

# The relational construction of a modern suburban landscape

A dialectical understanding of Lomma municipality's  
relation to Malmö and its surroundings



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“ “ *It's a cycle, essentially, what you are doing, so that you have a landscape that keeps repeating, and by that repetition, you start noticing details in the landscape that you wouldn't notice if it only went by once.*

- Terry Riley, *The Drone*, 2016

## **Abstract**

This paper sets out to investigate the construction of the municipality of Lomma in southern Sweden, north of Malmö; Sweden's third-largest and Skåne's largest city. Based on a dialectical and relational understanding of the construction of landscapes, Lomma is analysed in relation to Malmö and to its own surroundings. Through a historical investigation, a gathering of statistical data, and a document analysis regarding identity in the municipality, Lomma is mapped culturally to reveal in what ways the landscape and its inhabitants have benefitted from and related to its surroundings. The findings show that over time, Lomma has transformed itself from an independent industrial working-class municipality into a wealthy, commuting middle-class society depending on Malmö in several ways. This transformation was dependent on the relation to Malmö but did also take place *because* of the short spatial distance between the cities. Lomma used the resources at hand (where the relation to Malmö and its labour market were one of them) which, in a capitalist landscape, has become an obligation. Lomma's relation to Malmö is understood to become even more critical in the future and will probably play an even more significant part for the future construction of Lomma.

## **Keywords:**

Cultural landscape, dialectical landscape, relational landscape, Lomma, Malmö, discourse analysis.

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## Introduction

This dissertation will start with three scenes, three stories from the Scanian landscape. Two of these scenes are taking place right now, in 2020, while one was enacted almost 100 years ago. The first scene is taking place in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city, which for some years now has been depicted in media and politics as the country's most significant problem area, with constant reports of criminality and social problems (see Jönsson, 2019; Pedersen, 2016). Some medial and political forces often explain the problems in Malmö as a result of a failed integration of immigrants and a long historical decline of the city (Josef, 2019; Tegnhamar, 2015). In this situation, several of the smaller municipalities surrounding Malmö are taking their chances to paint a picture of themselves as a safer and better option to live in (Staffanstorps Kommun, 2019). The discussion surrounding Malmö may be described as partly a political discussion and also slightly dramatical, for example, the crime rate in Malmö has declined since 2004 while Stockholm's rate has increased (Malmö Stad, 2019), but non-the less Malmö has several difficulties to solve. For example, Malmö has one of Skåne's lowest mean annual incomes, and segregation together with significant economic disparity within the city as well as the whole of Skåne is apparent (Amcoff, Nedomysl, & Östh, 2015; Regionfakta, 2019:c; Regionfakta, 2019:d).

The second scene is taking place almost 100 years ago, sometime in the twenties. We are now in Lomma, a small industrial town located on Skåne's west coast some 15 kilometres north of Malmö, with a population of approximately 3 000 inhabitants. The buildings are centred around one long road, Strandvägen, which cuts through the landscape just a stone's throw away from the sea (see Figure 1), apart from the industrial area on the other side of Höje stream (Wrede, 2017). On the northern side of the stream is one of Skåne's most renowned factories located, the asbestos factory Lomma Eternit, together with smaller brick factories. For years, the today notorious factory in Lomma produced the asbestos plates which could be seen on façades all over Skåne and Sweden. The factory workers, who dominated the town, were either inhabitant from Lomma or initially immigrating German workers. The industry was an essential



*Figure 1* Lomma sometime in the middle of the 20th century. Strandvägen cuts right through the landscape with settlements on both sides. Taken from: Lomma Museiförening (2019).

part of the culture of Lomma, and its workers formed the culture of the town for a long time. This town was a working-class dominated society which in broad terms could sustain itself through the use of resources in the landscape. The inhabitants were working and living in the area, and the politics were to be dominated by the union movement for a long time (Wetterberg, 2017).

For the third scene, we have to fast-forward 100 years, to 2020, and the landscape of Lomma has become something entirely different. The political right has ruled the politics in the municipality for several decades, the middle-class have moved in, and the industry is gone. Despite the short spatial distance, we are in a completely different landscape than the one in the urban Malmö. In the summertime, the beach fills up with visitors cooling themselves in the waters of Lomma Beach or Bjärred, and where once the asbestos factory stood, there are now sushi restaurants and expensive apartments. Not even the ‘natural’ landscape is left untouched; since the coast has moved several 100 meters east following the extension of Höje stream, Strandvägen does no longer live up to its name (see Figure 2).

How did this come to be? How come that a traditional working-class town, dominated by factories and labourers, could transform itself into something completely different in such a short time? How did Lomma go from a working-class town, to become one of the richest municipalities in the whole of Skåne, while Malmö has one of Skåne’s lowest mean annual incomes; problematic segregation; and obvious large economic disparity within the city? (Amcoff, Nedomysl, & Östh, 2015; Regionfakta, 2019:c; Regionfakta, 2019:d). And – which will be the focus of this thesis – how do these geographical stories relate to each other?

Despite the small geographical distance between Lomma and Malmö, two regions in Sweden cannot be more separated in social and economic terms. They are both located on Skåne’s west coast, with a view of Denmark, and they both border to Burlöv municipality in between them, but somewhere there the similarities stop. Lomma and Malmö are each other’s opposites in terms of economy and culture, but also in the way the rest of Sweden depicts them.



**Figure 2** Lomma harbour 1960 (left) and present (right). The industrial area can be seen on the northern side of the stream, Höje å. Notice how the coastline has moved some distance to the west. Data: Lantmäteriet 2019. Layout: Herman Bernström 2019. 2

## **Purpose and aim**

The purpose of the following research is to analyse the specific relation Lomma has to Malmö, and in that investigate how the nearness to Malmö has affected the development in Lomma. The main interest of the investigation will be how Lomma has had to adjust itself and relate to the fact that Sweden's third-largest city is just around the corner. The aim is to map how Lomma did benefit and still benefits from the relation to Malmö, and what effects this relationship has had on both the social and physical landscape.

## **Research question**

This thesis sets out to create an understanding of how two landscapes like Lomma and Malmö, which are so close to each other in spatial terms, can be so far away from each other in social terms. For that investigation, the cultural and natural landscape will be understood as dialectical and relational in connection to its surrounding landscapes and the flows between them. From that understanding of the landscape, this paper sets out to investigate how Lomma as a social place has been constructed over time and still is being constructed in relation to Malmö. The questions that will guide the research is as follows:

- ❖ Through a dialectical and relational understanding of landscapes, how has Lomma as a cultural landscape been constructed in relation to its physical landscape and in relation to Malmö?
- ❖ In what ways, in the past as well as the present, has and is Lomma benefitting from its relation to Malmö in economic as well as social terms?

By answering these questions, this paper sets out to create an understanding of the significance of the relational aspects in regional development, both economic, social, cultural, and political.

## **Delimitations and geographical levels**

It must be pointed out that the case argued for here is not specific for the relation between Lomma and Malmö, or even Malmö and the rest of Skåne. Regional disparities between larger cities and middle-class suburbs are almost a global phenomenon (see Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Holmqvist, 2015; Mitchell, 2017), and in this dissertation, Lomma plays the role of an example of a region benefitting from another, near, and related larger city. Therefore, the data used in the analysis will be mostly about Lomma and the municipality's relation to Malmö, but data for Skåne in general terms will be used as well.

The study will also have a delimitation in time, although Lomma's entire history is of interest. An understanding of Lomma's more extended history and the background will be needed to analyse the landscape of today, but for the analysis, the period of interest will be spanning from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until today. It was sometime during the sixties and seventies Lomma



took a drastic turn in its development, and it is this change together with its outcome, which is of interest.

It must also be explained at what geographical level the name *Lomma* will be used in this paper, and at what geographical levels the investigation operates. Lomma is the name of both the municipality and the densely populated area around Höje stream, which might amount to some confusion. The paper will try to be as transparent as possible at all times which of the two names and geographical levels are implied, but both are of interest in this thesis since Lomma town is the most important and populated area in the municipality. However, a third geographical level will be of interest, when the old industrial area and harbour in Lomma town is discussed. In all three parts of the material gathering, some interest will be focused on the old industrial area, both because it works as a practical example of landscape transformation and because much of Lomma's development the last decade has been taking place exactly there.

To summarise, this paper sets out to research the dialectical relationship between regions by looking at one of these relationships, that between Lomma and Malmö. The findings will be understood as specific for this relationship but might also lay the foundation for further studies.



*Figure 3 Höje stream (left) and Lomma's factories (right) sometime during the first half of the 20th century. Taken from: Lomma Museiförening (2019).*



*Figure 4 Höje stream (left) and the exclusive beach view street in Lomma 2019, in the same place where the factories in Lomma once stood. Photo: Herman Bernström 2019.*

# How to understand landscapes

## Conceptual framework and earlier research

In cultural geography, as in any research, some terms can be used and interpreted differently. Malpas (2012, p. 232) writes that “[t]he first issue that one encounters in beginning to explore the concept of space, place, or any other concept concerns language” because thinking requires languages. Therefore, a conceptual framework will be presented to explain this paper’s point of view and how the theoretical framework is interpreted.

### *Landscape*

The most crucial concept used in this dissertation is that of the landscape, understood both as cultural and natural. It is the specific physical and to some degree natural landscape of Lomma, and the more abstract social, cultural, and economic landscape of Skåne, that is of interest for the analysis. This part will walk through some of the common uses of the term *landscape*, together with how it is understood in this paper.

It is not possible to separate the physical and the abstract landscape when discussing the cultural landscape, because “landscapes have *both* material and ideological aspects. Landscapes have physical, material form or ‘morphologies’ that are produced through labour and other lived relationships” (Morin, 2009, p. 287). When describing his ‘fields of care’, Tuan (1996, p. 451) writes that “[h]uman relationships require material objects for sustenance and deepening”, and those material objects, in this case, the landscape as it reveals itself to us, becomes both the anchor for cultures and a tool to construct societies. Landscape can then be understood as both a container and at the same time “that which is contained” (Malpas, 2012), or rather, the dialectics between the two.

Sauer (1925) saw the cultural landscape as the outcome of human activities which over time transformed the natural landscape into something cultural, explaining that it is in the physical landscape where everything starts. It is from the natural landscape we gather resources and material, or as Lefebvre (1991 [1974], p. 70) argues; are provided with “use value”. The resources at hand dictate what is possible to do in the first place, because “[n]o boots can be made without leather” (Marx, 2013 [1867], s. 114). Therefore nature, of course, has an enormous effect on how the social landscape takes shape. Nevertheless, as Allen (2004, p. 30) writes, “[r]esources [...] are not the same thing as power and the exercise of power is always already spatial”. Power is taking place in the social landscape, which is constructed in and through the natural landscape. This power can, in turn, change the natural space, as we can see in today’s climate change, which in the next turn, might redraw the political and social landscape.

The most important inspiration for this paper's use of the term *cultural landscape* comes from Mitchell (2003, pp. 240-241), where he explains it as the outcome of both natural and social processes:

The landscape is a concretization or reification of the social relations that go into its making. It is the phenomenal form of the social processes and practices of production, consumption, and exchange, as complex as they may be. [...] The landscape defines what is 'natural' or 'rational' in a given place and in so doing materially affects the surplus value equation in a region.

The cultural landscape is the human culture and social relations realised in the physical landscape, the natural landscape. From this understanding, the landscape of today becomes a window to an understanding of the past and still ongoing cultural processes which have formed and are formed by the society and the individuals living in it. Mitchell continues by describing the landscape as the definition of what is normalised. Based on Mitchell's definition, the landscape is what is rational and normalised; what is accepted in society, and in that it also becomes an answer to what is *not* wanted in the landscape. This view on landscapes resembles how Foucault (1994, p. 237) describes power as:

[...] *the discourse of true and false*, by which I mean the correlative formation of domains and objects and of the verifiable, falsifiable discourses that bear on them; and [...] the effects in the real to which they are linked. [emphasis added]

The discourse of true and false is what dictates in what direction the construction of the landscape is going; what is desired in a landscape, and most importantly, what is *not* desired in the landscape. It is this discourse that will come to define the landscape, but the landscape also forms the discourse. Mitchell (2005, p. 49) writes that an understanding of the landscape:

and the varying meanings that are attached to it, can be had by understanding that the landscape (as form, meaning and representation) actively incorporates the social relations that go into its making. The landscape (in all its senses) is both an outcome and the medium of social relations, both the result of and an input to specific relations of production and reproduction. In our world, those relations are capitalist, of course, and the landscape (again in all its senses) is a commodity.

The landscape is both the process of the culture and the arena in which this process takes place; it is the container *and* at the same time that which is contained (Malpas, 2012). In the capitalist culture, the landscape is both a commodity which can be used and exploited; and at the same time a space for wage labour and investments to *take place*.

## *Commuting*

As the analysis soon will show Lomma is a commuting municipality, and because of that an understanding of commuting and its consequences is needed. Commuting is a common theme in regional research, and this framework will use Håkansson's et al. (2015) article on commuting in Skåne specifically. Rather than just confirming that commuting is increasing in volume (Region Skåne, 2019:a) because of spatially growing labour markets in the region (SS, 2019:c), Håkansson et al. also describe how commuting tends to bring some social consequences.

Håkansson et al. (2015) can show how commuting affects social capital because of how it brings down the social participation in society. They argue that “car commuting [is] associated with lower levels of social participation and general trust” (ibid., p. 749) because of low participation in society, fewer interactions with other humans and higher levels of stress and frustration. However, commuting also tends to mean a higher average income, and thus a municipality with a high share of people commuting out can be understood as having a high average income (Olander et al., 2008).

