Manifestation of Urban Segregation in the Urban Form

DIVYA RAMASAMY VENKATESAMOORTHY
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Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the help of the Director of my course, M.Sc. Urbanism Studies, Tigran Haas, who helped me see this thesis project to completion. I thank him profusely for his patience and understanding throughout the course. I would also like to thank Ryan Locke for his help and advice without which I would have been like a rudderless boat. I also would like to thank the student-counselor Mia Kim for her support when I needed it the most.

This project would not have been possible without the help of my supervisor Mats Lundström, who helped me piece together the different strands of the work. His useful comments, guidance and engagement through the his master thesis proved a very valuable learning experience for me.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my family, who have always supported me. I would also like to thank my friends who encouraged me through the course of this project.
Abstract: Manifestation of Urban Segregation in the Urban form

Segregation in urban areas is a universal phenomenon. A combination of factors include but are not limited to: city form, planning policies, policies relating to the settlement of immigrants, economic policies, building of infrastructure and chronological events in the growth of a city. Through this thesis work, I would like to examine how urban form is different in areas of the city where racial/economic segregation is prevalent in Stockholm city.

The hypothesis which I would like to examine through study is: The development and maintenance of urban form (which stands to denote all elements relating to the urban area: roads, pavements, lighting fixtures, buildings, public services etc) is influenced by segregation in the city, and it reflects and in turn reinforces the prevalent segregation.
1. Introduction

Sweden has seen a surge of immigrants in the recent decade. The current population of Stockholm is 1,608,037. Stockholm accounts for about 22% of Sweden’s population and 27% of Stockholm’s population are immigrants or of non-Swedish background (Sweden, 2019). This has led to a situation in Stockholm where areas are segregated according to ethnicities.

'Segregation' is an increasingly discussed problem now in the 21st century. It shapes and defines many problems of urban areas. Therefore, I would like to start by understanding and defining 'segregation'. Segregation means 'separation' in essence. It could be defined as the phenomenon where certain sections of the society are separated from the rest of the society, physically, in space. Usually this means they are away from where the resources are or have a different set of resources not comparable to the resources located in the centre.

1(i) Understanding Segregation

For the purpose of understanding how exactly 'segmented' neighborhoods work, this paper uses a model which was originally used to explain inclusive education for students with disabilities. Although used in a different context here, it can be used to highlight what segregation and integration mean.
On the other end of the spectrum, we see ‘physically isolated’ areas like Nacka and Täby. These areas have an almost entirely Swedish population of high income (Hitta, 2019). These areas too, are self-contained in certain respects in that there is very little movement of the people from and to the inner city.

1(ii) Segregation in Stockholm:

On the other end of the spectrum, we see ‘physically isolated’ areas like Nacka and Täby. These areas have an almost entirely Swedish population of high income (Hitta, 2019). These areas too, are self-contained in certain respects in that there is very little movement of the people from and to the inner city.

However, the population that lives here does so by choice rather than force. These areas are characteristically reminiscent of the ‘Suburban’ sprawl, where individuals who want space and bigger living spaces choose to live away from the city with preferably a car for transport. This is in contrast to the people who live in vulnerable areas, because of housing policies, economic limitations and in order to stay close to their own ethnic groups. In short, their choices for residences are limited to certain areas.

Juxtaposition of figure i to the map of Stockholm showing areas with people of mixed ethnicities, yields a clear picture that the strong lines of separation between the areas are comparable to the concept of segregation.

Härmsar’s (2006) study of the greater Stockholm area from 1991-2001 shows that residential segregation has increased and the most segregated areas are characterized by a concentration of non-European groups while those with Swedish origin are living in areas with low ethnic diversity (Hedström, 2015). This can broadly be illustrated by looking at the data of the ethnicity of the population found in different neighbourhoods in Stockholm.

Sweden has an interesting case of residential segregation because it is a country which has had an increasing immigrant population in recent years (SCB, 2013), with relatively low income inequality (Robinson, et al., 2003), and low intergenerational inequality considering educational and occupational inheritance (Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007).

Segregation is often discussed in terms of ‘races’. The racialization of the city can be said to be about the processes that lead individuals, groups and institutions in a determined housing market to think, act and discriminate based upon a notion of “race” in such a way that this housing market is differentiated spatially according to imagined racial differences and ascribed racial affiliations. (Molina Vega, 2003).

