City Renewal in Kungsgången

Jonas Hugosson
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people that have assisted me in presenting this paper by questioning, criticising and encouraging my ambitions for this study. Professor Dominic Power has been of great importance during the initial work of outlining the specifics surrounding the study and as a valuable source of ideas and inspiration. Professor Jan Öhman added valuable experience to my chosen field of study by making further suggestions on how my original work could be improved, while Kjell Haraldsson together with my fellow students at the time assisted me during the process of gathering empirical data and during the actual writing. All of your feedback has been greatly appreciated.

Thank you!
Jonas Hugosson
1. INTRODUCTION

We as humans have a long history of living together in great densities in places we know as cities. These huge settlements have in many ways made our lives easier in that most of our needs are available in close proximity and the exchange of diverse sets of ideas and goods is made easier. But life within the city has also changed our behaviour towards each other. Anonymity, disconnectedness and individuality are terms that we associate with city life rather than life within rural communities. The city has also introduced other problems, especially after the industrial revolution and the appearance of the automobile from an environmental point of view. How does one in today’s world go about creating a city that facilitates the positive aspects of city life, while at the same limiting as much as possible the negative effects of high concentrations of people in one place? Is there an ideal city that planners should strive to create or do we look at the cities of today and try to see what works and what doesn’t? There have been many who have tried to answer this question in various ways, perhaps none more so than architects, city planners and scholars of the social sciences who have theorised on the city and how it should function, how it should be structured and developed to maximise the positives and minimise the negatives.

The city is going through a period of revival in Sweden. City centres are being overhauled and redeveloped in many places. Cities are regarded as hubs in the trends of regional planning and the profiling of a city is put into light in the world of growing global competition. How does this affect the planning of cities? Are we rethinking cities mainly to be attractive for business and industry, or are we developing ways to make the city more attractive to its people and for people visiting such as tourists? Surely there is a mixture of ideas here? More specifically; how does this effect the planning approaches in the city of Uppsala? What motivates the people that have a big influence on the way Uppsala is designed and planned? What ideals, if any, drive them?

1.1 The ideas on city renewal in Kungsängen

The initial purpose of this paper was to find out if there is a general vision of the new Uppsala, and if possible, to tie such a vision to older ideas on the city that previously have had a big influence on how cities are planned and constructed. I found out soon enough that such an ambition would be too grand for me to be able to find a satisfying answer within a relatively short period of time.

Instead I have chosen to limit this study to looking at a specific area of redevelopment, namely the district of Kungsängen. Hopefully this focussed approach to my study will serve to shed some light on the effect of a particular general strategy on a specific case scenario in Uppsala. My main working hypothesis is the following:

- What are the ideas on the ideal city that can be traced to the redevelopment of Kungsängen in Uppsala?
1.2 Method and delimitation

Finding out whether the direction Uppsala and Kungälv is heading in is guided by some sort of ideal might seem difficult if you do not narrow it down somewhat at first. A city is certainly built by many ideas. Building contractors might have their own vision of a particular housing development that they are putting up. Land owners can decide who to sell their own land to and the company or individual that buy that piece of land can within certain limits decide for themselves what to build there or what to do with the land. Even the choices made by people in their everyday lives affect the structure and function of the city. There are many different ideas and interests that have the potential to affect the look and feel of the city. The ideas that I am interested in though are the ones that can be said to represent a vision, an image of the city. Such an image can be found in the city’s structure plan.

Every municipality in Sweden has to have a structure plan that covers the entire municipality. This plan is a very general statement about the intended development of the city from the municipal government’s point of view. It is designed and written after taking into account several different public ideas and interests. It contains guidelines on what the land should be used for, how the road networks should be laid out and where the parks and recreational areas should be located for example. The structure plan for the city of Uppsala will serve as the first document for analysis. A general idea about the goals and ideas for the city should be fairly easy to filter out. There are of course weaknesses in studying a structure plan. The statements are very general, the ideas for certain areas are in no way sure to be realised and the whole idea for devising such a plan is to guide development, not control it in detail. But as has been pointed out, it is the ideas that I am interested in.

