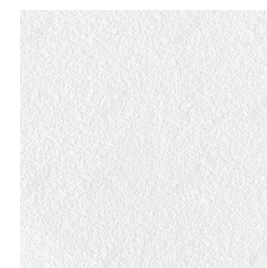The verticality is further emphasized by wall studs in larch. The spans in-between are furthermore giving a horizontal rhythm.
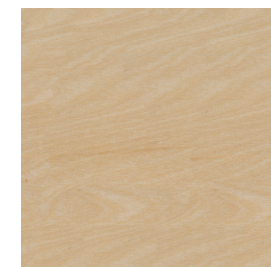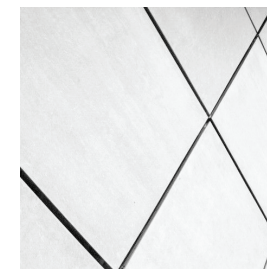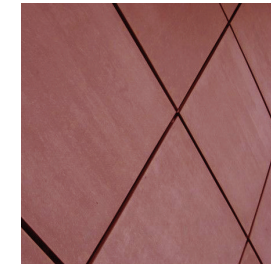
Red and white fibre cement plates are suggested to cover the remaining part of the facade. The library is covered by sheets of 1700x850 mm and are placed in a fifteen degree angle. The pattern they create follows the whole facade around, a cheap and easy way of creating an additional movement in the facade.

Smaller sheets of white fibre cement are suggested to cover the southeastern entrance of the building. These sheets are squares of 500 mm and are placed in forty-five degrees angle.

Interior

Interior materials are suggested to be limited to a few. The main palette consists of the floor slabs of polished concrete, white painted walls with particular surfaces covered by plywood sheets. This palette gives a rather neutral but warm and friendly interior that easily can be further elaborated depending on space and activity.

The interior also embraces the visibility of ongoing activities, and plays with the notion of a shopping mall, by generous glazed walls.
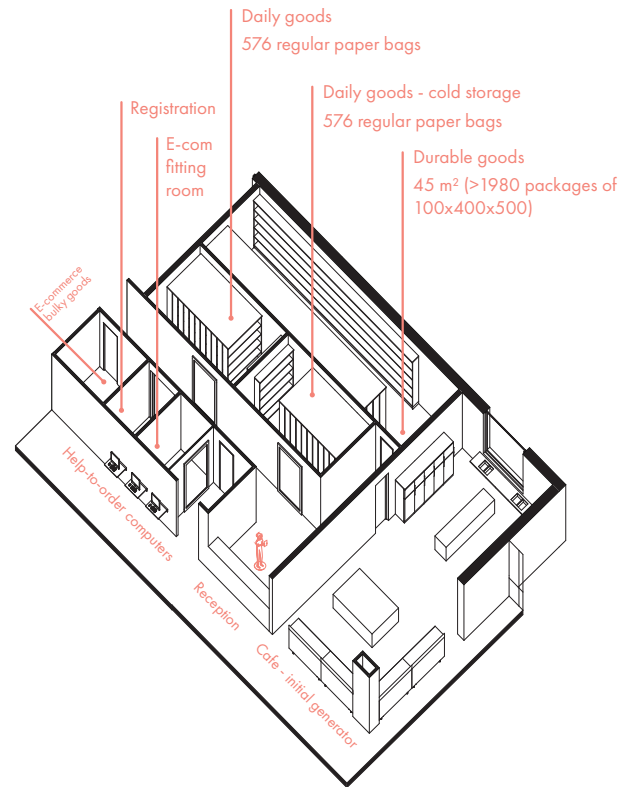
View of the indoor square

View of Returen makerspace

E-commerce station

Daily goods
576 regular paper bags

Registration

E-com fitting room

Daily goods - cold storage
576 regular paper bags

Durable goods
45 m² (>1980 packages of 100x400x500)