1(iii) Reasons for Segregation:

Segregation cannot be attributed to a single cause – there are several reasons as to why it happens. In many cities of multicultural and multi-ethnic population, segregation becomes a much-discussed issue. In her paper, ‘Residential Segregation and Differentiated Citizenship’, I. M. Young (1999) explains that segregation in the US is a result of, albeit not exclusively, “legal and illegal discrimination by landlords, homeowners, real estate agents, banks, and other individuals and institutions”. When it comes to explaining why people often cluster together, theories like 'homophily' are used. Homophily is the tendency of ethnic groups to stick together. This is further compounded by their dependence on existing social structures. Therefore, a new immigrant is more likely to have ties with someone of his/her own ethnicity and will prefer to stay closer to them. These pre-existing social ties also help in establishing themselves/their businesses in a new place.
While this can be a part of the cause of clustering of ethnic populations, discrimination by structural policies and markets play an important role in Sweden, similar to what Young describes in the U.S. As Hedström explains, the housing and immigration policies of Sweden seem to have strengthened the segregation. “Refugees and Immigrants have financial disadvantages, lesser educational credentials and have difficulty in finding a job, all factors which may prevent them from buying a house. Combining this with the system of a rental housing queue, these people are at a far greater disadvantage than the native Swedish population” (Hedström, 2015).

Before Stockholm became the racially diverse city that it now is, it was majorly clustered in terms of income groups. Most notable, the areas of the ‘Million homes’ projects in the 60s and 70s were occupied by the Swedish working class. The very same areas are now the residential quarters of racial minorities who are also financially disadvantaged (Molina Vega, 2003).

1(iv) Consequences of Segregation:

To what extent is segregation a problem in Sweden and how does it manifest? Areas like Rinkeby, Kista and Skärholmen have been notorious for being strife with drug trade, violence and protests. In a similar vein, the city of Malmö, has been making headlines for violence-related issues from marginalized communities. I. M. Young (1999) lists out four major unfavourable consequences of segregation in her essay titled ‘Residential Segregation and Differential Citizenship’, which are that segregation, “i) wrongly limits choice, ii) grants the privileged access to benefits, iii) obscures the privilege it creates and iv) impedes political communication”. These are direct consequences; however, these challenges can, over time, cause “a sense of frustration, especially among many young people, who do not feel socially accepted nor valued in Swedish society. These feelings of marginalization and exclusion are further compounded by negative media coverage, which portrays marginalized areas and its residents as violent and dangerous” (Mestre, et al., 2016).

While ‘segregation’ is often used to describe a phenomenon that keeps people in a neighbourhood against their will, as seen in how the housing policy works or how forces like homophily may contribute to isolating certain sections of the population, there is also a willful isolation by wealthy communities into other areas. History of the place, advantages and privileges which come with being a native etc., contribute to the willful isolation. This, too, is evident in the map. Although the map is based on the ethnic background of the population, it is comparable to the economic distribution in these areas. Examples are places like Täby, Nacka, which were, from the very beginning of their existence was built and settled by Swedish noblemen and richer sections of the society. Over the years, they have become exclusive suburbs of people above a certain income level (Sweden, 2019). Täby and Nacka both feature in the list of wealthiest neighbourhoods in Sweden.

Therefore, segregation is a two way street -- by keeping the immigrants confined to a certain place, the city also creates pockets which are purely Swedish. If segregation means ‘kept separate’, then these wealthy neighbourhoods can be considered to be ‘segregated’.

1(v) Research Questions:

Areas such as Kista, Rinkeby, Skärholmen, Tensta and other areas such as Nacka, Täby and Danderyd are not completely integrated within the city. Both these kinds of areas are technically ‘segregated’ but are not similar. Although a lot of this segregation has to do with the socio-economic and ‘policy’ side of the issue, it reflects directly on the urban infrastructure in these areas. There seems to a physical and tangible aspect to segregation if one was to observe a ‘segregated’ area. This paper seeks to find those tangible aspects. Certain urban problems are city-wide concerns, but there are certain urban characteristics that are exclusive to the areas which have an invisible barrier separating it from the ‘city’. Since there are two groups of neighbourhoods, the wealthy (Täby, Danderyd etc) and the non-wealthy (Rinkeby, Kista, Tensta etc), this study attempts to understand both these sets of areas, which are perceived to be segregated. The study aims to look at physical characteristics of the area such as overall zoning of residential/work/commercial areas, connectivity within areas, street quality, accessibility, quality of public space, presence and access to nature and infrastructure.