To take the analysis one step further I will study local development plans for my selected area of interest – Kungsängen. These plans should represent a more concrete and practical view of the ideas and how they sound and look when being realised in one part of the city. I will also study the redevelopment program that has been drafted for this area. In this way it will also be easier to read the ideas behind particular areas and city blocks and how different areas can maybe differ from each other from a planning point of view.

To complement the document studies that will be carried out I have interviewed four people that together make up an inside view of the planning process, of which ideas are being put forward, which are being refuted and if there is a general vision or anything else really that inspire these people and the way they see the city of Uppsala. Two interviews have been carried out with municipal representatives. First, Carl-Johan Engström, planning director at the office of municipal management. Second, Ingvar Blomster, former director of development in Uppsala, now a manager at the office of municipal management. A further two interviews were made with Tore Berglund, section manager at NCC housing and with Mary Starck, sales manager at JM. The four interviews of which two are public sources and two represent private sources will hopefully shed more light on what is planned and why.
To assist my analysis of the ideas that should be made apparent by the different steps taken above, I will present a couple of highly influential ideas within the domain of city planning: The Modernist vision – represented by Le Corbusier of the 1920’s, and Jane Jacobs’ critique of that ideal which inspired a new vision of the city – New Urbanism. The latter –ism is not my main focus though. It is Jacobs’ thoughts on the city that will be considered mainly. My results will be compared to the core ideas presented by these two “schools” of thought.

I will also briefly present some of the traditional theories on land use that bear relevance to this case. The Swedish concept “stadsmässighet” will also receive some attention in a separate section.

To further put some perspective on the work that is being done I have walked around the construction site that is Kungsängen, trying to get a feel for the place. This is not really a part of my study but more an addition and a complement to the paper itself. Since I have not chosen to stroll through the area by any particular method or standard this experience will merely be used to add some colour to the later chapters of this paper.

Even though I have chosen to write this paper in English most of my sources are written in Swedish which requires me to translate any quotes I wish to make. I consider myself an able translator so this should not pose too much of a problem.

1.3 Disposition
Immediately following this chapter the ideas of Le Corbusier and Jane Jacobs will be discussed and their views of the city presented. I will for the most part stick to the basics and try to find key pieces in their arguments that differentiate them clearly to allow for a condense theory that can easily be applied to the results of the document studies and the interviews. Later in the chapter I will present the work by Gunnar Leche, the city architect who throughout the modern history of Uppsala has arguably had the biggest influence on the city’s structure and design. I present some of his work and his ideas to get a Swedish and local example of what constitutes the city of Uppsala. Thereafter I will present some of the dominant theories on land use for use in analysing the results of this study.

Chapter three will consist of a presentation of the main points in the structure plan as well as a summary of the interviews that were carried out. The parts that are necessary and interesting for this study will be presented and explained accordingly.

Chapter four will deal with the more detailed analysis of the redevelopment of Kungsängen with the development program itself and a couple of local development plans as a basis.

Finally I will attempt to tie the ideas of Le Corbusier and Jacobs, along with theories on land use, together with the results of the empirical study.
2. THEORIES ON THE CITY AND ITS DESIGN

Organising and constructing cities according to pre-made plans is not a new phenomenon, nor is it unique to the modern world. The Egyptians, the Babylonians and of course, the Romans, all designed their cities and settlements with a geometric idea of intersecting straight lines (streets) as a starting point.¹ The grid forms squares, lots, on which to construct buildings. This grid pattern is common in many modern cities as well, but there are often traces of other ideas on how to construct the city. These ideas have changed over time and have had different influences and shaped our cities into what we experience walking or driving through them today. During the middle ages many city centres were cluttered and riddled with small streets that twisted and zigzagged their way around the built environment making the transportation of goods difficult and slow. Today we can still see clear remnants of these irregular patterns in older and preserved parts of our cities, but a hint of this part of history can also be seen in reconstructed areas where some of the smaller streets curve so that they do not run perfectly parallel with the surrounding environment. It is difficult in light of these irregularities to conceive of a centralised and carefully planned development of the city during these times.