The most critical part of commuting, in this case, regards those who are not commuting by car, and therefore are reliant on an effective public transportation system. Håkansson et al. (2015, p. 749) write that

[i]f certain types of commuters tend to live together, this could affect individual social participation; it could also thereby influence social capital from a societal perspective. When planning public transportation, it is important to not exclude certain groups, such as people with low socioeconomic status or people with disabilities [...]. *Poor planning can lead to social isolation for these groups.* [emphasis added]

An ineffective or poorly planned public transportation network can act as a barrier for those who are dependent on it because they might not get access to certain areas in the landscape or society. As Håkansson et al. describe, social isolation can be the outcome of such a public transportation infrastructure, and it is based on this understanding the public transportation and commuting in Lomma will be analysed.

## **Theoretical framework**

The conceptual framework tried to explain specific concepts and specific research on some of the themes of interest for this thesis. The next part will go through some of the broader theory used to explain the point of view of this dissertation, which later findings are argued for and understood through. Based on this theory, findings in the landscape will be interpreted and analysed.

Mitchell starts his “new axioms for reading the landscape” by establishing that “[t]he landscape is produced; it is actively made” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 34), in which he describes a new way to see and read the landscape. He argues that the cultural landscape is the production of the collective will

over time. What is of importance in this realisation of the will are the relations in the production, who is doing what in the production and who is dictating the voice of the will.

Moreover, in the modern landscape, “[w]hat is possible and what is not – literally what can be produced in the landscape – is a function of what is produced elsewhere to be sold for profit” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 34). It is the ideas of capitalism that control the direction of the production of the landscape, and it is within those ideas that the modern landscape becomes a commodity for possession which can be controlled by individuals (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Mitchell, 2005). However, it is also a question of relations in and between landscapes. What can be produced is a matter of what is ready at hand to use (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), but also, as Mitchell argues, what is being produced elsewhere.

The critical questions in research revolving the construction of landscape should be *who* is constructing; *how* the construction is taking place; and *why*? The following chapter will try to give an understanding of the common answers to these questions, but also try to come up with an understanding of *for whom* the construction is being done. One could argue that for whom the modern landscape is constructed is a question at least as important as who did the constructing, and this interest will guide this theoretical framework.

#### *Dialectical and relational landscapes*

Regional development and exchange of services, goods and capital between landscapes will in this framework be understood in the light of dialectical and relational landscapes interacting with each other. Mitchell (2008, p. 38) writes that “[n]o landscape is local”, and later that “landscape is relational” (Mitchell, 2017, p. 286), explaining the need to understand landscapes collectively rather than singularly. Based on this understanding, it is not possible to understand a landscape based only on the specific landscape itself. A landscape is not an island in the social sea. Instead, landscapes are interconnected and intertwined in a vast network where “everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things” (Tobler, 1970). Lefebvre touches on this matter when he describes social spaces as “not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], p. 83). The thought of the dialectical landscape emerges partly from Mitchell (2017) who writes that without the white middle-class suburban Moraga in California (his hometown), there is no poor<sup>1</sup> lower-class Oakland and vice versa. We cannot ‘read a landscape’ without the understanding of its surroundings.

Mitchell describes this relationality as:

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<sup>1</sup> Poor in contrast to Moraga, wealth is always relative.

rooted in dialectics, which [...] is a philosophy of internal relations. What an object *is* is a function of the social relations and processes that go into its making. But landscape is not only its internal relations. Its shape and structure or morphology also matter. In this sense, I follow Harvey's more general argument about space—that it is at once 'absolute' (an object or thing), 'relative' (related to other objects or things across space) and relational (in the sense just described). (Mitchell, 2017, p. 288)

The relation *between* two different landscapes, and the relation *within* a landscape's absolute, relative, and relational levels (Harvey, 2011), are what constructs it over time. The outcome of the processes in a landscape is dependent on the resources available in the specific landscape, which is a matter of physicality; how these resources are valued, which is culturally decided; and what resources are available in other near, related landscapes. This is also the process which defines landscapes and draws borders on the map, which creates a dialectical relationship in space and time where two or more landscapes are dependent on each other in the construction of themselves.

From the use of the dialectical and relational landscape theory, this research will approach Lomma as related to Skåne in broad terms and Malmö in particular, but moreover that this relation is dictating several essential aspects of the social production of Lomma. Statistics will be compared to Malmö, and it is in relation to Malmö Lomma's history will be understood. Economic and cultural services and flows will be connected to Malmö, and observations will be seen in the light that Malmö is only some 15 kilometres away. Through the dialectical lens, Lomma will be understood by its relation to Malmö, or rather, Lomma will be understood *as* its relation to Malmö.

#### *Construction of landscape and identity*

Space and time, landscapes, even naturalness, are social constructions dependent on context and interpretation (Harvey, 1996). To define a group is to exclude everyone outside, and the same goes with landscapes. However, social construction is not a product of imagination or a lie for which we all have fallen. Harvey (*ibid.* p. 210) explains that “[s]ocial constructions of space and time are not wrought out of thin air, but shaped out of the various forms of space and time which human beings encounter in their struggle for material survival” and that “[s]ocial constructions of space and time operate with the full force of objective facts to which all individuals and institutions necessarily respond” (*ibid.*, p. 211). The cultural landscape is not a veil wrapped around us, hiding the actual world which we can never see. Instead, the socially constructed cultural landscape *is* the truth, forcing us to live our lives in the way the landscape offers.

One crucial part of the construction of the landscape is the parallel, contemporary and dialectical construction of identity. The construction of and relatedness to a cultural landscape becomes the construction of a “sense of place” (Tuan, 1996). Martin (2005, p. 98) writes that “[s]patiality is

widely recognised as a key dimension in the formation of social identities: identities are understood to be generated in relation to specific places, both territorial and social". The construction of identity and culture reflects on the material landscape, because "[p]ersonality itself depends on a minimum of material possessions" (Tuan, 1996, p. 452), and through this possession, the landscape becomes a barrier for those who are not within the culture or does not possess it. Tuan (ibid., p. 454) calls it the "we-they syndrome in the definition of space", which point to show how a group is formed within a place, no matter the geographical level. It can be local, regional, national or even supra-national, e.g. 'we Europeans'. This process is essential in identity-making and is an effective way of creating a group with no other actual common interest than being spatially close. However, what must be of interest in analysing this identity creation is how it affects 'the Others' (Said, 1979), those excluded from the culture and in turn, also the landscape.

By getting a sense of place and a sense of a home, we put ourselves in the landscape and see us through it. We *are* the landscape, the landscape *is* us, or to paraphrase Marx (2006 [1852]) when he described French peasant families in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; landscape cannot represent itself, it must be represented<sup>2</sup>. Mitchell (2003, p. 242) writes that "the *meaning* of the landscape is a function of who has the power to *represent* that landscape". Through representation we *dwell* in the landscape (Heidegger, 1993 [1954]), we possess it, and, as Duncan and Duncan (2001, p. 387) writes, in "capitalist societies [...] identity is linked to possessions". Duncan and Duncan (ibid., pp. 388-389) continue with an argumentation for how "landscape as an aesthetic production acts as a subtle but highly effective mechanism of exclusion", and Mitchell (2005, p. 53) writes that "[l]andscape is one means by which people come to know their 'home'. [...] But the question, of course, is always *which* people landscapes invite in and which people can find no place in them". For this investigation, one question then must be who are welcomed to Lomma, based on who is living there and who is not.

### *Landscape as capital*

When something is constructed, it becomes realised and put in the world to be used and (hopefully) reused. Therefore, the constructed landscape is something to be worked on, something to be used and consciously constructed. However, the landscape is also *where* work takes place; it *is* use-value at the same time as it presents use-value. The use of use-value is what over time constructs the landscape, and can, in turn, create exchange-value, which becomes essential in the relations

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<sup>2</sup> Original quote: "[Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests forms no community, no national bond, and no political organization among them, they do not constitute a class. They are therefore incapable of asserting their class interest in their own name, whether through a parliament or a convention.] They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented." (Marx, 2006 [1852], p. 62)

between capitalist landscapes (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). However, we cannot afford *not* to use this use-value in a capitalist society, just like the labourer “instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labour is incorporated, *must be obliged* to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour power, which exist only in his living self” [emphasis added] (Marx, 2013 [1867], s. 113). Therefore, the landscape must become an investment of both economic and cultural capital, through labour over time at the same time as it returns use-value. Bourdieu (1986, p. 15) writes that “[t]he social world is accumulated history”, an accumulation of labour, lives, and people, which over time creates economic capital as well as social and cultural capital. Through accumulation over time, the social world is constructed through the input from the people inhabiting it, the input of labour and investments. This social world is what defines the landscape (Mitchell, 2008), and therefore the landscape is also a matter of accumulation of capital over time; the landscape *is* capital.

A landscape’s possession of and existence as capital, both social and cultural, is dependent on earlier decisions. For economic capital in the capitalist society, this is a well-known fact; if you save and invest your money, you will have more of it at the end of the day, and investments require returns. However, for cultural and social capital, this is not as accepted, although equally valid:

Because the social conditions of its [cultural and social capital] transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition, e.g., in the matrimonial market and in all the markets in which economic capital is not fully recognized [...]. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 18)

Cultural capital becomes an attribute rather than a possession, and therefore the person or landscape with lots of cultural capital is seen as *better*, not richer (although in some parts of the world they are the same). As Marx (2013 [1867], s. 114) argues;

[n]ature does not produce on the one side owners of money or commodities, and on the other men possessing nothing but their own labour power. This relation has no natural basis, neither is its social basis one that is common to all historical periods. It is clearly the result of a past historical development, the product of many economic revolutions, of the extinction of a whole series of older forms of social production.

Nevertheless, because cultural capital works like any other capital in the sense that value is created through scarcity, a culturally rich place is dependent on a culturally impoverished place, just like Mitchell’s (2017) example with Moraga and Oakland in California. In Bourdieu’s words, “[i]nterest, in the restricted sense it is given in economic theory, cannot be produced without its negative counterpart, disinterestedness” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). The landscape, the capitalist as much as



the social, *is* relational and dialectical. Therefore, to see any landscape's relational position as natural and given is to neglect the historical processes of alienation, accumulation and destruction of capital which are required to become rich in the social landscape.

### *Right to the landscape*

The point of discussing social and cultural landscapes is to map them, not as in the usual sense of mapping natural landscapes on a piece of paper or in a GIS program but mapping the abstract boundaries that form our lives and constrict us from doing certain things. For the physical landscape, it is our physical abilities that form how we can move in it. For the social landscape it is the culture, the landscape itself, that shapes our abilities to move there. As Certeau (2011, p. 97) writes “[t]he act of walking is to the urban what the speech act is to language”, explaining how Foucault's (1994) discourses of truth placed in the social landscape can be analysed through our behaviour in the same landscape. If something is not present in the landscape, it is so because it is not wanted there, and in sophisticated ways averted from that landscape.

Mitchell (2017) continues David Harvey's discussion of *the right to the city* (Harvey, 2013; 1973) by asking “landscape for whom?” (Mitchell 2017, p. 287) and rephrasing it into the ‘right to landscape’. To describe the importance of for whom the city is for, Mitchell (*ibid.*, p. 287) argues that “the right to the city must be the right to the *de-alienating* city”, understood as the right to not be excluded and unopposed from a landscape. This is not only a discussion about minorities being exposed to inequality or the wealthiest one per cent exploiting urban and natural resources for their own good. Instead, it is a much broader problem which “includes nearly all of us” (*ibid.*). Mitchell (2003, p. 242) writes that “[d]istance is achieved through alienation”, and this alienation is what separates people from each other in both spatial and social terms. On the same beat, Allen (2004, p. 31) writes that “it is the ability to draw distant others within close reach or construct the close at hand at a distance which characterises a topology of power relations”, indicating that distance in the landscape is not always possible to measure with a ruler.

The past and the present of a landscape forms powerful dichotomies which control us, not only by restricting us but also by forcing us to accept certain things as normal in the landscape (Mitchell, 2008; 2005). Through this normalisation of certain things, or ‘modes of ordering’ (Mitchell, 2002), we learn to coordinate in the landscape. As Thrift (2009, p. 92) writes, “all of those working on place seems to agree that place consists of particular rhythms of being that confirm and naturalise the existence of certain spaces”. If we want to analyse our culture through the landscape, we should not look at the landscape's characteristics or peculiarities, or even uniqueness. Instead, we must look at what it *does* and *how* it affects our lives (Morin, 2009), by looking at how we live our lives in the landscape.

## How to read landscapes

The methodology for this paper is divided into three parts, where two are regarding the methods, and one is about the data used. The chapter will start with a short presentation of some of Mitchell's (2008) new axioms for reading the landscape, which lays the foundation for the method of reading and interpreting the cultural and natural landscape of Lomma. The second part regards the discursive elements in the analysis since the landscape will be understood as a dialectical discourse. The third part presents the data used and analysed, together with an explanation of the closing document analysis. The chapter ends with a short discussion of weaknesses in the investigation and possible future research.

### Reading landscape as a method

The picture of the social landscape must be based on a deeper understanding of how and why the landscape came to be, but it also “requires fluency in the symbols and languages of social power” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 43). To get an understanding of the abstract landscape, we must *read* it, and interpret it through our subjective mind. To read is to empathise, and through that empathy, an understanding of the landscape is possible. The method of reading the landscape of Lomma will be based on Mitchell's (ibid.) new axioms for reading the landscape, together with Lees' (2004) description of discourse analysis in the urban landscape.