The goal in doing this is to find, by comparison, the fundamental differences and similarities in the urban structure, which is physical manifestation of the phenomenon of segregation, of these two sets of areas. The aim in doing so is to determine if both groups experience the same advantages/disadvantages/effects of being segregated when it comes to the urban structure.
2. Methodology:

This paper seeks to examine the urban qualities in these particular areas which are 'segregated', or 'isolated', and to rate them by different parameters to test their 'urban quality' and draw conclusions mainly by comparison. For the purpose of this study, two areas within Stockholm are chosen. Kista and Täby, one being an economically deprived area and the other a wealthy neighbourhood. Even though Täby has its own municipality, it is considered a part of the greater Stockholm area.

These neighbourhoods are evaluated based on a set of common criteria. Evaluating the overall urban placement and character of the chosen neighbourhoods within Stockholm is done using the following criteria:

1. geographical placement of the area
2. connectivity to city centre and other areas
3. access to basic amenities and general planning

Evaluating the physical parameters within each of these neighbourhoods:

4. zoning of residential/work/commercial areas
5. perceived safety in the main streets of the areas for pedestrians
6. building-street interface quality
7. presence and access to public spaces and parks and their quality

Since the study is looking at mainly the qualitative aspects, the methods of measuring them are derived from various sources. The 'safety' aspect refers to the pedestrian safety and is a qualitative measurement based on observation of the chosen areas during daytime and night time. The building-street interface quality is measured using a scale provided in the book 'How to Study Public Life' by Jan Gehl.

According to the scale:

A- Interface with Activity
B-Friendly interface
C-Common Interface
D-Uninteresting Interface
E-Dull Interface

These urban parameters can be measured by a variety of means, not all of which are uniform. The data used for comparing is primarily in the form of maps, statistics, texts and photographs. Since no urban area can be understood by just one means, this study uses multiple means to reach a comprehensive understanding of the area. The aim is to establish the similarities and differences between the two areas since they are both segregated/isolated. A standard set of criteria ensures that the neighbourhoods are studied on the same level — while giving an idea of where each area stands in terms of the urban criteria listed above.

For the purpose of study these two areas were visited 2-3 times during weekdays and every weekend all through mid-September to end of October. They were observed in mornings, afternoons and evenings.

The reasons for choosing the two areas Kista and Täby:

• Kista is a 'problem' area, constantly under the radar for crime. It is also an area which has a high proportion of immigrant population. Kista can be considered as a 'segregated' area owing to the fact that the population here is not well-integrated into the Swedish society. The foreigner population in Kista is 25.8% (Sweden, 2019).

• Täby, on the other hand is one of the wealthiest Municipalities in Sweden. Although it is a separate municipality, it is part of the Stockholm region and acts like a satellite town for Stockholm as a majority of the population travels to Stockholm for work. This region is also segregated from the city, albeit, being by choice rather than by force or circumstance. For the purpose of this study the area surrounding the Täby centrum and Grindtorp are chosen.

This Study can be extended to many other areas as well, and this is just a beginning to understand the urban characteristics of segregated areas.
3. History of Stockholm’s Development:

In order to understand why these areas are built the way they are, and to understand why they exist in the present condition, it is essential to know a little bit about Stockholm’s development in the mid 1900s.

During the 40s and 50s, Sweden was involved in building the Stockholm city. The government had to deal with the problems of overcrowding and homelessness in the inner city. It looked at expanding the city for the future and building an extensive underground railway system so that the expanded city had connectivity. As Sweden had been spared from the world wars, it was still financially and politically able to go forward with the new plans. It was a deliberate and socially engineered plan to determine what would the ideal living conditions for a Swedish family would be.

The theoretical ideal form of a ‘centrum’ or a central area was presented in the 1952 master plan for Stockholm. The centre had a tunnelbana (the underground metro station in Stockholm) with shops, public services and facilities for social activities. Buildings were arranged fairly close to each other with blocks of flats near the centre and single family dwellings further away. A green belt was to separate one suburb from the next. This model was modified later to accommodate motor traffic but the overall plan remained the same structurally (Andersson, 2002).