During the twentieth century rebuilding and redesigning cities often became a matter of repairing and healing after a war torn first half of the century. Some European cities were almost completely destroyed and presented the city planners with a carte blanche on which to test new ideas on how cities were supposed to be constructed. Some of the more widely popular ideas behind city planning in those days were those put forth by Le Corbusier during the 1920’s which gained a firm grip on city planning in the 1930’s through “the international style” in architecture. His vision of the modern city was constructed as an ideal type of how a city should be built using the very latest in building technology and new materials. It was also a ferocious attack on the big cities of that time and how they were designed, or rather their apparent lack of any design.²

Opposing this ideal I have chosen to present Jacobs’ critique of the modern planning practises that were in part born out of Le Corbusier’s vision. In many ways her critique of those practises can be viewed as another vision of an ideal city, although she clearly states that that was never her purpose. Nevertheless, her ideas and critique of the modern city planning of the 1950’s have had a big influence on how planners and architects view the city today.

2.1 The Modernist vision of the city

The industrialisation of cities and the introduction of mass produced automobiles made the traditional city look dated in the eyes of many city planners. City centres

were often described as dirty, worn down, congested and in need of restructuring to cope with the growing volumes of traffic and trade. And in reality many cities appeared to suffer from these ills. Terms like “The diseased city”, or the city as a “cancer” were given credence by visionaries such as Ebenezer Howard and Frank Lloyd Wright. The city was in need of fresh ideas. Howard’s famous solution was for the workers of the city to move out of the central areas and into newly constructed low density garden cities that were designed to be quiet, comfortable, safe communities lush with trees, parks and bushes that reminded us of rural settings far, far away from any bustling metropolis. Decentralisation was both Howard’s and Wright’s motto.3

Le Corbusier took parts of Howard’s ideas to heart but put them into a higher density perspective and focused his energy on the city itself. The transportation networks was going to be more efficient and living within it was to become more pleasant. His ideas would come to influence city planners that would in turn leave their mark on cities all over the world for many years to come.

Like Howard and Wright, Le Corbusier was appalled at the state of cities in general. He described them as chaotic, noisy, dusty, disordered and diseased. But his solution was fundamentally different in that he wanted to radically change the structure of the city itself. His vision was not one of decentralisation, but rather the opposite. He wanted to increase the population density but decrease overcrowding within the city centre by building vertically. To make the city more efficient and minimise distance travelled, the city would have to be as densely populated as possible. His vision of a contemporary city of three million is described here: Massive skyscrapers in the heart of the city would provide business and office space for hundreds of thousands, each skyscraper housing up to 50,000 employees. Around this central business district a ring of tall residential apartment blocks would house the wealthy. Further out there would be medium density residential districts that would provide even more housing. Further out still industry would be located in a specialised zone. Surrounding the entire city would be a protected zone that was not to be touched until the city needed to expand. The garden cities that Howard spoke of (although Le Corbusier modified them to fit his own vision) would be located after this zone and with plenty of open space between them. All of these districts or zones would be connected through a strict system of streets, roads and express ways. The main “arteries” of fast traffic would run east-west and north-south outward from the city centre. Below this main thoroughfare would be lighter, slower traffic and further down below ground would be the roads used by heavy transport, underground rail systems and a regional network of freeways. The key was to reduce the amount of streets and intersections to make traffic flow smoother. This was achieved by layering the different types of transportation systems and increasing the size of city blocks. In this way he hoped to eliminate the “corridor-streets” of existing cities.

where houses face multiple streets that pollute them and overwhelm their residents with noise and dirt.⁴