E-commerce bulky goods

Help-to-order computers

Reception

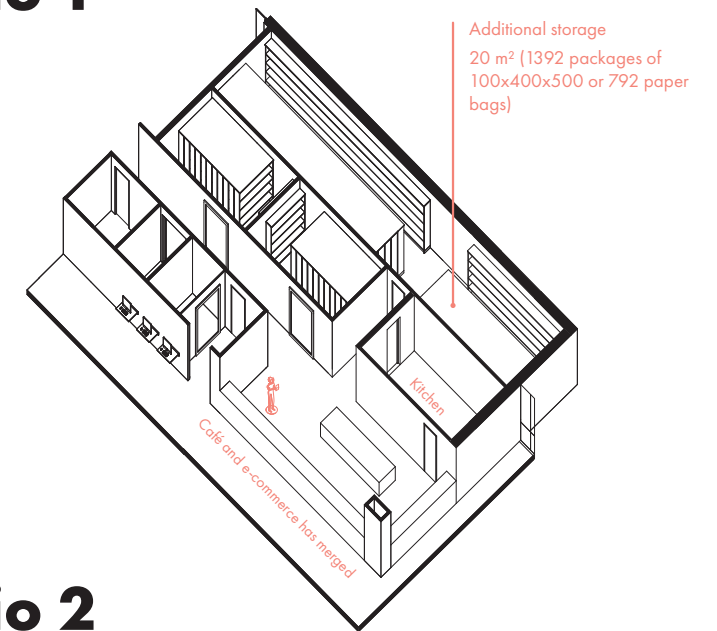Cafe - initial generator

E-commerce now

The station for e-commerce is relying on the idea that if the place where one collect is pleasantly designed and conveniently located one will rather have the goods collected than home-delivered.

The station is in particular orientated towards handling daily goods.

A large café/restaurant is working as an initial generator for people to come and discover the convenience of ordering online.

Future scenario 1

When more people in the area have begun to order their daily goods online the cafe and e-commerce depot merges. By so the cafe decreases in size in order to provide an additional twenty square meters of storage.

Additional storage
20 m² (1392 packages of 100x400x500 or 792 paper bags)

Kitchen

Café and e-commerce has merged

Future scenario 2

In the final stage the cafe is claimed as storage for e-commerce, though by this stage the cafe is not needed anymore as the force of the depot has enabled the profitability of other cafés in the area.

From an economical standpoint the station should be able to expand and expand, but by this stage the depot reaches a critical point in size, as this type of station should not become a great warehouses but instead they need to stay smaller in size, but greater in numbers.

Additional storage
<20 m²
582 paper bags

E-commerce has overtaken the cafe
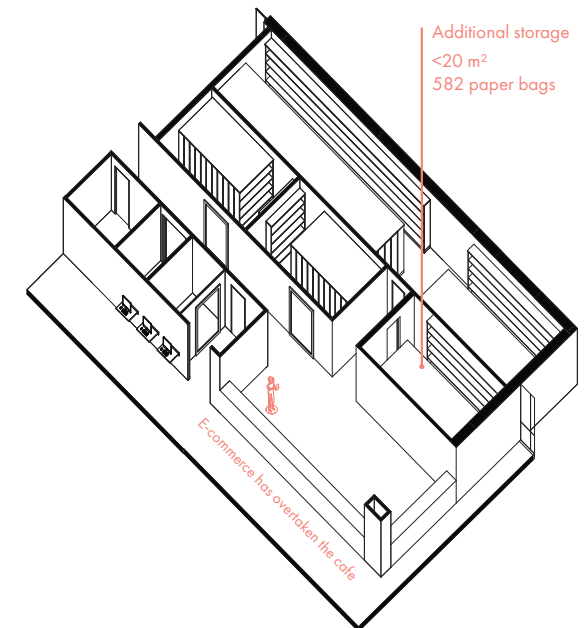
Area calculations

Ground floor

The indoor square 386 m^2

Cafe and kitchen 125 m^2

E-commerce 153 m^2

Makerspace 263 m^2

Retail 307 m^2

Returen 157 m^2

Staff 95 m^2

Other area 375 m^2

**Gross floor area
2075 m^2**

First floor

Computers 126 m^2

Public kitchen 133 m^2

Children's room 81 m^2

Private studies 43 m^2

Group rooms 76 m^2

Quiet studies 127 m^2

Lectures and movies 139 m^2

Reading and talking 279 m^2

Books 189 m^2

Other area 378 m^2

**Gross floor area
1643 m^2**

Second floor

Staff (library) 156 m^2

Other 78 m^2

Flexible room 247 m^2

**Gross floor area
517 m^2**

**Total gross floor area
4234 m^2**

Financiers

Governmental institutions

Role and actions

Gains

Coordinator
Financers
Developer

Better urban spaces
Better local social ties
Local jobs created
Lower emissions

Delivery companies

Creators of an agglomeration
for delivery
Financers

More deliveries
Higher efficiency

Private landlords

Financers

Decreased mobility of tenants
(Possible) increase of rents

The users

We 3D-print our own toys in the makerspace!