Mitchell (2008, p. 41) writes that “[h]istory does matter” because “everyday history [...] and extraordinary events [...] shape the land, shape the possibilities for the future”, but also that:

[t]he place to begin an analysis of the interrelationship of landscape as form, meaning and representation is with the understanding that any morphology, any patterns, arrangements and looks, any representational act, does not just arise spontaneously in place. (Mitchell, 2005, p. 49)

Just as we cannot analyse the landscape without its surroundings in space, we cannot neglect its surroundings in time. Therefore, the first part of this paper's analysis is a historical background to Lomma as a cultural landscape, taking place within the natural landscape. Tuan (1996, p. 455) writes that “time is needed to create place”, and therefore this *time*, the history of a landscape, is an explanation to this landscape as a cultural place.

The second part of the method is focused on the landscape of today, with a reading of what the landscape of Lomma has been realised into, based on statistics and documents. Current economic and social situations will be analysed through statistics and secondary sources to reveal the relation between Lomma and Malmö. The statistics will be accompanied by the third part, consisting of a document analysis of official documents from Lomma municipality, in search of the construction

of the identity and culture of Lomma. To catch a sense of the identity of a community can be done in several ways: interviews; thematic analysis of symbols; or observations; are all effective ways to reveal an identity. However, a document analysis makes it possible to, in a short time, get a decent picture of how a community looks at itself. Thanks to the documents being written by official sources, they will also shine some light on how political forces have affected the landscape of Lomma, and what is valued politically in a landscape. Since document analysis is a matter of selection of data rather than a collection, it was an effective method for triangulation in this analysis (Bowen, 2009). The point of having both these parts in the research, both past and present, is to show how Lomma was (re-)constructed and into what it was constructed. What is of interest in the data gathering is the change of the landscape, how the culture and the landscape with it have transformed over the years.

### **Discourse analysis of the landscape**

As described earlier, the landscape will in this paper be seen as a discourse, the socially constructed truth that dictates how we can live our lives. Mitchell (2008, p. 43) writes that “[l]andscape is also power in the sense that it quite literally determines what can and cannot be done”. If power is the possibility to make other people do certain things in specific ways (Lukes, 2005), then the landscape understood in this way is the ultimate form of control. To try to reveal this power and how it is constructed is to try to analyse the discourse in which the power operates. Through discourse analysis, we can get an understanding of the use of power and its ways of affecting our lives (Bergström & Ekström, 2018). Lees (2004, p. 104) writes that:

when undertaking discourse analysis, researchers seek to highlight two things; first, the interpretative context, that is the social setting in which the discourse is located; second, the rhetorical organization of the discourse, that is the argumentative schema that organize a text and establish its authority.

Firstly, we need an understanding of the location of the discourse, the landscape and its history. Then we need to observe this landscape from within, how it is argued for and reproduced through symbols and relations. By reading the landscape, it is reframed into something like a text or a book, open for interpretation and subjective opinions, and:

[j]ust as a book (text) is made up of words and sentences arranged in a particular order with meanings that we read, so landscape has elements arranged in a particular order that we can translate into language, grasp meaning and read. (Morin, 2009, pp. 288-289)

If we know the language, the landscape opens itself for us to tell us a story of human culture and history. However, because landscape also is relational, it differs some from the reading of a book.

We cannot read the sole landscape but must add the effect it has on other landscapes as well. The discourse in the landscape of Lomma will be revealed through history and statistics, which will describe the landscape as in what it does to its inhabitants (Morin, 2009).

## **Sources**

The material used in this paper is also divided into three main parts. First comes data used for historical background, followed by statistics regarding Lomma's economic, demographic and social situation in relation to Malmö. The last part consists of three documents analysed through keywords.

### *Historical background and data*

For the historical context of Lomma, several secondary sources have been used to reconstruct the history of the landscape. Lots of historical data come from Lomma municipality as well as the magnificent work on Skåne's history by Gunnar Wetterberg. Some archival material has also been used, mainly from the union movement in Lomma which have printed several historiographies to tell their story. This material was essential to tell the history from the inhabitant's perspective. Some data from Statistics Sweden (SS) has also been used in this part for population numbers.

All this information has been brought together to tell the history of Lomma and the process from a natural landscape to a cultural landscape. It takes off when Lomma was first habituated sometime 11 000 B.C. and continues to the present. This part is essential to understand why things ended up as they did in Lomma and will give some background to the statistical part, as well as to describe the landscape.

### *Economic and relational data*

In the second section of the material gathering, the focus is on the economic and social aspects of the relation between Malmö and Lomma. Several statistical sources have been used to map the relation between Lomma and Malmö of today. Lomma municipality has provided some vital information, and Region Skåne has lots of statistics available which has been valuable for the investigation. Lots of data come from SS, both regarding commuting, financial information and demography.

The gathered statistics were then sorted into four groups; [i] *Lomma's local labour market*, (ii) *Commuting*, (iii) *Housing stock*, and (iv) *Taxes and productivity*. These four groups of statistics reveal in what ways Lomma and Malmö are related to each other on the economic arena as well as how Lomma differ from Malmö when it comes to demography, available workforce, educational level and other social aspects.

### *Documents on identity*

As explained earlier, the identity of Lomma will be analysed through official documents on the matter. The chosen materials for the document analysis are; two local analyses<sup>3</sup> conducted by Lomma municipality, one regarding the whole municipality (Lomma Kommun, 2001) and one regarding the central parts of Lomma (Lomma Kommun, 2003:a); and one comprehensive municipal plan for Lomma municipality (Lomma Kommun, 2011:b). One strength in analysing these three documents is the time span in which they were published, with a decade between the first and the last one. Thanks to that, any change in how Lomma's officials view the landscape will be revealed. The local analyses are used on Lomma municipality's web page to present the area. The last document, the comprehensive municipal plan, is still in use for the planning of the municipality and will be so for another decade.

The document analysis was conducted by searching for the keyword "identity". How the term was used in the documents were qualitatively sorted in different relating themes. The themes were not decided beforehand. Instead, they were constructed during the sorting of the findings. These themes were then qualitatively analysed to reveal how they were used and understood by the authors.

### *Validity and methodological problems*

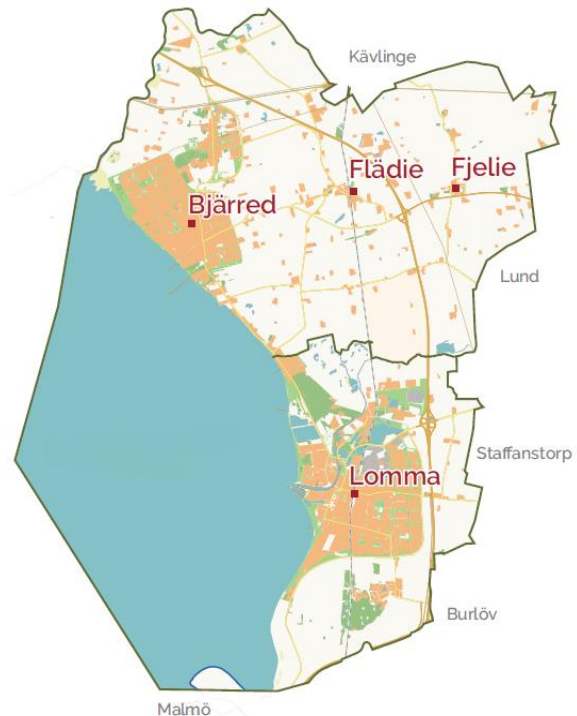
Before discussing the overall results in this paper, a discussion of its weaknesses is in place. Firstly, it is safe to say that this paper has focused solely on Lomma's relation to Malmö and that an investigation of what Malmö has benefitted from Lomma is lacking. However, this was not the focus of this paper. The investigation would have strengthened from a discussion regarding gentrification, but no such data for Lomma were to find. A more in-depth on-sight observation with interviews would have been beneficial as well, but because of the limited time frame that would have been at the expense of other methods used in the investigation. To further strengthen the findings in this dissertation, the same analysis should be applied on other municipalities in Skåne, for comparisons with the case of Lomma and to find differences or similarities with municipalities further away from Malmö.

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<sup>3</sup> A local analysis (swe: 'ortsanalys') is a Norwegian method used to analyse a place and get an understanding of its history and culture. They usually consist of three parts, (i) place analysis, (ii) habitat analysis, and (iii) analysis of surroundings. the Swedish variant of the method was constructed by Boverket in Sweden (Urban Utveckling, 2019).

## Result

The presentation of the results follows the same structure as the material gathering. First comes a historical background to explain the history of Lomma and the change from a small working-class village to a middle-class commuting society. This historical context is vital for the understanding of the construction of Lomma as a social landscape because landscapes must be understood as a palimpsest where the past shines through on the present (Mitchell, 2008). The second part of the analysis revolves around statistics and data of economic and social flows between Lomma and Malmö and acts as a way of showing all the relations taking place between the municipalities. The results will close with the document analysis based on official documents from Lomma municipality. This part sets out to reconstruct and discover how Lomma sees on its own identity and culture.



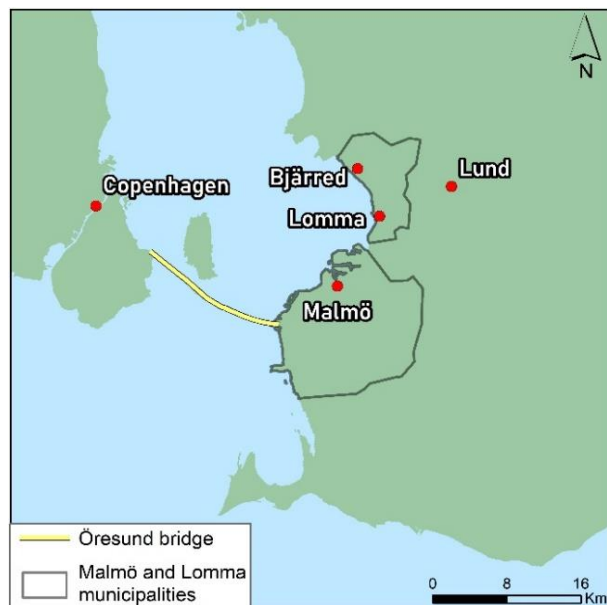
*Figure 5 Lomma municipality.  
Taken from: Lomma Kommun (2019:d).*

### Lomma's historical background

Lomma municipality, located north of Malmö in the Lomma Bay, consists of three main populated areas; Lomma, Bjärred and Flädie. The population of today is around 24 000, in which over half of the people live in Lomma town, the central area of the municipality (Lomma Kommun, 2019:b). Lomma acts as the central hub in the municipality and has also given its name to the whole municipality. The main points of interest for tourists in Lomma municipality of today are the agricultural university SLU located in Alnarp with the beautiful botanical park, the long bridge to the bath and sauna facilities in Bjärred, Fjelle church, Borgeby castle, and, of course, Lomma Beach. While located at sea, Lomma also offers its inhabitants a golf course, an indoor bathing facility, over 100 cultural organisations and several sports facilities (Lomma Kommun, 2018).

The earliest archaeological signs of settlements where Lomma are located derives from sometime between 600-800 A.D. However, Skåne has been populated since 11 500 B.C., and this population was focused around the coast (Lomma Kommun, 2001). It is believed that Lomma at first functioned as a harbour to the estate Uppåkra some seven kilometres inland, which is believed to have been trading with the continent. The fastest way from Uppåkra to the other side of the sea was

through Lomma, and thus the place was an essential node for trade (Dahlin, 1994). When Lund in Skåne and Roskilde in Denmark became bishop seats in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it meant a drastic increase in traffic between the two places, once again passing through Lomma. From then on, Lomma acted as a harbour town to Lund, one of the more important cities in the Danish kingdom. The importance of Lomma seems to have diminished over the years from then until the industrialisation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Wetterberg, 2016).



*Figure 6 Lomma and Malmö municipalities, with Lund and Copenhagen marked out. Data: Lantmäteriet 2019. Layout: Herman Bernström 2019.*

#### *From labour municipality to 'Lomma Beach'*

The modern landscape of Lomma that we have today is far from what once was to be found at the very same place, in physical as well as cultural senses. Thanks to the high availability of clay in the area there had been several attempts of brick production there. Already in 1751, Carl von Linné mentioned the famous clay in Lomma, calling it “the strongest clay there is in Skåne”<sup>4</sup> (Wetterberg, 2017, p. 68). The first serious brick production was founded towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, by Henning Olof von Anckergrip, the person whose name is the reason why Lomma has an anchor in the municipality logo. This brick production was not rather successful until the German entrepreneur Frans Suell, active in several businesses in Skåne, bought it and restored it in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Lomma Kommun, 2001). The fact that a German businessman owned the primary industry in the area was not surprising. The primary workforce in the brick production in Lomma had been dominated by German labour migrants and would continue so until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the local union became stronger (Wetterberg, 2017).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Lomma, the activity was focused on agriculture and fishing together with the continuing brick production. The settlement was centred around Höje stream until the legislative change of farming land by the end of the century which spread out some of the buildings (Lomma Kommun, 2019:c). In 1858 the first modern brick factory was built close to Höje stream by Frans Henrik Kockum. The factory soon became one of Sweden’s most productive factories with steam engines and laid the foundation for the future of the municipality. By 1871, Kockum had changed his mind regarding the production in Lomma and had become interested in cement, much because all the required resources were close at hand with clay in Lomma and limestone in

<sup>4</sup> Own translation

Limhamn south of Malmö. Arguments were raised for locating the new cement factory in Limhamn, but Kockum argued that the infrastructure (the existing brick factory, dry barns, and harbour) was better at Lomma and that it was easier to transport limestone to Lomma than to carry clay to Limhamn. Kockum won, and the new cement factory was located in Lomma (Wetterberg, 2017). Two hundred men worked in the factory by 1875 and produced 40 000 to 50 000 barrels of cement annually. The cement produced in Lomma became a strong trademark, and the export went to both America and Russia, as well as Denmark (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a).