Over the course of 20 years from the mid-1950s, one such suburb was completed each year. It was also during this time that the famous million homes program was successfully implemented. Vallingby, Farsta and other areas had their centrums scaled to cater to a number of neighbouring suburbs. Kista also follows the tunnelbanastad model, but the metro station was built in 1977, much later and it lacks a ‘centrum’ or ‘torg.’

Taby was planned in the 1960s, and as Grindtorp was built as part of million homes, a tunnelbana was promised but was never built. The mall came later and the area was developed over time, thus it also lacks a clearly planned centrum.

4. Kista

Conceptual idea of a centrum as defined by the 1952 Master plan.
4(i) Location

Kista is located in the North West of central Stockholm and is part of the Rinkeby-Kista borough. It is accessible by Tunnelbana and is connected by the blue line, taking about 25 minutes to reach from T Centralen.

4(ii) History:

History of development of an area gives an insight into the nature of urban planning in the area. Stockholm was developed in phases. Therefore each era had its own 'style' of development within the larger master plan for Stockholm (Andersson, 1998). Most of today's Kista was built in the 1970s. The place was named after 'Kista gård', which is located in the region.

Kista is the largest corporate area in Sweden, as is known as the 'Silicon Valley of Europe'. Companies such as SRA, IBM etc. started building their offices in the 1970s. Kista later became the location of the Ericsson headquarters. The Kista Metro station was built in 1977, connecting it with the city. The blue line to Akalla connects Kista to Kungsträdgården via Friedhemsplan and T Centralen. The Galleria was also opened in 1977, but was completely rebuilt in the early 2000s (CITICON, 2012). The business district got a major boost as Ericsson moved its headquarters here in 2003. Since then Kista has been the site of ICT companies.

4(iii) Planning:

Kista is a special case when one compares it with other 'segregated' areas within Stockholm city. It has a metro station, but no public 'square', 'centrum' or 'torg' like the other areas such as Rinkeby or Vällingby. What it does have, however, is the Kista Galleria which is a substitute for a public square. The privately owned Kista galleria was opened in 1977, the same year as the metro station. Since then, it has been the main attracting point of not only this area but also the nearby areas. It is frequented by people from Akalla, Husby and other surrounding areas. To the North-east of the mall lies the ICT cluster or the business area. To the south west lies the residential area. Separating these two are the Kista Galleria and the metro station.

The highly segregated nature of the area itself influences how the spaces are used. The business area sees a rush of people in the mornings and evenings as people pour in through the metro station from all parts of the city. But after 5.30 PM, the area is deserted. There is a lack of functional diversity which ensures neither a variety of activities nor people-movement after certain timings. This makes it a dead space, and appears unsafe. "If a fundamental function such as housing does not exist, neither does a night-population that, after working hours, could inhabit the space and overlap the day-population of workers. Employees of the Kista business district live elsewhere. Residents of Kista have found work in other parts of the city. Both have to commute long distances. This has resulted in a demographic division" (Bengtsson, 2014).
4(iv) Amenities:

The Kista Galleria itself houses the Vårdcentral, several other clinics and a library. Also in close proximity are banks (SEB), currency exchange and several ATMs. There are supermarkets and utility shops inside the galleria as well as a shop catering to the ethnic groups living in the area. Apart from the library, the mall also has a movie theatre called Filmstaden. The metro station provides easy access to the city. It is close enough to Helenlund where one can take the Pendeltåg to the Arlanda airport. The Flyggbuss, a private bus which connects directly to the airport also has a stop in Kista. There is also a bus station connecting to various parts of the city, directly below the metro station.

Kista also has several schools, kindergarten to grundskolan. It also has an International English School, Science and Innovation School, and KTH School of Information and Communication Technology.

To examine the urban conditions, the following streets are taken into consideration and will be examined based on pedestrian safety, building interface quality and diversity of function. The streets studied are: Hanstavägen, Kistagangen, Danmarksgatan, Kopenhamsgatan, Tornasgatan and Sorogatan.

Zoning Map

Safety: The safety for pedestrians in this part is very low. The reasons being, sparse street lights, no easy crossings and generally being just a highway.

Building Interface: The buildings adjoining Hanstavägen are huge office buildings closed off to the street. Therefore, applying the Street facade assessment but city at the eye level, it would have to receive a grade E, which means it has a dull interface.