A vision of the city such as the one described above was in many ways radically different to the existing cities of that time. Le Corbusier approached these cities as if he were about to fight a war against them: “...the desire to rebuild any great city in a modern way is to engage in a formidable battle.”⁵ And he likened the city to a great beast that required the city planners to have rules of conduct and principles for modern town planning if they were to succeed in taming it. A remarkable detail about his vision is the vast amount of open space left in between the massive buildings of his city. For example, 95 percent of the space in the centre was supposed to be open and dotted by squares, great parks, theatres and restaurants to ensure light and fresh air. To realise such a vision of the city you pretty much need to start from scratch. Very few city centres could match the amount of open space advocated by Le Corbusier, which is why he proposed to build in the open. Another solution is to simply raze existing buildings and whole parts of a city to make room for this new vision. This is what Le Corbusier wanted to do in Paris with his “Plan Voisin” from 1922.⁶

To sum up: The basic principles that should guide any city planner according to Le Corbusier are first, to de-congest the city centres. Second, increase density towards the centre. Third, make the transportation of people and goods more efficient. And finally, increase the amount of parks and open spaces.

![Figure 1. Le Corbusier’s vision of the contemporary city.](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Le_Corbusier)


⁵ Ibid, p 20.

⁶ Sennett, R (1990)., p 171.
2.2 Living streets
The modernist vision quickly became popular among planners from all over the world who were keen to address the problems they faced in their increasingly congested cities. However, the effects on the physical and social environment that the automobile-friendly, efficiency-driven ideas had, soon raised critical voices. Jane Jacobs is one of the more famous opponents of so radically changing the structure and physique of cities that became common in the middle of the twentieth century. Her book, “The death and life of great American cities”, published in 1961, pointed out flaws within this new way of approaching the city by planning theorists in the United States. One of her concerns was that the living city streets were being choked by uniformity and replaced by parks (Le Corbusier’s open spaces) that often failed to live up to their purpose. Her book is a fierce attack on a strictly theoretical approach to rebuilding and changing the city, an approach that isn’t interested in learning what works and what doesn’t in real life, but rather to implement that which is presumed to work according to modern and often economically rational theories on the city. The troubles of the great cities of America were quickly being addressed by focusing on solving traffic problems, the issue of congestion, and adapting the city to fit the needs of the automobile.

The greatest danger to a city or a part of the city, as Jacobs sees it, is a lack of diversity. The reconstruction of a new part of any city during the mid 1900’s generally meant that it was either going to be a residential area or a commercial zone, either affordable public housing or luxury apartments, either huge office buildings or a shopping centre, what Jacobs typifies as areas with a single primary function. Diverse neighbourhoods and city blocks makes the area more interesting for strangers as well as its residents, thereby increasing the amount of people that are present at any given time. The presence of people is one of the key issues for Jacobs in keeping an area alive, attractive and safe. People want to be around other people. In her book, Jacobs usually refers to diversity within a neighbourhood or a district within the city. Since cities are by nature diverse to an extent and since this is what attracts many people to it, the challenge for city planners is to make it diverse on a smaller spatial scale, such as the district. With districts and parts of the city full of life the whole city becomes a vibrant and healthy place to live in.

Jacobs assesses the city from street level, emphasizing the experience of parts of it from her own and from other people’s perspectives ahead of theoretical assumptions. Her conclusions on making a part of the city alive and diverse are split into four parts: The district and its subgroups must contain more than one primary function. A shopping district for example must also contain at least one other primary function, so that it can attract people during different hours of the day. Otherwise that part of the city will be effectively dead after the shops are closed. A theatre, cinema