Eventually, Limhamn got their cement factory, which turned out to be more effective than the one in Lomma, and in 1905 the old factory was closed down (Wetterberg, 2017). Already the next year a new factory was built, when Skandinaviska Eternit AB started their asbestos factory in Lomma in 1906. This factory was, together with the old brick factory, which was still in use until 1956, the main economic activity in Lomma for a large part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and engaged a significant part of the population. Houses in Skåne and the whole of Sweden was covered in asbestos plates labelled “Lomma Eternit” and the municipality of Lomma prospered thanks to the industry (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a). The industry in Lomma had a significant effect on the population size, and by 1977 when the asbestos factory closed down (ibid.) the population had grown to 16 319, an increase with almost 14 000 since the turn of the century (SS, 2019:b)

#### *Lomma, a blue-collar municipality*

Ever since the construction of the first cement factory to the closing of the asbestos factory in the seventies, the society in Lomma was draped in new attire; the red coat of the labour movement. The union organisation *Fabrik* writes in their 60-year jubilee text that the construction of the cement factory meant that the society “changed skin in several ways, for instance, the labour movement had started sprouting”<sup>5</sup> (Sjökvist, 1960, p. 3). The first union organisation in Lomma was founded in 1889 in connection to the cement factory. However, this was not appreciated from the industry leaders, and the union was soon destroyed through a lockout, initiated by the ‘cement king’ and factory leader R. F. Berg (Gyllin, 1948, s. 7). When the lockout was cancelled, around 40 persons lost their job at the factory (Sjökvist, 1960). This lockout was, in fact, the first the real lockout in Sweden and was aimed at weakening the labour organisation, and “led to the harassment of some workers but this only resulted in a larger organisation in the labour groups”<sup>6</sup> (Gyllin, 1948, s. 7). In 1898 the union commitment in the area resulted in a community house<sup>7</sup>, inspired by Sweden’s first community house built in Malmö in 1893 (Gyllin, 1948; Lomma Kommun, 2001). This house

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<sup>5</sup> Own translation.

<sup>6</sup> Own translation.

<sup>7</sup> Swe: ‘Folkets hus’.



and the organisation behind it were long-awaited because of the “large working-class population”<sup>8</sup> (Gyllin, 1948, s. 8). More than ten years after the first union, a new union was founded in 1900. This time the union founders had the lockout fresh in memory and therefore, the new union foundation was laid out much more thoroughly. This work bore fruit, and the new union movement became successful in the work for its members, but also in constructing the whole society of Lomma (Sjökvist, 1960).

In 1901, the first step was made in the making of Lomma’s *labour municipality*, the Swedish Social Party’s local form of organisation which represents the party in elections and political decisions (NE, 2019). A few years later in 1903 it was decided that Lomma was to have its first own May 1-demonstration, and at the same meeting Lomma’s labour library was founded (Svensson, 1971, pp. 7-11). The labour and socialist movement became an essential part in the construction of Lomma and its society, and social administration in the area was conducted by people employed at the brick, cement, and asbestos companies until 1938 when municipal accountants were hired (*ibid.*, p. 28).

The year 1919 was important for the whole of Sweden, because of the decision for equal voting rights in the country. From that year until the election for the years 1971-1973, the labour party was in the majority in Lomma. Interestingly, the break from left-orientated political dominance coincided with the closing of the asbestos factory a few years later. As a foreboding for what was about to happen, the labour movement decided in 1964 that the May 1-demonstration in Lomma was cancelled and that the members were invited to travel to Malmö’s demonstration instead (*ibid.*, p. 27). Six years later, in 1970, the community house in Lomma was sold to the municipality, ending a long history of social activity (Wrede, 2017).

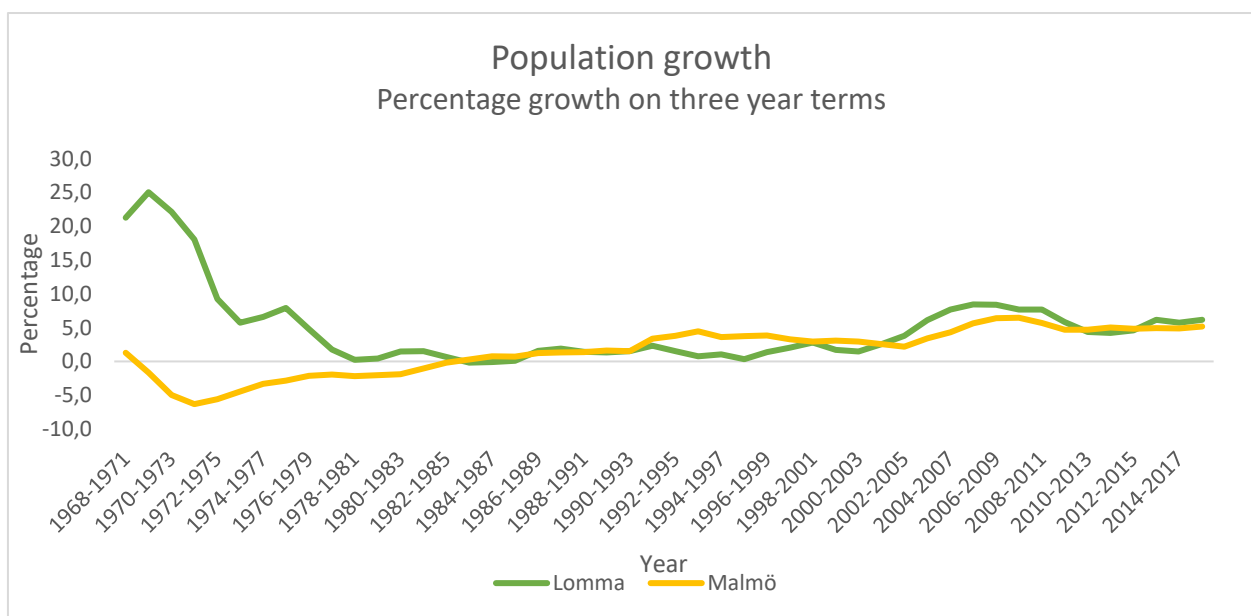
#### *The new middle-class Lomma*

The sixties and seventies meant a turn for Lomma in social and political terms. The local socialist movement weakened, and the transformation from an industrial area to a commuting population began. In the sixties, the Swedish government decided that municipalities in the country were to become less and bigger, which put Lomma at risk of being incorporated in one of the larger surrounding neighbouring municipalities, mainly Lund. However, thanks to the local leader and social democrat Knut Ahlberg, Lomma remained independent and instead got together with Flädie municipality to create their own steering. This meant that Lund municipality never got access to the sea, but more importantly, it means that Lomma to this day can decide over themselves and their economy (Wetterberg, 2017).

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<sup>8</sup> Own translation.

By 1977 the production with asbestos was prohibited in Sweden, and the factory in Lomma had to close. This meant that 265 people lost their jobs, but it was also the most crucial step in the making of Lomma into a middle-class municipality rather than dominated by blue-collar workers, together with the closing of the last brick factory more than a decade earlier. The closing of the factory was however not unique for Lomma since the whole of Skåne was becoming deindustrialised, and a new educated middle-class grew up. These white-collar people preferred smaller houses and villas, rather than the apartment buildings Malmö municipality insisted on constructing. Therefore, the sixties and seventies meant a high migration flow from Malmö to Lomma (see Figure 7), Vellinge and Staffanstorp, where the politicians had realised that they should focus on smaller houses and villas.

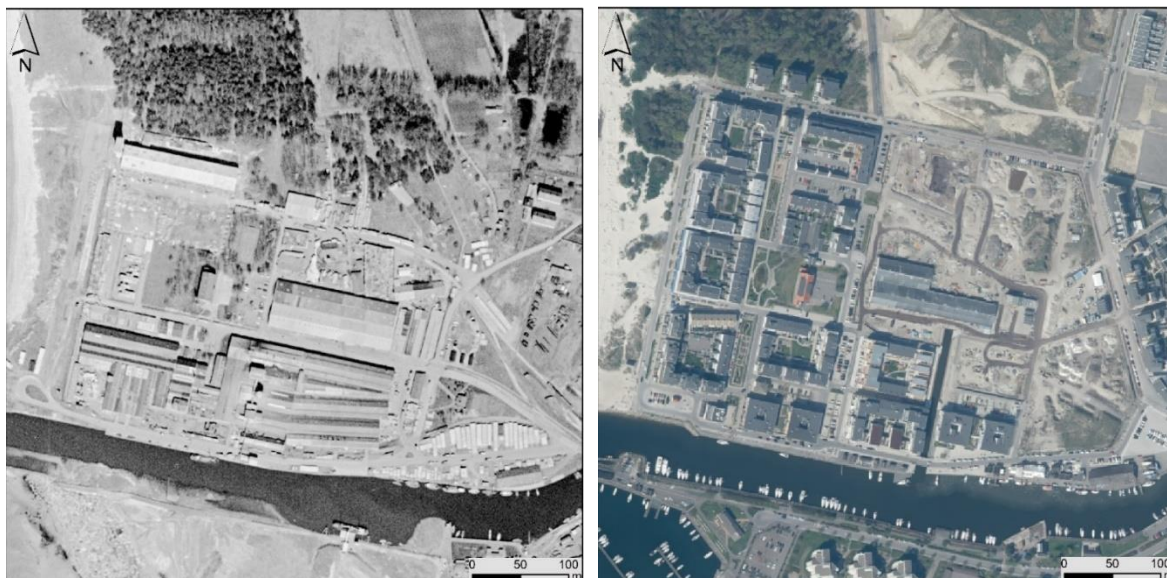


**Figure 7** Population growth in percentage in Lomma and Malmö, 1968-2017. Notice the peak for Lomma in the end of the sixties, much because of a migration flow from Malmö to Lomma. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

A critical part of this transformation was the growing car industry during the sixties and seventies, which resulted in supplying wealthier families with a car. Thanks to this, commuting to Malmö became much more accessible (Lomma Kommun, 2001). In a decade, Malmö had turned a house crisis into an abundance of homes, although rather involuntary. When the richer middle-class moved out of Malmö, the money followed, and Malmö lost a large part of its tax power to the smaller municipalities. (Wetterberg, 2017)

#### *New developments and exploitation*

The sixties and seventies meant a vital turn in Lomma's construction, and the definitive transformation from an industry dominated municipality to a white-collar society dominated by an educated wealthier middle-class. This transformation was not unique for Lomma in any way, but it was perhaps the most obvious example of the middle-classification of a traditionally working-class



*Figure 8 Lomma's old industrial area 1960 (left) and present (right). Compare with Appendix A. Data: Lantmäteriet 2019. Layout: Herman Bernström 2019.*

dominated place. The first crucial political steps to the transformation of Lomma was taken during the seventies, beginning with the prohibition of asbestos production, a decision out of control for those affected in the factory or the whole municipality. However, during the decade a national discussion was taking place regarding the exploitation of old agriculture farming lands for the construction of new homes. Together with a green wave sweeping through the country, this meant an increase of the densifying of societies rather than them expanding outwards, something which should have affected Lomma, surrounded by agricultural fields (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a).

However, Lomma municipality's decision-makers did not turn their interest towards the old industrial area before the nineties. One investigation conducted in 1982 described the area as an “unrealistic alternative for the expansion of Lomma”<sup>9</sup> (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a). The first small step for the exploitation of the industrial area came in 1990 when a new comprehensive municipal plan for Lomma mentioned that a more in-depth investigation of the possibilities of the area was necessary. In 1992, interest was raised from the two construction companies Peab and CA Fastigheter separately regarding the industrial area. The two companies wanted to exploit the area after acquiring ownership of some parts of the industrial harbour, and they opted for a change in the use of it (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a).

In 1998, during the undertaking for the new comprehensive municipal plan, the new ambition for the industrial area was decided. The old commercial port was to be completely shut down at last, while the harbour for leisure boats was to be expanded. The industrial area was decided to be transformed into a residential area with “non-disturbing activities”<sup>10</sup> (Lomma Kommun, 2011:a, p. 34). The exploitation of the area is still ongoing today and will take some more years before it is

<sup>9</sup> Own translation.

<sup>10</sup> Own translation.

finished (see Appendix A), but as figure 8 shows, the physical landscape has already changed a lot. As the statistical part soon will show, the cultural and social landscape changed with it and is no longer dominated by a working-class or socialist movement.

### The economic situation of Lomma in relation to Malmö

In this part, several aspects of the economic and social relationship between Lomma and Malmö will be presented to give an understanding of how the two interact with each other. Hopefully, it will also describe how Lomma benefits from the geographical closeness to Sweden's third-largest city.

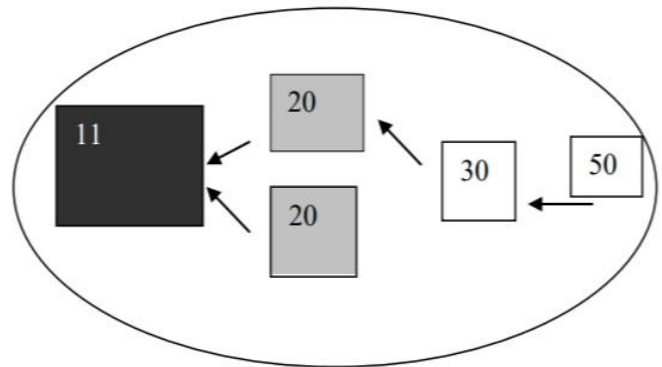


Figure 9 An example of a local labour market. Taken from: SS (2019:d)

#### *Lomma's labour market*

One way to measure flows of people and capital in both the physical and economic landscape is to define and map what is called local labour markets; regions who are relatively independent of the outside world in terms of supply and demand of labour (SS, 2019:d).