Activities/Functions: Motorway, business, Pedestrian path
**B. Hanstavägen- North**

**Safety**: In this part of the road, the safety has to be ranked low, owing to the high speed traffic, closed off buildings, and limited access to the park.

**Building Interface**: Here, too the building facade assessment will have to give an E, as
1) The buildings are far from the street, separated by a car park and also are closed off.
2) The green areas are buffering with no particular function.
3) The visibility and access to the park are far from desirable standards.

**Functions/Activities**: motorway, car park, pedestrian path, park (recreation).

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**C. Kistagången**

**Safety**: Owing to the fact that there are many more buildings than Hanstavägen, the safety perception is moderate. It also depends on the time of the day, as this part of the region is empty after the offices close.

**Building Interface**: Here, too, the building facade assessment will have to give an D, as
1) The buildings have some plants and windows, although no active interaction.
2) There is, however a park, with seating and plantations, which is easily accessible.

**Functions/Activities**: Business area, pedestrian pathways, motorway and park.
**Safety:** Technically, this is the centre of Kista, with the metro station and bus station on one side and the Galleria on the other. However, the building is completely closed off to the road, the pedestrian crossing is not straightforward, the cycle lanes vary in width. The space below the metro station is also empty and lacks any function. Therefore the safety aspect is far from satisfactory.

**Building Interface:** There is no good interface with the buildings.

**Activities/Functions:** Transit hub, motorway, little bit of pedestrian movement, commercial area (but activity is hardly observable from the street).

**Safety:** The perceived safety of this place is moderate as it is residential in character. However, it is still very isolated owing to its mono-functionality. The presence of a fenced playground opposite this residential building does little to mitigate this problem. The playground itself is sparse and is rarely used.

**Building Interface:** There is no good interface with the building.

**Activities/Functions:** Residential, motorway, pedestrian, playground.
F. Tornäsgatan

Safety: The perception of safety in Tornäsgatan varies according to the time of the day. During the day, the place feels safe enough. But once the buildings are empty and the stores closed, it does not feel the same way.

Building Interface: There is no good interface with the buildings(E), even though there is a designed torg which helps make it slightly more usable. The chairs face the blank walls of the galleria. The shops opposite often have parking in front and don’t have interaction with pedestrians. The other office buildings are cut off from the square. In short, the street and the square are not used much because of the nature of the buildings and the population which uses these buildings.

Activities/Functions: Commercial, office, public square

G. Sörogatan

Safety: This is a residential area so the perception of safety is moderate to low. It also has car parking along the roads which makes the pedestrian pathways to be perceived as less safe.

Building Interface: There is no good interface with the buildings(E).

Activities/Functions: Residential, motorway, pedestrian, car park.
PERCEPTION OF SAFETY DURING DAY

PERCEPTION OF SAFETY DURING NIGHT

BUILDING-STREET INTERFACE GRADING:

Squares:

Kista has a couple of 'squares', the most important of which are Jan Stenbecks torg and Kista torg. Both squares are surrounded by buildings which are closed off with the exception of a few restaurants and shops. Both of them lie outside of the galleria and are accessed not directly from the Tunnelbana Station but from the sides of the Galleria. Kista doesn't have a notable public square.

4(vi) Investments and Improvements in Kista:

Proposals for Kista Ång.
Planned investments in Kista according to the masterplan are as follows: One main project that is going to be built is Kista Äng. According to the Master plan of Stockholm City, 2018, “Kista Äng is a new area being built close to Kista Science City, one of the world’s foremost ICT clusters, with services and transport on the doorstep. Approximately 1,600 homes are planned here, with preschools and a school. The area will also be developed to include business premises, parks and a new square. Illustration: Landskapslaget” (City Planning Administration, Stockholm, 2018).

The Master plan mentions the need to develop Kista’s expressways and connectivity in general, but also says, “There is a need to improve the standard of the public environments in the area and to seek to create premises with footfall on ground floors along urban corridors and at nodes, for example at Jan Stenbecks Torg, and along Hanstavägen, Torshamnsgatan and Kistagången” (City Planning Administration, Stockholm, 2018). In addition to this, it also states the improvement of the Kista Galleria and the addition of housing and workplaces to it. Also, it points out that opening of the retail into the surrounding areas should be encouraged. However, there are no detailed plans yet for these improvements.
5(i) Location

Täby is located in the North near Sollentuna and Danderyds. It is accessible by Roslagsbanan which starts in Stockholms Ostra Station in the city. It is also accessible by bus.