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9 Ibid, p 120
or a concert hall are examples of primary functions that keep the area alive after business hours and attract more secondary functions such as restaurants, pubs and other services that benefit from the multitude of primary functions and increase the amount of “eyes on the street”.\(^\text{10}\) Second, city blocks need to be small and have streets that intersect at short intervals. The idea is that intersections and street corners make for attractive locations for stores, restaurants and various other services. Larger blocks also tend to funnel people down the same main street, making street life very predictable and reducing the possibility of discovery and variety.\(^\text{11}\) Third, the building stock needs to vary in age and pricing. The price of newer buildings is generally high, limiting their users to businesses that can afford them or to affluent tenants. Not all businesses can run at a high profit margin and therefore need low rents to be able to exist. An area that has newly constructed buildings and renovated older ones as well as cheaper, less attractive ones is likely to provide the area with a good mix of primary functions supported by a variety of secondary ones.\(^\text{12}\) Lastly, there needs to be a high concentration of people present. This last point seems rather obvious since the shopkeeper needs a solid customer base to make a profit while a restaurant cannot afford to have too many empty tables on any given night. But there is also a deeper meaning connected to the diversity of the area. A low concentration of people in a residential area for example allows for a less diverse supply of services and things to do. A diverse area rich in differences and possibilities requires a high concentration of people to sustain it. A large number of people present in an area at any given time also ties together with Jacobs’ safety criteria. People generally feel safe among other people and so a high concentration of people refers not only to people living in an area but also who work there and those that visit the area for different forms of recreation. Jacobs also points the finger at too much open space within areas that are at the same time supposed to be dense. Large open spaces reduce the land available to build on and generally leads to tall buildings that all look alike, thereby decreasing that kind of diversity. What city planners should be doing is to support the idea of people living in an environment that is, “…dense enough and diverse enough to provide them with a decent opportunity to create real city life.”\(^\text{13}\)

### 2.3 Modernism and diversity – Differences

It should be clear to the reader that the modernist vision represented by Le Corbusier and the vision of diversity by Jacobs is fundamentally different in several ways. I will further elaborate on these differences in this chapter.

The street is viewed by Le Corbusier as mainly a means to direct the flow of cars and other motor vehicles in the most efficient way possible. He wants to minimise the amount of intersections, clearly illustrating his view of the street as a domain for

\(^\text{10}\) Jacobs, J (2005), p 179-181, 186-190.
\(^\text{11}\) Ibid, p 205-208.
\(^\text{12}\) Ibid, p 215-218, 222.
\(^\text{13}\) Ibid, p 229-232, 243-244, 250.
the car, and remove people from them by providing them with huge open spaces at a safe distance from the flow of traffic where different forms of recreation and service is to be provided. All residential buildings should be turned away from the street and face these great open spaces. The street is a dirty, dangerous and highly unsuitable place for pedestrians in his view. Jacobs on the other hand wants to, if not maximise, then at least increase the amount of intersecting streets to provide more business opportunities and make the city districts more unpredictable and varied for the people that move in and through them. She also highlights the importance of buildings facing the street rather than the other way around. The huge city blocks proposed by Le Corbusier that are turned away from any kind of street life are the enemy of a diverse, complex and connected city according to Jacobs. She is also an outspoken enemy of the open spaces created by the modernist planner. She dedicates a whole chapter to illustrate how they can be dangerous and harmful for a city and its people. In part this is due to the fact that there is no natural presence of people in many of these spaces and no one to watch over you if you pass through. Open spaces can be good spaces only if they exist alongside a healthy and diverse part of the city and if they tie the area together rather than separate different areas from each other.14