A local labour market is used by SS and governmental institutions to map flows of workers between municipalities and to measure the volumes of commuters between cities. The point of defining a local labour market is to get a picture of the critical nodes in the landscape to where people mainly are commuting and working, and from where they are coming. Both the definition of local labour markets and the statistics used in this paper are from SS.

In SS's definition of local labour markets, they use a hierarchical order where municipalities are put in four categories depending on their commuting patterns. The first group is decided by defining the independent municipality, which is the centre in the market to which others are commuting. For a municipality to be established as an independent labour market, it needs to fulfil two requirements; that the share of outgoing commuters from the municipality is less than 20 % of the working force in the municipality, and that the single largest flow of commuters from the local labour market to any other municipality is less than 7,5 %. The municipalities which make up these local labour markets are put in the group labelled '11' (ibid.).

The three other groups in the hierarchy are depending on where their main flow of commuters is going. If the main flow of a municipality is going to a municipality in group 11 (the independent municipality in the labour market) they are put in the group '20'. If the flow is going to a municipality in the group '20', they are placed in the group called '30', and if the main flow is going to a municipality in group 30, they are labelled '50'. In this way, municipalities are put in a flow chain (see figure 9), which shows their place in the hierarchy of commuting. This whole flow chain, from

all municipalities in group 50, up to the municipalities in group 11, creates one local labour market. In Skåne, there are two main local labour markets; Malmö-Lund and Kristianstad-Hässleholm, although Osby in the north of Skåne belongs to the Älmhult market (see Figure 10) (SS, 2019:d).

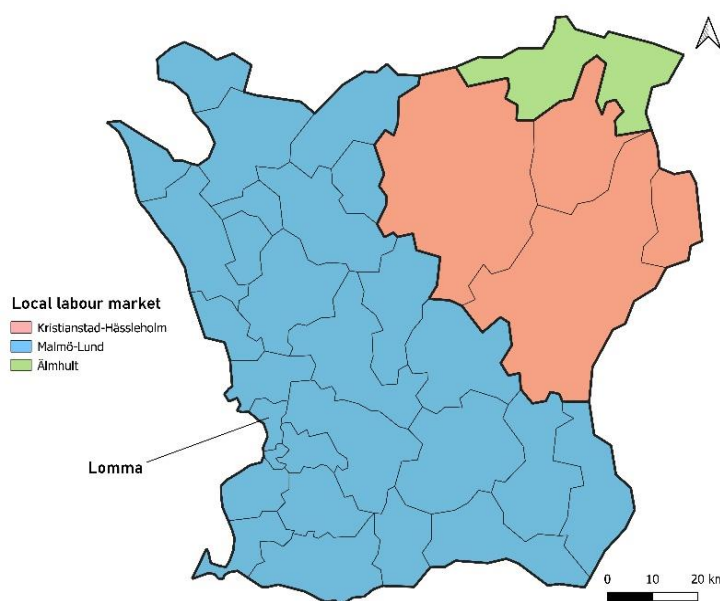


Figure 10 Skåne's local labour markets. Data: SS (2019). Layout: Herman Bernström.

Lomma is part of the Malmö-Lund labour market and is in the group “20” (SS, 2019:c), which means that the main flow of commuters is going to the independent municipality (in this case both Lund and Malmö) in the labour market. We will look closer on the underlying numbers behind this in a moment. What is interesting in this case is that no municipality in the group “30” has its main flow to Lomma. It is important to remember that this statistic shows the *main* flow of commuters between municipalities as in the single largest flow from one municipality to another. However, in the definition of local labour markets, this means that Lomma is the only node in a rather short flow of commuters to Malmö.

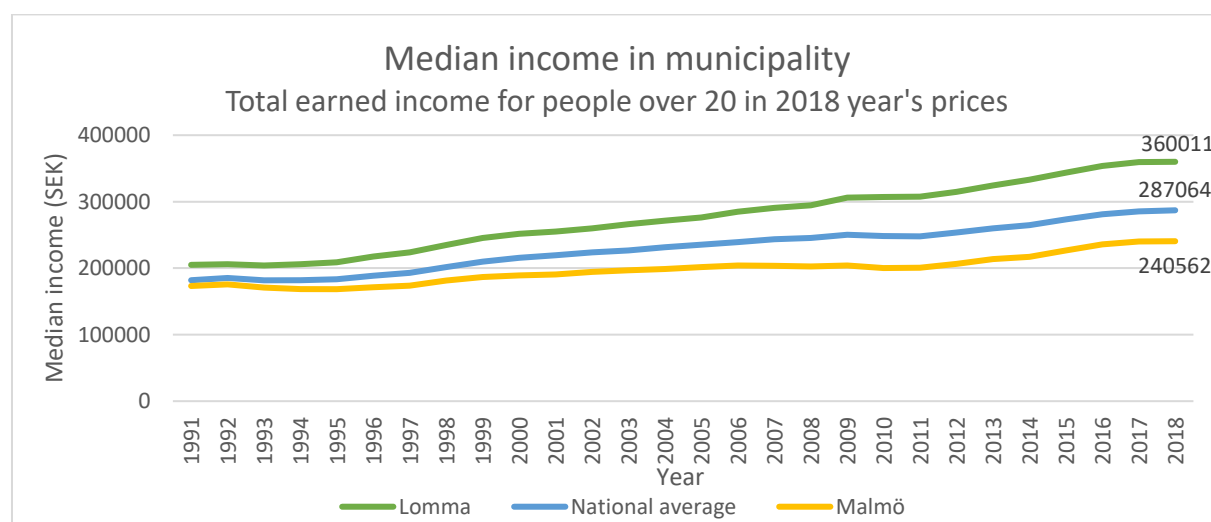


Figure 11 Median income in Lomma, Malmö and Sweden. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

In 2017 the mean annual income in Lomma was 453 500 Swedish kronor, a remarkably high sum almost 50 % higher than the average in Skåne (305 200 kronor per year) and nearly 60 % higher than Malmö (273 400 kronor per year). Lomma has also increased their mean income per year since 2007 with 90 000 kronor, while Malmö has only increased theirs with about 60 000 kronor (Regionfakta, 2019:c). If we instead look at the median income in Lomma, the same pattern

reappears; Lomma’s median income is the third-highest of all municipalities in Sweden, and as Figure 11 shows, it is much higher than Malmö’s (Ekonomifakta, 2019).

As Figure 12 and 13 shows, 49 % of Lomma’s people in the age of 25 to 64 in 2018 had a long university education<sup>11</sup> while the same number for Malmö was only 33 % (SS, 2019:a). Lomma has the third-highest share of people in the age of 25-64 with a long university education in the whole of Sweden. Only the academic Lund and the wealthy Danderyd municipalities have a higher percentage of long educated people, with 53 and 57 per cent respectively. The most common level of education in both Skåne and Sweden is secondary<sup>12</sup> with over 45 % for both regions, while the most common level of education in Lomma by far is long university education. This is a noteworthy difference, and in fact, Lomma municipality has the third-highest share of inhabitants with a long university education in Sweden (although not having an own gymnasium). (Ekonomifakta, 2019)

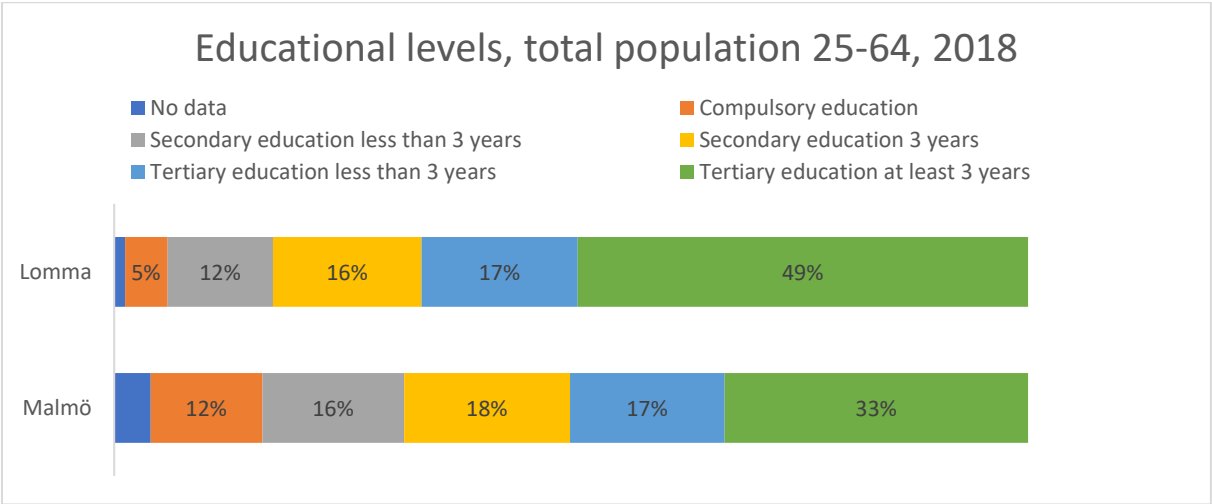


Figure 12 Educational levels in Lomma and Malmö, age groups 25-64, 2018. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

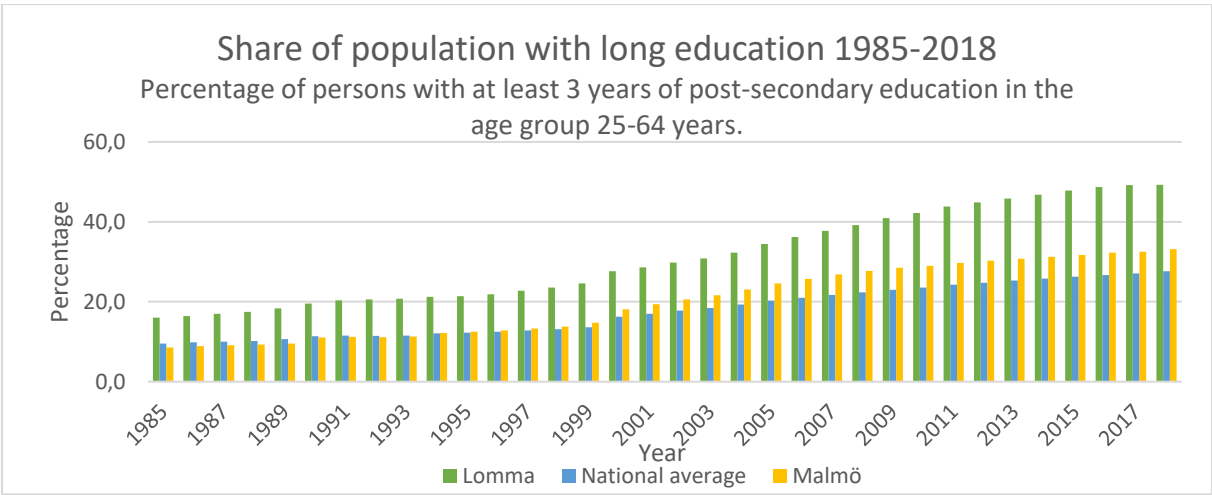


Figure 13 Share of population with a long university education, understood as at least three years, in Lomma, Malmö and Sweden, 1985-2017. Data: Ekonomifakta, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Long’ understood as at least three years.  
<sup>12</sup> Translated from SS’s use of the Swedish word “gymnasial”.

There is also a difference in the educational level for foreign-born inhabitants between Lomma and Malmö. The foreign-born population in Lomma makes up almost 10 %, while every third person in Malmö is born out of Sweden (Regionfakta, 2019:d). As Figure 14 shows, almost half of the foreign-born in Lomma has a long university education, and well over half of the foreign-born population has any form of tertiary education, and just as for the total population, long education is the only level of education in which Lomma exceeds Malmö. The average share of immigrants with tertiary education for the whole of Sweden is around 40 % (SS, 2019:a), which means Lomma is a bit above the average while Malmö is far below.