5(ii) History

Täby has been inhabited by people since the first millennium. Until the 19th century, Täby was a rural community, mostly owned by noblemen. The noble families of Täby had their manors built in this region. The most notable among them are the Näsby slott and the Rydboholms slott. In 1885, the building of the Roslagsbanan proved to be a turning point for Täby because before the building of Roslagsbanan it had been a sparsely populated rural community. The narrow-gauge line gave the place access to the city. This facility resulted in a population explosion. During the First World War, many people settled near the stations. People also built their summer homes in Täby. After the Second World War, development continued and Täby increasingly became a suburb of Stockholm.

The 50s and 60s in Täby was a period of large-scale development led by the then-mayor Gustaf Berg. It was during this period that large-scale housing was built in many areas and other infrastructure was developed. This also led to an increase in the population. In the middle of the 1950s, a group of architects under Sune Lingdstrom was planning the Täby centre to include a 25 story bow-shaped slab type block, providing a powerful focus to the urban landscape. Large parts of these designs are now in Näsbydal and Grindtorp which were conceived as Satellite towns. The Grindtorp building ended up being only 10 storeys high. The Täby centrum was built later in 1968 and the Täby kommun, the municipal building located near Täby centrum was moved from Roslags Näsby in 2017, hence the 'centrum' is more like a collage of different times, with different squares and public buildings located around the shopping centre. In spite of this, it doesn’t have one central square or Torg.
5(iii) Amenities:

The Täby centrum area is connected by both railroad and bus. Täby is different from Kista in that it is mostly a very spaciously built suburb, connected by rail. The houses are individual with their own open-spaces, and they are distributed across a larger area than Kista. Hence the access to the railway station or the centrum may be by different means of transport. There are bus routes that run through these areas, and are not very frequent. Most of the population here owns cars to get around.

Täby centrum has most of the infrastructural amenities. It has banks, hospitals, a library, a shopping centre and the Täby kommun and open spaces. This area also has several schools and playgrounds.

For the purpose of this study, the following roads/streets have been chosen to be studied for pedestrian safety, building interface quality and diversity of functions: Stora Marknadsvagen, Biblioteksgangen, Attundavagen, Stockholmsgatan and Grindtorp(-Kometvagen). Also, the area around Täby centrum and Grindtorp has been studied for the purpose of this study.

5(iv) The area around Täby Centrum and Grindtorp

A. Stora Marknadsvagen

Safety: The perception of safety in this area, in general is higher than in Kista. Kista has become notorious for crime whereas Täby doesn’t have such a reputation. All the same, since this area is empty at night it still doesn’t feel safe.

Building Interface: The mall has a few entrances towards the street, otherwise it is just a blank wall. Hence the building interface with road is E.

Activities/Functions: Residential, motorway, pedestrian and bus station.
B. Biblioteksgangen

Safety: This is a fairly busy pedestrian zone with spillover from the mall, the bank, library, shops etc in the buildings nearby. There is also seating and greenery with makes it more usable and pleasant. The perception of safety is good.

Building Interface: It has a fairly good interface with the walkway.(B)

Activities/Functions: Pedestrian, seating, greenery, public buildings, shopping

C. Attundavagen

Safety: On one side are residential buildings with no openings onto street, so the perception of safety is moderate to low. It also has car parking along the roads which make the pedestrian pathways to be perceived as less safe.

Building Interface: There are some windows but still the interaction between building and road is D.

Activities/Functions: Residential, motorway, pedestrian, car park.
D. Stockholmsvagen

Safety: The building is set in from the road. The greenery is dense with little or no maintenance. There are no cycle routes and the traffic is fast. The safety level here is low.

Building Interface: There is no interface with the buildings (E).

Activities/Functions: Institutional, motorway, pedestrian

E. Grindtorp

Safety: This is a residential area, so the perception of safety is from moderate to high.

Building Interface: There is no good interface with only the car park on the lower floor. (E)

Activities/Functions: Residential, motorway, pedestrian, car park.
Täby Centrum has the Täby torg, which is the square adjoining the Centrum, the Täby Kommun and the Biblioteksgangen. Although it, too, is surrounded by mostly closed off buildings, it is more easily accessible and has been used for many gatherings through the year.