Perhaps the most important conflict in these two approaches is the view on difference and diversity. For Le Corbusier the districts of single primary functions and repetition were an ideal and a main purpose of his city. In this way, the direction of movement becomes predictable and easy to guide and control. The chaos of diversity is replaced by a geometrical order that makes the city uniform and efficient. Office and service business takes place in the centre. Affluent residents live in a ring surrounding this district while the less affluent live in a ring surrounding the previous one, all of them living in medium- to high-rise buildings designed to be alike one another.15 The single-use neighbourhoods are what Jacobs describes as the enemy of the living city. She argues that city districts should contain at least two primary functions that together can support a varied supply of secondary functions, thereby making that part of the city alive and healthy for its residents as well as for visitors. She also attacks the uniform ways in which, for example, new housing developments were designed and built during the 50’s and 60’s. Large blocks of medium- and high-rise buildings that all looked the same surrounded by large open spaces do little for the diversity of a city district. But diversity was never a goal in these developments. Diversity and complexity only contributed to the perceived chaos and disorder in the city that modernists such as Le Corbusier were trying to do away with. Traffic problems were in part an effect of the inefficient mixing of different primary functions as they saw it. This negative view on diversity is, according to Jacobs, based on problem areas that have in fact failed to achieve an acceptable level of diversity. Diverse areas that fulfil her four criteria do not contribute to congestion or inefficiency. Instead they alleviate such problems by supplying people with what they need locally. Single-function districts increase traffic by supplying only one

function, making travel necessary if you want something which is not supplied in that particular area.\textsuperscript{16}

Another important factor for making diverse districts is that we as people in the city use visual references to navigate and familiarise ourselves with our environment. The modernist’s city of repetition and similar high-rise buildings make it hard for us to visualise a character to any given area since all areas would look the same, thereby increasing a sense of disconnectedness with the city itself.\textsuperscript{17} “\textit{You can move in places that are characterised by monotonous repetition, but it does not feel as if you are going anywhere.}”\textsuperscript{18}

As was discussed earlier Le Corbusier was hardly a fan of preservation and conservation. He preferred to wipe the slate clean and start anew with any city that was to be redeveloped according to his standards. Jacobs on the other hand is aware of the socio-cultural value of older buildings and other city structures and the diversity that they can provide, especially in areas that go through a significant level of redevelopment. Instead of erasing the history of an area and start from scratch there is always a possibility to keep certain places and reference points that could be valuable to people living there, to people in the city generally and to people visiting. Jacobs visits this argument vaguely but from an economical point of view in her point about the value of buildings of different age and pricing in any area that aims for diversity and difference. Keeping older buildings and preserving the structure of an area even though the area is going through significant redevelopment might help people keep in touch with the city. Preserving a landmark that has been in the same place for decades, renovating an old restaurant, protecting buildings that closely tie together with the history of a locale might not only preserve elements of that area but also provide a new development with a history from the start. Some have called it “urban footprints” while others call it a “palimpsest”. Both terms illustrate the importance of keeping the city “readable” for different people of different ages and backgrounds.\textsuperscript{19}

### 2.4 Gunnar Leche and his Uppsala

Theories on how to construct the ideal city gives us some clue as to what has influenced the planning of cities in general. But to gain a more specific understanding of Uppsala and the ideas that have formed its cityscape we need to take a closer look at the single most influential person in the history of city planning in Uppsala, Gunnar Leche.

Leche was the city architect of Uppsala from 1920 to 1954 which naturally lead to his ideas and his implementation of national directives to greatly influence the way the city was developed for a very long period of time. In the 1920’s he was mostly

\textsuperscript{16} Jacobs, J (2005), p 251-252, 258-259.
\textsuperscript{18} Jacobs, J (2005), p 252.
concerned with supplying the city with new public institutions, schools and health care which were located in the outer city. The growing demand for workers following the First World War also meant that the population was rapidly outgrowing the existing supply of residences. No major projects took place in the city centre. Uppsala started to spread out into the surrounding landscape.\(^{20}\)

The 1930’s saw more responsibility shifting into the hands of the city architect. Apart from being in charge of designing the new municipal housing developments that were to be part of the national program for social housing, Leche also designed several private housing developments for individuals and tenant-owner’s societies as well as commercial and industrial buildings and public institutions. Leche had a hand in practically everything being built in the city. And until his role changed he was in a position to oversee building permits, even those regarding his own projects.\(^{21}\)