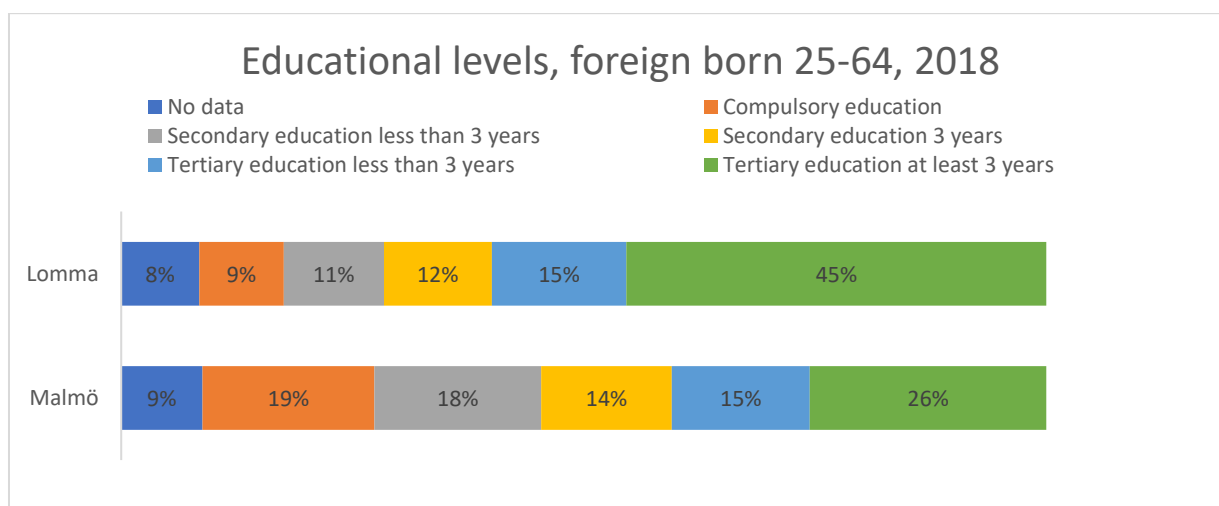


Figure 14 Educational levels for foreign born in Lomma and Malmö, age groups 25-64, 2018. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

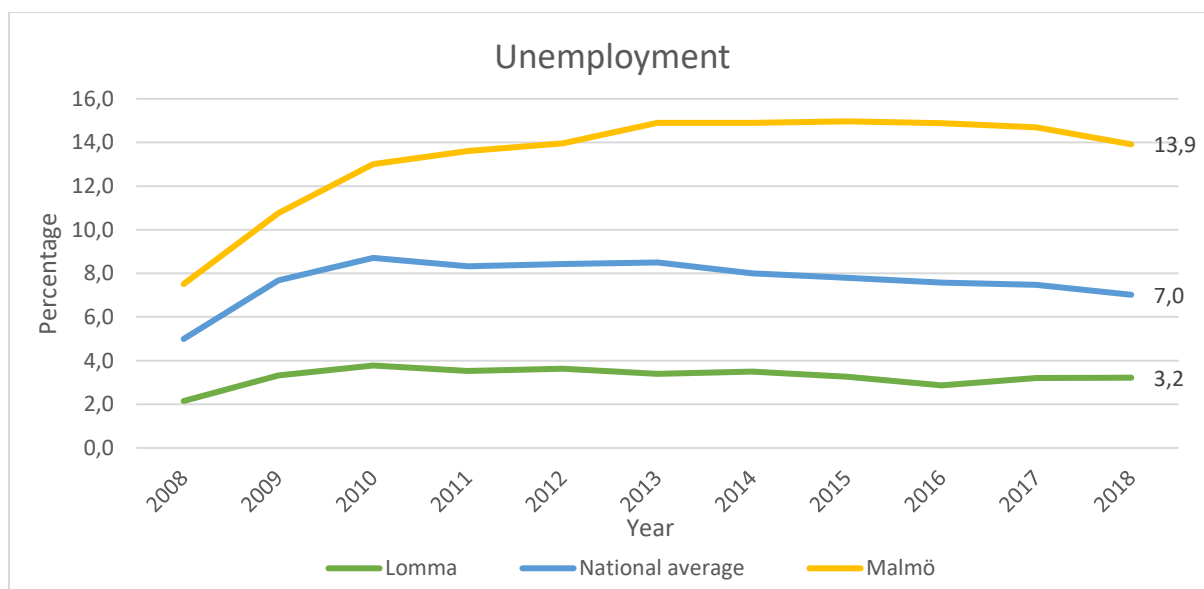


Figure 15 Unemployment in Lomma, Malmö and Sweden, 2008-2018. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

As Figure 15 shows, the unemployment rate in Lomma has been two to three percentage points lower than the national average for at least a decade now. At the same time, Skåne has been on par or about one percentage point above the average (Region Skåne, 2019:a). In 2018 2.1 % was unemployed in the municipality compared to Skåne's 5.1 % (Lomma Kommun, 2019:a). Malmö

however, has been far above the average in both Skåne and Sweden, and the total unemployment in 2018 was twice as high as Skåne's average (Region Skåne, 2019:b).

The actual labour market in Lomma itself consists of about 6 000 jobs, while the working force in the city is a bit above 11 000 people (Lomma Kommun, 2019:a). The most common jobs in Lomma can be found in the sectors of education, health and social care, and commerce, but are dominated by the service sector which makes up for 71 % of the labour market (Lomma Kommun, 2019:b). Considering the history of Lomma, it is rather interesting to note that Lomma of today is the municipality with the lowest share of industrial production jobs in Skåne, with only 5.2 % of the jobs in 2016 (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2016). The largest employers are the municipality itself and the university SLU, followed by several smaller social care companies.

### *Commuting*

The net commuting<sup>13</sup> in Lomma is the lowest in the whole of Skåne, with a mean net of 54 for the last decade. To contrast this number, Malmö had a mean of almost 127 during the same period (see Appendix B) (Regionfakta, 2019:b). This means that the daytime population compared to the night-time population in Lomma is the lowest in the whole of Skåne, which proves that Lomma has the highest share of the working force commuting out of the municipality compared to those commuting into the municipality in Skåne. This correlates with the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions' (SALAR) municipality group classification where they class Lomma as a "Commuter municipality near a big city"<sup>14</sup> (SALAR, 2017). The number of outgoing commuters from Lomma in 2017 was 8 866, more than four-fifths of the total workforce, while the incoming commute flow was 3 758. The two largest destinations for the commuters were, as shown earlier, by far Malmö (3 851) and Lund (2 505), while the most common source of commuters into Lomma came from Malmö (987). This means that Lomma is providing Malmö with a net number of almost 3 000 workers, but considering the educational levels and the available jobs in Lomma, there is probably a difference in the competency levels of the in- and outgoing commuters in Lomma. In total, over 3 700 people commute to Lomma from the rest of Skåne, which, as described in the chapter *Lomma's labour market*, take up more than half of the available jobs in Lomma. (Region Skåne, 2019:a)

Another critical part of the commuting, which might say more of the social differences between Lomma and Malmö than just simple volume numbers is in what way the commuting takes place. Commuting can be done in several ways; by car, train, bus or, in a region like Skåne with

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<sup>13</sup> Calculated by taking the working day population through the working night population times 100. A number above 100 indicates a positive net commuting (more incoming than outgoing commuters) (Regionfakta, 2019:b).

<sup>14</sup> Own translation.



neighbouring cities and warm climate, even by bicycle. However, Lomma does no longer have a train station for passenger traffic, although one is planned for 2020 (Lomma Kommun, 2019:e). As shown earlier, Lomma has a much higher amount of people commuting to Malmö than from Malmö, but there is also a difference in the way these two populations travel. There is no exact data on how people commute to and from work, but Region Skåne conducts travel habit investigations every few years, and in these investigations, we can see that there especially is a difference in how Malmö travels compared to the whole of Skåne (Region Skåne, 2019:c; Region Skåne, 2019:d).

The number of cars per capita is lower in more substantial cities compared to the rest of the country (Trafikanalys, 2015), and this is true also for Malmö. This seems to affect the amount of travel not only within the municipality but also to other places. On average, the population of Lomma travels further than the population in Malmö (70.4 km per person per day compared to 44.8 km), and more often (2.3 times per day compared to Malmö's 2.0) (Region Skåne, 2019:c). This is somewhat expected as Lomma commutes much more than Malmö. However, it is the number of travels by car that makes this interesting. In Lomma in 2018, 60.8 % of *all* journeys were done by car, while the population of Malmö only travelled by car 33.8 % of the time. Lomma has diminished their car travel with ten percentage points since 2013, but still, they use the car almost twice as often<sup>15</sup> as Malmö (ibid.). The population of Lomma travels practically as frequently to Malmö by car as they do *within* Lomma, a fact that shows that the reach and domain (Hägerstrand, 1970) of Lomma goes all the way to Malmö (Region Skåne, 2019:d).

### *Housing stock*

An essential difference between Lomma and Malmö, but also to most of the rest of Skåne, is the quality and size of the homes in the municipality overall and in Lomma town especially. The house prices, but also the dimensions and quality, is an effective way to control who is migrating to the area because different population categories differ in income and family sizes. It is also a way to manage the mean age of the area because younger people cannot afford higher prices while also tending to look for smaller homes.

Today, the average price per square meter for the new apartments built on the same ground where one of Skåne's most renown factories once stood is the second-highest of the whole of Skåne, beaten only by Båstad. The house prices in Lomma are second only to Vellinge, so both apartments and villas are as expensive as it gets in Skåne. Despite this, the number of flats sold in Lomma the last years is third highest in Skåne beaten only by the much larger cities Malmö and

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<sup>15</sup> Often, or more. This is a relative number normalised to the size of the population.

Helsingborg, although Helsingborg is at the same level despite four times as many inhabitants. (Svensk mäklarstatistik, 2019).

The residential stock differs in Lomma compared to both Skåne and Sweden. While the most common tenure in the rest of Sweden is equally divided between renting and ownership (just under 40 % for both), the supreme way of tenure in Lomma is ownership with over 60 % of all the homes in the municipality (Region Skåne, 2019:a). Only around ten per cent of all households in Lomma is rental. Homes in Lomma are generally larger than in Skåne or the rest of Sweden (the most common size for houses in Lomma are 111 to 150 square meters, while median homes in Skåne and Sweden are 51 to 80 square meters). Despite this, homes in Lomma on average are more crowded than in the rest of Skåne, with 2.48 persons per household in Lomma compared to only 2.08 in the rest of Skåne (ibid.). This can however probably be explained with the fact that Lomma has the highest share of the population in the age 0-15 in the whole of Skåne, with one-quarter of the population in that age (Regionfakta, 2019:a). This indicates that Lomma has more families with young children than average in Skåne.

#### *Taxes and productivity*

As described in the historical background, a significant number of Malmö's taxpayers moved to Lomma and other surrounding municipalities in the sixties and seventies, bringing with them a considerable amount of Malmö's earlier tax power. This still affects the economic landscape of Lomma and Malmö, with a significant difference in tax power today. In 2018 the taxing power<sup>16</sup> of Lomma was 126 % of the average of the country (Region Skåne, 2019:a), while Malmö's was 86 % (Region Skåne, 2019:b). Additionally, Lomma's tax power has been increasing compared to the rest of the country over the last two decades, while Malmö's tax power has been decreasing until a few years ago. As Figure 16 shows, the tax income is somewhat higher in Lomma than in Malmö, despite Lomma having a lower tax rate (see Figure 17).

A common way to measure regional productivity is by the regional gross domestic product (RGDP), which is the value of all production of goods and services within a region per person. As Figure 18 shows, Lomma's RGDP is considerably lower than that of the national average in general and that of Malmö, especially (SS, 2019:e). Despite the exceptionally higher income per person in Lomma than that in Malmö, the productivity per person is much lower in the municipality of Lomma. This is coinciding with the fact that more people live in Lomma than the number of people working within the municipality.

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<sup>16</sup> Tax power is determined by the average taxable employment income for each income earner and the percentage of income earners of the population.

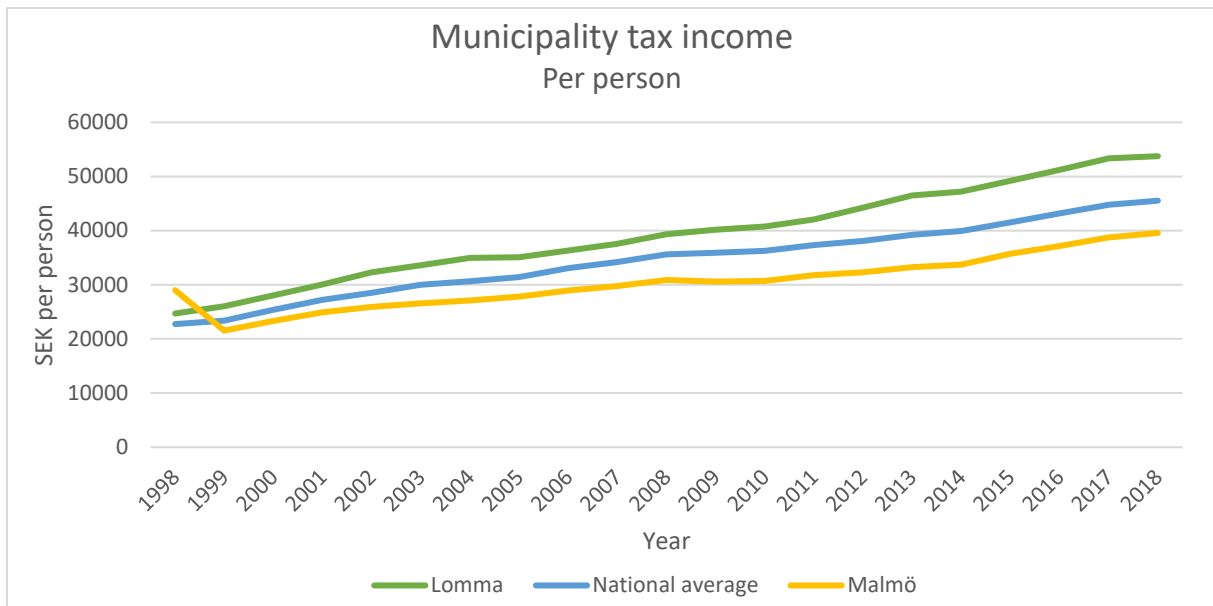


Figure 16 Municipality tax income, Lomma, Malmö and national average, 1998-2018. Data: Ekonomifakta (2019).

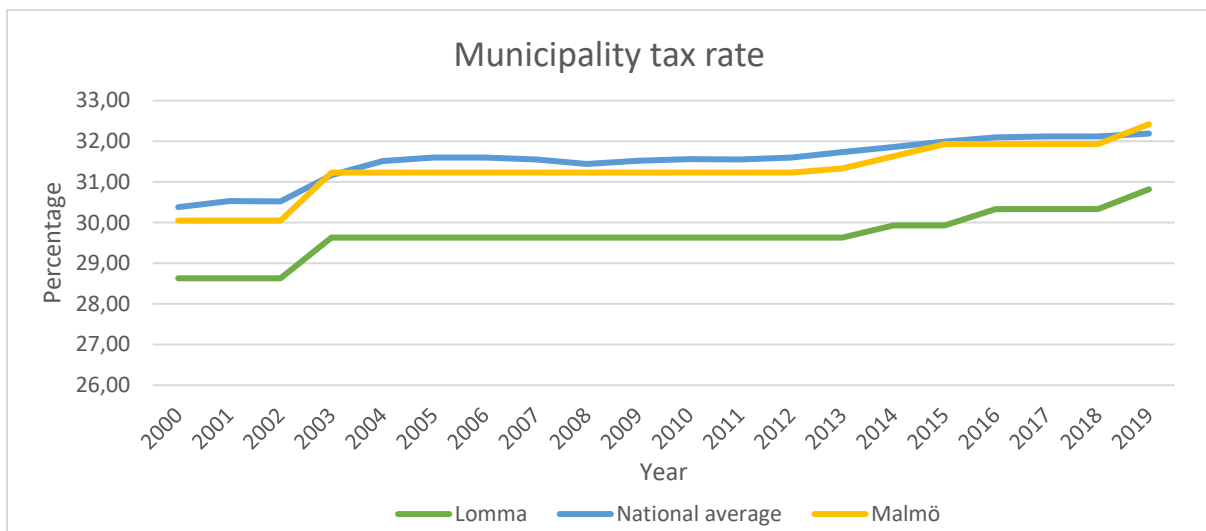


Figure 17 Tax rate in Lomma, Malmö and national municipality average. Data: Ekonomifakta, 2019.