5(v) Investments and Developments in Täby:

The Täby kommun website mentions the following developments that are underway. The major development is that of Täby park, located a little north of Grindtorp. Täby park is to be developed with 300 new units, cycling and walking path, a new swimming pool, a new school with playgrounds and a mix of other urban operations. (Täby Kommun, 2019).
6. Results and Comparisons between Kista and Täby

From comparing both these areas on a qualitative basis, one can observe that there are some similarities as well as differences. The perception of safety, quality of streets and activities are comparable in both these areas. Both areas have a low perception of safety and very low quality of building street interface.

Täby scores a little higher in terms of central square and presence and quality of parks, whereas, in Kista it is dismal. Both these areas have lower quality public spaces and streets when compared to the inner city areas or those which were built according to the master plan in the 1960s (ex. Vällingby).

As far as investments are considered, both areas are fast developing, but Täby has many projects underway with a focus on improving the urban quality, whereas Kista doesn’t have a plan in the Master plan to develop or improve the existing urban environment.

7. Discussion:

As seen from the two case studies of Täby and Kista, the city is clearly segregated and the quality of these areas in terms of public spaces and infrastructural facilities is compromised. Future investments in Kista are made with a view to improve the economic gain, and are focused on the ICT cluster and not on the living environment. This says something about the first, second and third generation immigrants in Sweden, and particularly in Stockholm. Although Täby is a separate municipality, the nature of long term investments reflects the life of the people who live there, in terms of transport, living quarters, public spaces, etc.

However, one cannot deny the similarities between the two areas, which are segregated, although for totally different reasons. Täby is an economically well-off area, self-sufficient, and does not depend on the inner Stockholm city. It has its own centrum with a Kommun and a square and a commercial centre, where the commercial centre takes precedence over common public areas. Kista, however, majorly differs from Täby by not having a common centrum of its own. The Kista Galleria acts as an informal meeting-and-mingling space for people of Kista and surrounding areas.

The problem, however, is the absence of a non-commercial, truly public space. In addition to the absence of a centrum like Vällingby or Rinkeby, it also doesn’t have quality green spaces. The existing parks are of poor quality and aren’t easily accessible to the public. The building character of the whole area is closed-off offering every little street-building connection, resulting in dead spaces. The stark segregation of function means that large chunks of spaces area are completely deserted during certain times of the day, which affects safety.

The examination of urban elements in Kista shows that: the development and maintenance of urban form (which stands to denote all elements relating to the urban area: roads, pavements, lighting fixtures, buildings, public services etc) is influenced by segregation in the city, and it reflects and, in turn, reinforces the prevalent segregation.

There are more layers to this phenomenon: Kista is segregated by ethnicity, Täby is segregated by wealth. As Täby is a wealthy area, most characteristics such as absence of building-street interface, inadequate green/public spaces etc., are counteracted by the fact that the population living in this area satisfies their needs by different methods. For example, most houses in Ella Gård have their own back yard and huge chunks of green which will satisfy their need for open space, whereas, this is not the case in Kista, where people have to be provided with parks and open spaces by the government.

Segregation is a problem in Sweden, and the most recent Stockholm City plan addresses this. All new building projects must help raise perceptions of Stockholm and improve the shared living environment. Stockholm, as a city, has always been a place of carefully considered planning. In the book, “The Architecture of Landscape, 1940-1960”, Thörn and Andersson (2002) mention how the Swedish planning approached the ‘restructuring of the capital’. The decision to build the subway system, the decision to expand Stockholm into the Suburbs, were ‘an answer to a strong social need: improving living conditions’. A good living environment always meant that there was access to ‘air, light and sun’. At the time, it was a group effort by architects and planners, politicians and sociologists to define what a typical Swedish family needed for a happy life. It was also the period of the million homes program, which saw the most efficient solution to tackle the exponential population growth and the problem of homelessness.