We have been part of the planning process and decided on the content of the new library.

As a single mother I save a lot of time and money on ordering my food online.

Before the Lobby I had no idea about all the great activities going on in the house of activities.

I now have a place to meet my friends, and I have gotten to know my neighbours.

I got a job!

After my wife died I had all my dinners alone. But now I order online and cook in the public kitchen.

View of the northern facade and the remodeled Munkhättegatan

Discussion

The following discussion will be focusing on the design proposal and highlight some of the questions that has been raised during this stage of the thesis work. We will also come back to some of the initially stated research questions.

I have throughout this thesis, from the theoretical research to the last pages, been aiming to present a case in which I argue that fragmentation of urban space, social ties and rhythms have led to monofunctional and divided cities, and retail has been an instrumental factor in this process.

This type of urban fragmentation has escalated since the eighties with growing economic specialisation and market-orientated values in the chain of planning. As neoliberal urbanisation along with economic inequalities are peaking, it is not difficult to see how a large majority of the urban population are having an all-access pass to the retailised city, whilst a considerable part, those most vulnerable, are left out.

By so I have focused on making a place for some of the less affluent to shop and make social ties within their designated neighbourhood, even though this type of typology might as well be needed among the suburban villas. My ambition has nevertheless been to present an economically viable solution for how e-commerce can be used when local retail is planned, and in that regard I believe I have succeeded in tying the architecture of a building together with the architecture of a district using e-commerce as a generator.

One can however discuss several fields of my approach. For instance whether an area like Lindängen is in need of more big box-type of architecture, borrowing traits from department stores and malls, or if smaller and more diverse interventions are favourable. This issue relates to the fourth and fifth of my earlier stated research questions. The logic behind why I propose a larger structure derives from the analysis of the case studies and my general understanding of the retail sector; small scale fruit vendors or delicatessens just do not have the strength of altering both the general pattern of consumption as well as bringing life back to the streets in a fragmented neighbourhood. This became especially apparent for me as I analysed

Lindängen and made site visits. I found few dominating flows which in a quick and easy way could be transformed to support retail and urban qualities. Therefore, inspired by the concept of Idea Stores, I saw the potential of bundling a group of functions in one building which could be anchored to one of the few strong nodes. By so the building can act as a step for later and much larger interventions where roads becomes streets and vast open spaces can be densified and reprogrammed - instead of the other way around.

One can also discuss the proposed structure plan in which the central part of Lindängen is proposed to alter character into something that resembles a city grid. The municipality are claiming that they are wanting to densify but still keep the characteristics of the modernist neighbourhood with its slabs in greenery and separated modes of transportation. Hence, one question I have regularly been coming back to is which kind of densification is most suitable. On one hand the modernistic neighbourhood has several flaws in terms of producing "sustainable" lifestyles (as discussed earlier), meanwhile an area like Lindängen bears strong characteristics and holds meaning for many of its residents. From that perspective alternations to big might just produce alienation and further distrust against authorities. This has been a reason why I have been stressing the importance of preserving the majority of the old centre, but fit it into a better working spatial sequence. This sort of reasoning is also why I have been underlying the value of working with phases. It is only if the typology building turns out to have the desired effect I see it viable to continue with larger and more extensive investments.

If one would take this project further one could elaborate more on the depot for e-commerce, and make more accurate and distinctive calculations over various scenarios. My proposal now is resting on rough estimations. Likewise are there great opportunities for interpreting the actual depot space in-terms of omnichanel retailing. One would also be advised to revise the program of the building and together with the local community develop the most suitable scheme. For me the program now has been about finding a balance between exposing potential functions to the inhabitants of the area and having the building working as a lobby for the bigger house of activities just south. There is for instance perhaps no need of facilitating a room equipped with instruments when the music studio in the school/house of activity can be utilised, even though the activity then are becoming less exposed and more private in character.

To conclude, it would be interesting to see this type of typology operating within a network in Fosie or Malmö. Within this network some of the stations could be bigger and some smaller, but together facilitate their own distinctive program, in a similar fashion as the themed playgrounds spread over the city. By so the typologies would both be serving the local inhabitants (in form of e-commerce depots) but also attract visitors from all over the city thanks to its remaining program. Although my ambition with the designed building has been that it might attract the rest of Malmö, this idea has not been fully examined. Such a network is especially interesting as a way to challenge stigmatisation and fragmentation.

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Figure 31 - Diagram. Reference in text. Edited by me.

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