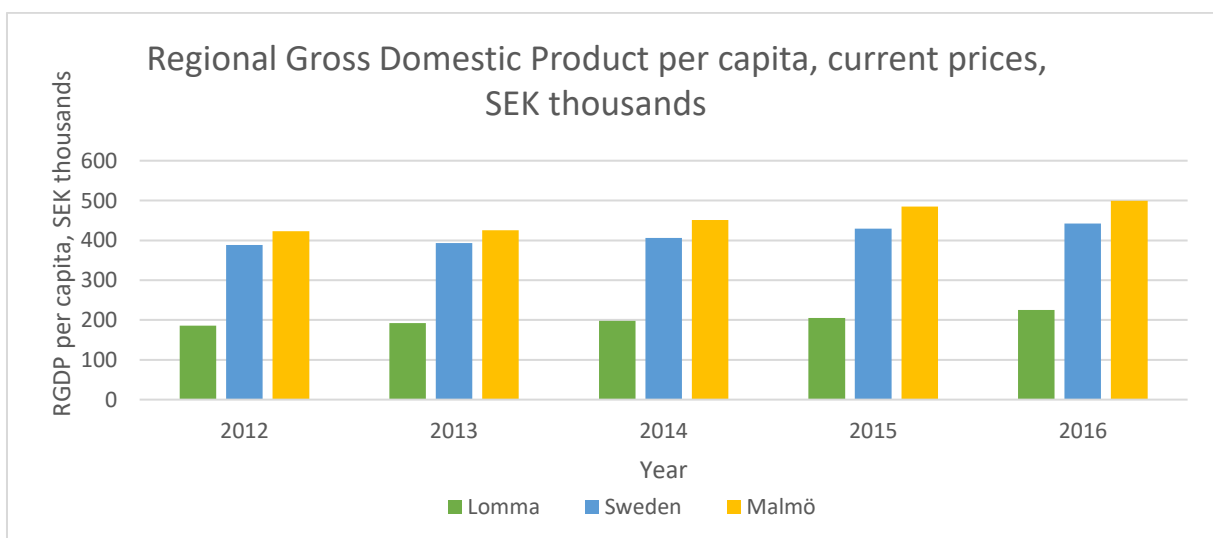


Figure 18 RGDP in Lomma, Malmö and Sweden's average, 2012-2016. Data: SS (2019:e).

To add to that, we can look at day labour sums<sup>17</sup>, calculated by taking all the payments and fees paid by employers and dividing it through the number of employees in the area. Through this calculation, payments are distributed and analysed based on the location of the establishment rather than the home of the employed. For example, the day labour sum for a person working in Malmö and living in Lomma is located to Malmö, not in Lomma where most of the money ends up. When looking at all the payments from employers in an area, we can get a picture of the productivity of that area, somewhat corrected from the distortion of commuters. If a person works in Malmö and is getting paid by a company there, but lives and pays taxes in Lomma, this affects the taxing power of both municipalities in different ways.

There is a difference between Lomma and Malmö when comparing day labour sums; Lomma has 89 % of the average day labour sum of the whole country, while Malmö has 103 % of the national average (Region Skåne, 2019:a; Region Skåne, 2019:b). This means that Malmö is paying more salary than Lomma, but compared to the taxing power, it is evident that a lot of these payments are moving out of the city directly, partly but not only to Lomma. This correlates with and strengthens the picture of Lomma as a commuting city; it seems like Malmö is paying Lomma's (amongst other municipalities) population salary, and in that increases Lomma's tax power. Considering that Lomma has only 89 % of the national average day labour sum, it seems like the jobs and labour taking place within Lomma does not generate as much economic return as the educational level in the area expects it to do.

### **The identity of Lomma**

Next up is an investigation of the identity of Lomma, and how it might have changed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, conducted through document analysis. The analysis revealed several important themes in how decision makers in Lomma used and understood the term *identity*, but also a somewhat drastic change in how this identity was interpreted from the turn of the millennium to a decade later. As mentioned earlier, the documents were chosen partly because of the time between their publications. The local analyses were released in 2001 and 2003, while the third document was published in 2011.

#### *Local analyses*

The most common way in describing the identity of Lomma in the local analyses is to connect it to the history of Lomma and to the traces of the past which were still to be seen in the landscape back then. In the local analysis from 2001, the authors write that “[t]he old buildings, the street houses - brickwork workers' homes, the builders' villas from the early 1900s and the functionalism

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<sup>17</sup> Translation from ”daglönesummor”.

houses from the 30s create an identity for the place”<sup>18</sup> (Lomma Kommun, 2001, p. 20). The history of Lomma is continuously brought up as an essential factor in the construction of the identity of the place, and under the title ‘Lommas identitet’, the authors write that the heritage from the industrial epoch “should be protected in the densification of the central areas and the conversion of the harbour area into housings and other activities”<sup>19</sup> (ibid., p. 21). The area is described as having a feeling of being a village rather than a town, and it is often pointed out that Lomma has been inhabited for over a thousand years. Other than that, the excellent communication to Malmö, Lund and Copenhagen and their labour markets are mentioned as a strength for the municipality.

The industrial era of Lomma is often mentioned as perhaps the most important factor to why Lomma looks like it does today. The authors of the first local analyses describe how the last century has formed and transformed both the cultural and physical landscape in several ways. The workers at the factory are given credit because of their engagement in the society which have formed the culture of the landscape. However, the factories have also left severe scars in the environment. The authors discuss the industry and write that “[b]rickworks and the eternite factory have contributed to the development of the town and left positive footprints in society but have also contributed to environmental problems that remain today”<sup>20</sup> (ibid., p. 21).

In the local analysis of Lomma’s densely populated area from 2003, published two years after the first one, the same themes reoccur, however with a small twist at the end. The term *identity* is in total used seven times in the report, and in the first six uses of the term, they all refer to the same theme as before; the historical traces which could be seen in the landscape. The buildings and elements of the past are argued to be essential for the identity of Lomma and something worth to preserve and protect. Also, the closeness to nature is brought up, with the coast, Höje stream, and adjacent green areas pointed out as necessary for Lomma’s attractiveness. When discussing new buildings in Lomma, the authors write that “*diversity on a moderate scale* that, in tune with Lomma's and the various sub-areas' traditional identities, can create liveliness in a situation that has all the prerequisites for high attractiveness”<sup>21</sup> [emphasis added] (Lomma Kommun, 2003:a, s. 28). It is essential that any new objects in the landscape harmonise with the old, and do not threaten to disturb or harm the existing picture. Diversity should be on a moderate scale, and preservation is to prefer before renewal.

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<sup>18</sup> Own translation.

<sup>19</sup> Own translation.

<sup>20</sup> Own translation.

<sup>21</sup> Own translation.

However, the last time the second local analysis discusses the identity of Lomma, it is no longer about preserving traces of the old or symbols of the past. The context is about traffic and how roads to and from Lomma should be used and further expanded, and the authors write that:

“[i]t is important that the access roads and *Lomma’s façade towards the surrounding landscape* are paid attention as part of increasing Lomma’s attractiveness and identity for upcoming development initiatives”<sup>22</sup> [emphasis added] (Lomma Kommun, 2003:a, s. 62).

In this discussion of identity, it is no longer a matter of preserving the old and traditional. Instead, it is the façade that is of importance; how Lomma is presented to its surrounding to increase attractiveness. The identity is no longer an end in itself, but a tool to attract other people and their resources. It is not even the identity that is of importance. Instead, it is the façade itself that is of interest; how Lomma is depicted by its surroundings, from the outside. Identity is suddenly constructed through the objectification of Lomma, rather than the subjectification.

#### *Comprehensive municipal plan*

The last document, the comprehensive municipal plan, is almost a decade younger and shows a slight change in how identity is used compared to in the earlier documents. While a local analysis partly sets out to paint a picture of the culture and identity of a place together with its history, a comprehensive municipal plan is meant for planning purposes and therefore does not put the same importance on identity. However, identity is an essential part of urban planning and should not be neglected when expanding a town.

The similarities between the local analyses and the comprehensive municipal plan in their discussion of identity revolve around nature and the nearness to green areas and the coast. In the comprehensive municipal plan, it is pointed out that this is a strength which can and should be exploited to construct a picture of Lomma as “a good municipality to live in” (Lomma Kommun, 2011:b, s. 5). The smallness of Lomma is brought up in the comprehensive municipal plan, together with the geographical location as centrally located in Skåne with Lund and Malmö around the corner and Copenhagen not too far away. Lomma is explained as an excellent municipality to live in, while good possibilities to work can be found in the adjacent labour markets of Malmö, Lund and Denmark.

The change in the municipal comprehensive plan’s use of identity compared to a decade earlier consists mostly of decreasing importance of the history and Lomma’s traditional elements. Just as at the end of the local analysis from 2003, identity is now instead linked to how the municipality is seen from the outside. In the comprehensive municipal plan, Lomma needs to brand itself as a

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<sup>22</sup> Own translation.

“residential municipality for families”<sup>23</sup> (Lomma Kommun, 2011:b, s. 124) or a municipality with “special housing qualities”<sup>24</sup> (ibid., s. 5). Branding has become more critical compared to ten years ago and is something valued in the planning of the area. Identity is no longer something which should be strengthened for the sake of the existing inhabitants. Instead, it has become a tool for marketing to attract new people.

To summarise the document analysis, the identity of Lomma has traditionally been linked to the history and traditions of the landscape, together with closeness to nature and the coast life. Traces from the past in the physical landscape such as buildings and landmarks have been valued, while the cultural landscape was argued to be the outcome of the work of the factory workers. However, sometime during the aughts (the years 2000 to 2009), this changed and the identity became in a greater sense connected to the ‘attractiveness’ of Lomma, which has become a place where you want to bring up your kids or buy a house with an attractive and exclusive location. There has been a shift of focus from the existing inhabitants and their own landscape to the outside world and the surrounding landscapes from where new people with new resources might be attracted.

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<sup>23</sup> Own translation.

<sup>24</sup> Own translation.

## Analysis

Through the material gathering, it has become evident that Lomma and Malmö share a strong bond. The two municipalities are connected in economic and social terms, and the relation between the two landscapes seems to have grown stronger over the years, especially since the introduction of the car for everyday usage during the sixties. Considering how the world is getting more globalised and interconnected, it is probably so that this relationship will evolve and get even more advanced in the future. It is, however, safe to say that Lomma does have some unique traits compared to Malmö; for example, the population is better educated, wealthier, has a different age structure, and are less foreign-born. The population in Lomma is different from the one in Malmö, and so is the landscape. However, the interest was if this in any way is so because of the relation to Malmö.

The history of Lomma tells a story about a process, a transformation of the landscape, which have taken place over a long time and have been formed by both cultural and natural forces. The natural landscape dictated what was to come, by providing several resources and ‘use-value’ which humans were to use. The location of Höje stream was necessary for the decision to settle there several centuries ago, and Lomma’s strategic location close to the stream, the sea and Denmark eventually became vital for the politics in Skåne. Lomma became a node in the Danish kingdom between Denmark and Sweden thanks to its geographical location, which predestined the location of the town. This proves that the natural landscape was crucial in deciding the conditions which people had to have in mind during the initial steps of Lomma’s society.

As shown, the importance of the natural landscape for the construction of Lomma did not diminish over the years. In the industrial era, the resources at hand suddenly became valuable in Lomma, when clay increasingly became a resource for industrial production and commerce. Once again, people’s ‘use of use-value’ meant a transformation in the landscape, when factories and industries moved in. Lomma’s history is an excellent example of the transformation of use-value into exchange-value and in turn, the selling and disposal of the actual landscape, when the clay, the actual physical landscape, was made into bricks and then transported away to buyers. With the factories came factory workers, who soon organised themselves and started organise themselves in unions. The importance of these unions and the people in them cannot be underestimated, as they became the hub in the local society of Lomma.

As the times changed, so did Lomma once again in the seventies and sixties. As the valuation of specific resources changed, with the diminishing importance of brick and asbestos production, the use-value of Lomma’s landscape necessarily had to change. This proves that the cultural context defines use-value; in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the clay in Lomma is useless, despite its importance in forming



the whole community only a century ago. Instead, Lomma's use-value is now defined by a new market, with new demands.

The production in Lomma was dependent on “what [was] produced elsewhere” (Mitchell, 2008, p. 34), and therefore the industry in Lomma became obsolete. Over 40 years after the closing of the asbestos factory, the use of what the landscape in Lomma has to offer has changed drastically. We are back at a usage of the geographical location of Lomma, rather than a use of the physical resources at hand, since Lomma has become a “residential municipality for families” (Lomma Kommun, 2011:b, s. 124) or a municipality with “special housing qualities” (ibid., s. 5) close to the sea and green areas, and most importantly close to Malmö. The landscape keeps on providing use value (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]), but when the culture changes so do the valuation and use of the landscape. Different resources are valued differently in different times, and through dialectical processes, Lomma has blessed itself with resources useful in several centuries, on several kinds of markets.