Similar to the mid-1900s when there was a surge of population from the rural areas to the city, there has been a surge of population into the cities of Sweden in the 21st century, from all-over the world. The problems of over-crowding, housing deficit, unemployment etc. are compounded by the fact that majority of the population that has come in is not Swedish.
8. Conclusion:

The comparison between the two areas gives a picture of an urban form that is lacking in both areas. Although Täby ranks slightly higher than Kista in aspects of safety and building interface, it still is very much in need of improvement. There are two levels of segregation here: One is that the area is segregated from the city and the population feels isolated. The next level is the segregation within the area -- the disconnectedness, the poor quality of urban space which doesn't foster mixing of crowds or functions. This creates an environment which further widens the chasm between populations.

In the Stockholm Master plan, there is great emphasis on how important green spaces and public spaces are for Stockholm. The 2018 master plan makes the following claim: "Every local area is to have well-designed and well-maintained public spaces. Access to inviting and safe places that are accessible to everyone – and which do not impose barriers due to age, sex or disability – are fundamental in a democratic and equal society" (City Planning Administration, Stockholm, 2018). This is an important point as it points of Stockholm’s value system.

Integration of immigrant population is manifold, and an important part is the urban living experience. Making a person feel part of the society is at least in part influenced by the environment in which he/she lives and how close it is to where the native population lives. This is what is lacking in the segregated areas.

But this paper poses an important question: How does the quality of public space correlate to the population that lives in the area? Does the Swedish population have better quality public spaces in spite of being segregated? In some ways, yes, and in other ways, no. While they have ample amount of open space, own backyards and gardens, the street and building quality remain below par. The presence of a mix of functions, carefully planned transport systems etc. are woefully lacking in Täby also. But the population here has the advantage of owning a car, while the immigrant population depends on the public transport system to get around and depends on public spaces in the city for recreation. What is not provided by the city is made up for by the individual. This is not the case for an immigrant who is at a great disadvantage.

As I. M. Young(1999) points out, it is the lack of resources, or if they are present then of a lesser quality (in this case, lesser quality public spaces) that sets neighbourhoods apart from the rest. The psychological experience of a person living in Kista will be very different from someone living in Kungsgatan or even Täby, even though they may live in 'Stockholm'. Therefore, the ways in which resources are distributed, policies are framed and implemented, urban spaces are built and maintained, the general planning of an area is done – all these influence the way a person experiences a city.

And improving these areas and creating opportunities of 'movement' between the different areas is key to having an integrated society, in line with the ‘togetherness-in-difference’ point that I M Young(1999) makes. In an area like Kista, where the spatial planning is so strictly zoned, a forced mix of functions may improve the conditions. As Iris Young(1999) says in her essay, "I apply this ideal to desegregation policy, suggesting that moving resources to people is at least as important as moving people to resources". In Iris Young’s paper titled “Residential Segregation and Differentiated Citizenship”, she argues for an ideal of ‘togetherness in difference’.

This is the opposite of the ‘integration’ model where people of different ethnicities are forced to live next to each other by policy or some other method. While the housing societies and other institutions have to be held accountable for discrimination and structural segregation, people tend to live in clusters. According to her ‘togetherness in difference’ model, the population lives together in spite of the differences and accept each other’s agency.

And such an ideal is predominantly a mental state of accepting the other but this can be brought about by promoting the flow of population between the neighbourhoods. Young argues that in order to make this happen, there should be a movement of resources to the disadvantaged neighbourhoods rather than moving people towards these resources. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods of high racial concentration need massive public and private investment in housing renovation and development, commercial spaces and businesses, public spaces like community centres, parks and playgrounds, and job-creating enterprises.

Resources for community such as libraries, schools, hospitals, shopping centres etc. are present in areas like Kista. However, good public space is a resource for a strong and healthy community. Good parks and green spaces, well-maintained streets, and street plants and transport systems etc are essential. In both Täby and Kista, there is a need for better quality urban spaces but the lack of it affects areas like Kista more than it does Täby.

The present Stockholms stad master plan(2018), acknowledges the presence of segregation and social differences. It goes on to emphasize the need for a cohesive city, the need for good public spaces, the improvement in public transport and other goals such as environmental sustainability, network of parks, and business and economic development in the city. In a nutshell, the overall master plan describes the goal for a cohesive city thus: "Stockholm is to be a cohesive city where moving between different areas and visiting new places comes naturally. People with different back¬grounds must be able to encounter each other as they go about their daily lives and the city’s many urban settings with all their different features must be accessible to all of the city’s residents" (City Planning Administration, Stockholm, 2018).
9. Bibliography