The decision to transform Lomma's industrial area into a residential area was the final crucial step in the remaking of Lomma into an attractive and aesthetic municipality which would attract a new population. It was essential to both remove the old and rather ugly old industrial area and create a picture of Lomma as beautiful and attractive, while at the same time provide more housing for a growing population. This could be seen as an aestheticisation (Duncan & Duncan, 2001) of Lomma, and how traces of the past in the landscape was rationalised away on the benefit of new constructions. As the document analysis showed, it was of importance that this new residential area was attractive enough to raise interest outside of Lomma, so that it could attract a specific group of new people to move there. It is also apparent, considering the housing prices of the area, that the housing was not meant for everyone. To effectively transition the workforce into an educated



*Figure 19* Lomma 1960 (left) and present (right). Data: Lantmäteriet 2019. Layout: Herman Bernström 2019.

and knowledge-based group of people, barring out poor people through housing prices has proved to be an effective method.

The economic value of Lomma is raising, with some of the highest house and apartments prices in Skåne. When the ideas of capitalism control the direction of the construction of the landscape, decision-makers do not have the luxury to afford to preserve a place like the old industrial area in Lomma. Considering the location of the old industrial area close to the sea, it was not economically defensible not to exploit the ground for house construction. The first local analyses praised the traces of the old in the landscape, but almost two decades later, it is evident that the economically rational was to remove it all for the sake of exclusive apartments. The decision-makers were forced to use what the landscape gave them, in combination with what the society wanted, and based on that they changed the area. The aestheticisation of Lomma harbour, from an abandoned industry area to a luxurious living space, was necessary to keep attracting the most valuable resource in modern capitalism: people and their money.

#### *Social barriers in Lomma*

As the investments in the landscape increases, so does the need to protect those investments, and thus this privatisation of Lomma acts as a barrier for people not wanted there. Lomma is not an enclosure in the same sense as some of the gated communities seen elsewhere since the barriers are not necessarily physical. Even the newly built harbour area is somewhat open for anyone who wants to walk around there. Instead, the barriers are of a more abstract, social character. The economy plays its part here, where house prices prevent most people from moving there. Already at this stage, many people who are not present in Lomma are sorted out. As seen in the statistical part, to be a foreign-born living in Lomma, one needs to fit in in the landscape, with an education matching the rest of the population.

Another critical social barrier-matter touches upon the fact that Lomma is a commuting municipality. Despite the short distance between Lomma and Malmö, the two landscapes are an excellent example of relative distances, in this case, created through commuting. The absence of a passenger train to and from Lomma has probably acted as a barrier for many people to move there, as Håkansson et al. (2015) described could be the case with poorly planned public transportation. Because of the high home prices in Lomma, people living there require high salaries, which can mostly be found in Malmö, and thus they are forced to commute there by car.

The commuting affects Lomma in more ways than excluding people from the landscape. As seen, the fact that around 80 % of the population works out of the municipality results in a rather peculiar relation between day labour sums and taxing power. Lomma has a much lower gross regional product than Malmö, Skåne or Sweden in general, but the taxing power is one of the highest

in the country. The day labour sums in Lomma compared to Malmö indicates that Malmö pays a lot of the money which end up in Lomma municipality's tax coffins.

Considering that almost four-fifths of the labour force in Lomma commute out of the municipality, and over half of the people who are working *in* Lomma is commuting to the municipality from the outside, it becomes evident that Lomma is dependent in both jobs *and* labour force from outside of the municipality, mostly to and from Malmö. When adding that most jobs in Lomma, except those at SLU and some of those at the municipality, are in the service sector, but also within social care and commerce, and that the majority of Lomma's inhabitants have a long university education, it is probably so that Lomma municipality and its inhabitants are dependent on high competence jobs outside of Lomma, and low competence labourers commuting into Lomma.

There seems to be another social barrier in place as well in Lomma, however a bit vaguely, regarding the educational levels for foreign-born inhabitants. The differences in educational levels between Lomma and Malmö are the most obvious when looking at this group, and a more in-depth study is required to reveal the details behind this. However, it is evident that Lomma is either attracting more well-educated immigrants than what Malmö does or that Lomma puts higher requirements on their immigrants. It is possibly a combination of the two. The results in this investigation cannot tell more in the matter, but it would be interesting for future research.

#### *Lomma's dialectical construction*

The production of Lomma's labour market, as well as housing stock and population, *is* a matter of a dialectical construction of the landscape, where the natural and cultural landscape in Lomma and the landscapes of Lomma and Malmö has and are interacting and changing with each other. When the culture changes, so do the view on what is desired in a landscape and depending on what the landscape over time had to offer, Lomma changed too. Lomma went from a working-class town to a white-collar commuting suburb at one hand because of the necessarily strategical reason to change the resource at sale from bricks and asbestos into the relation to Malmö, on the other hand, because it was what was economically rational. Just like Marx (2013 [1867]) describes how the labourer is obliged to sell its labour-power, his or her very own body, a capitalist landscape cannot afford not to offer what it has to others as a commodity. However, when no one wanted bricks or certainly not asbestos anymore, Lomma had to change what it competed with, and was thus forced to use what was then available; the geographical location close to the sea; the green recreational areas; and the adjacent labour markets in Malmö and Lund. Lomma had to exploit its relation to Malmö because it was the best resources the landscape had left at the time. In an increasingly interconnected world, Lomma's new strength became its closeness to Malmö, Lund and Denmark, and their labour markets. With the entrance of the car in the sixties and the better communication

possibilities this meant for the population in Lomma, Lomma did suddenly no more have to provide most of the jobs itself.

Since commuting jobs usually are better paid, require better education and a higher specialisation, and because commuters usually require better payments as compensation for the commuting, Lomma had to attract a new workforce, suitable for those jobs far away. In the exchange of two goods, the two must match in value for it to be fair, and when persons moving to Lomma brought economic capital to the negotiation table, Lomma brought cultural capital. Lomma had to rebrand itself into something people wanted, something people were prepared to pay for, and in this case, that was partly to be an alternative to Malmö. Through the aestheticisation (Duncan & Duncan, 2001) of Lomma, it could attract the new middle-class and offer it a different quality of life rather than jobs, which were still provided in Malmö. This was done through the privatisation of Lomma, which meant that the old industrial area had to be transformed into something people could *buy* (homes and apartments). It also meant an alienation in the landscape; an exclusion of unwanted elements in the landscape, since some groups of people have a hard time getting into the society there.

As seen in the document analysis, what was valued in the cultural landscape of Lomma has changed since the turn of the millennium. As the importance of attracting wealthier, well-educated people rose, the importance of preserving the ancient cultural landscape was replaced with the importance of an attractive façade. The answer to the question of for whom the landscape is being constructed for changed in Lomma when the focus shifted from those living there to those who could be attracted from the outside.

This is partially the outcome of a change in what is seen as normal in the culture, and thus also normal in the landscape, the last decades. As the labour industry in Sweden gradually has been replaced with a knowledge-based sector, the importance of a university education rose as well. The discourse of true and false when it comes to the labour market has changed, and so has the landscape. If it is as Mitchell (2003) argues, that the cultural landscape is the human culture and social relations realised in the physical landscape, then a change in what is desired on the labour market apparently means a change in and of the landscape.

A critical aspect of the focus on social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the construction of Lomma relates to how capital and economy works. Value is created through scarceness, through a higher demand than supply, and thus a rich Lomma is dependent on an impoverished Malmö, not only in economic terms but in social terms too. Lomma cannot be a rich, calm and safe alternative to Malmö if Malmö is not poor, dangerous and problematic in its urbanity. In a society built on capital and investments, economic as well as cultural, a hierarchy between landscapes is necessary. Wealth

is always relative, and therefore Lomma can only be prosperous if Malmö is poor, because interest requires disinterest (Bourdieu, 1986).

If Lomma's cultural capital is to be scarce in the sense of exclusive and unique, a particular share of the national population is required to be unable to access the landscape. A socially rich landscape is as much exclusive as it is excluding because inaccessibility is a part of privatisation. Lomma is not constructed as an alienating landscape because *the people* there are racist or capitalist. Instead, Lomma is constructed to be alienating because that is what is rational in the culture, and rational in a capitalist landscape. If the landscape is a window into our own culture and collective will, then an alienating and excluding landscape is a sign of an alienating and excluding culture.

The construction of Lomma *in relation to* Malmö is rather apparent, and today the two cultural landscapes could be argued are merging into one. Lomma has become a supra-urban middle-class suburb to Malmö in social and economic terms while keeping its spatiality. However, it is also evident that the construction of Lomma is a dialectical matter of *internal* relations over time. The valuation and use of different kinds of resources have changed over the years, but every single time the landscape had to use what was already apparent at first hand. There would not have been any factories in Lomma without the clay, and the transition into an upper-middle-class society would not have been possible without rebranding the municipality by marketing its green areas, location at sea, and construction of new homes which was made possible at first-hand thanks to Malmö only producing apartments and thus releasing a large part of its inhabitants to its surroundings. With that new tax power in place, Lomma could start its costly transformation of the old industrial areas into luxury and expensive residential areas. Lomma is an excellent example of how a landscape is as much related internally between its natural and cultural landscapes, as it is to its surroundings in both space and time.

## Conclusion

So, how has Lomma as a cultural and social landscape been constructed in relation to its own physical landscape and in relation to Malmö, and what were the benefits of this construction? It is evident that Lomma has benefitted in several ways from the relation to Malmö, especially in modern times when Lomma is more or less dependent on both the high-status labour market in Malmö while at the same time relying on Malmö providing low or non-educated labourers for those jobs still left in Lomma. It can be argued that this transformation started in the sixties and seventies, with the closing of the industry and the transformation from left to right politics taking place. Perhaps the closure of the May 1-parade in 1964 can be seen as the symbolic first step of how Lomma slowly became dependent on services and resources from Malmö, while at the same time shifting in politics.

The reconstruction of Lomma from a working-class municipality to a commuting, high-earning middle-class municipality would not have been possible without Malmö. However, it seems as if Lomma was constrained to do this transformation. A capitalist landscape cannot afford to waste its use value or not transform it into exchange value, and when the material resources of clay and asbestos production in Lomma were no longer wanted, the landscape had to make use of something else. As the capitalist system is constructed, landscapes must compete for resources and capital, and Lomma has played that game well. The municipality has succeeded in reforming the landscape to something new, and in doing so, attracting a new population; the wealthy, educated and white middle-class.

Lomma is an anomaly in Skåne right now as in being ruled by the political right but still refusing to prohibit begging (Karlsson, 2019). However, Lomma's population are actors in a culture which nonetheless seems to be excluding, dividing, and capitalist. Lomma as a landscape is the evidence on how this culture forms the society and divides people in it, depending on capital, age, education and in turn, ethnicity. It is the evidence of how the discourse of truth dictating the construction of the Swedish, or even Western, capitalist society and in turn, cultural landscapes are not de-alienating, but in fact, very much alienating. The cultural landscapes of Lomma and Malmö reproduce and strengthens the division between people, both geographically and socially.

## Discussion

The future of Lomma, and all other suburbs in Sweden, will be a process well worth to follow the upcoming years. One crucial task for city planners will be to raise their eyes from single cities and focus on the broader landscape of relations between societies. With a world which is becoming more and more interconnected, and where for example even Stockholm is regarded as a possible future labour market for the people in Lomma (Region Skåne, 2019:a), the division between groups of people will move out of the cities and transform into a differentiation of landscapes. The future segregation will probably not be on a municipal level, but possibly on a regional level, something of which the landscape of Lomma already gives a hint. It will be exciting to see what the new train track Lommabanan will mean for the future construction of Lomma's cultural and economic landscapes, but one guess is that the already raised social barriers are too high by now for it to have any broader implications for the exclusion of Lomma in the short and medium-long term. House prices and other tools of exclusion are already in place and are too strong to break down. However, it might mean a more substantial flow of visitors to Lomma and its beach, and it probably will make it easier for people in Malmö to study at SLU in Alnarp.

Lastly, I would like to draw a connection to how the Swedish urban city planner Bergman (2010) described Uppsala, the fourth largest city in Sweden, when discussing how that specific city no longer is regarded as a working-class area despite its earlier history of industry and production;

It is mainly in this way the working-class city Uppsala gets a broader public interest. As expected, [the working-class city] dissolved into a welfare, knowledge, and official based city, while its overall characteristics, the division [between people], was reproduced and renewed in the growing city's order. In which other city is such a distinct and self-evident city pattern preserved in such a clear way?"<sup>25</sup> (Bergman, 2010, s. 504).

The city has changed, but the division between people is still there, and it will always be unless we want to change that. Lomma, Uppsala, and many more cities have dissolved from being labour dominated to being knowledge dominated, and this has only strengthened the division between people. Maybe Lomma can tell us not only the story of its own local landscape, but a story of the transformation of the whole of Sweden, and how the nation took the first steps into the knowledge-based economy. At the same time, Lomma might also give us a hint of where the rest of us are going. The division and relation between Lomma and Malmö might be a description of in what way the construction of suburban landscapes in relation to near urban landscapes will go in the future.

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<sup>25</sup> Own translation.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A

Detail plan for Lomma's old industrial area and harbour, which is in progress for the time of this paper. Taken from Lomma Kommun (2003:b).



### Appendix B

Three highest and lowest average net commuting municipalities in Skåne, 2008-2017. Data: Regionfakta (2019:b).

Top three municipalities	Net commuting
Lund	133
Malmö	127
Perstorp	112
Bottom three municipalities	Net commuting
Staffanstorp	59
Vellinge	55
Lomma	54