The influence of the directives from the national government on local planning increased during the 1940’s. The Second World War forced a more general perspective, “samhällsplanering”, regarding the planning of cities and the scarce resources that were available were often controlled centrally through public loans and grants. These loans were for a long time directed primarily towards supplying affordable housing for the poorer classes and families with several children. In this period of transition towards a more general planning of the city and its functions, Leche was a major source of ideas and knowledge for politicians and local developers alike. The War brought with it a boom in industry and an establishment of a new Air Force base as well as other military installations. These things put together strained the existing public services and increased the demand for housing further. Instead of working in the previous manner of developing areas step-by-step wholesale changes were necessary. The city was now being developed in districts, with each district plan being designed and planned out all at once, including ready made services for its residents. It was all planned to become a final solution to the lack of housing and services. Leche was part of the whole process, from drafting the political program and deciding what and where to build to implementing the district plans on site.\(^{22}\)

The role of the city architect changed in 1952 with the incorporation of surrounding areas and towns to transform cities like Uppsala into larger municipalities. Leche became more of an administrator than an architect in the implementation of the new general plans and nationally initiated housing programs. He continued to work on municipal housing developments and some public institutions until his death in 1954. After his death he was paraded as a bad example. It was argued that to put so much power at the hands of one man in the design of a


\(^{21}\) Ibid, p 13.

city was dangerous and risked halting the influence of modern views on architecture and planning.  

Leche’s general style is a bit tricky to pinpoint. To illustrate I have chosen to briefly detail some of the more important influences on his work as city architect in Uppsala. He was highly influenced by the garden city movement during his early years studying to be an architect. This influence can be seen clearly in some of his work in Uppsala. The national romantic style was popular during his early years as city architect and a combination of the garden city with this style created Leche’s some of the comfortable residential neighbourhoods in the outer city that were more reminiscent of rural towns in Sweden rather than bustling city centres. His work on public institutions and larger residential buildings closer to the central parts of Uppsala in turn, has more of a connection to 1920’s classicism than to the later ideas of Le Corbusier. When Le Corbusier and his “modernist’s vision” became popular among architects and city planners during the 1930’s it didn’t take long for them to criticise what was then perceived as dated ideas on architecture and design, ideas that were still being put to use by Leche in Uppsala.

The 1930’s was the decade during which functionalism made its breakthrough in Sweden. The style which roots can be traced back to Le Corbusier did not leave its distinguishing marks on Uppsala immediately. In contrast to other cities in Sweden such as Stockholm, functionalism was slowly integrated into the cityscape and was mixed with other styles. Leche opted to keep the classical traditions of architecture in many of his design projects and often chose to implement certain aspects of functionalism into a more classicist mould or vice versa. Some have described his style as “...adapting the modern to tradition”. It was this mixing of different architectural styles and his failure to fully embrace functionalism which made a growing number of architects, jumping on the functionalist bandwagon, critical of Leche’s work. His long tenure as city architect also came into question during the 1940’s when the voices that were critical of Leche became plentiful among his colleagues. It was simply unacceptable to some that his traditional/modern marriage of styles held back the more modern ideas on the city that were spreading everywhere in Sweden. Leche stood firm in his beliefs and not everyone liked it.

The unorthodox nature of Leche’s work, his mixing of architectural styles and his focus on keeping the traditional as well as implementing the modern suggests a commonality with Jacobs rather than Le Corbusier. Even though much of his work was influenced by the functionalistic ideal, he was for example an opponent of categorical housing developments preferring instead to plan for mixed neighbourhoods where people of different stages in life and of varying degrees of economic strength could live and interact. He was also inspired by the city culture of

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the German Hansa cities with their strong social networks, diversity, well developed public spaces and varying architecture.\textsuperscript{27}

\subsection*{2.5 Land use theory}

In this section I will discuss theories on land-use that for a long time have been central to planning theory on an international as well as the national level. The natural reference point on land use theory is the \textit{von Thünen model} from 1826. This theory was drawn up by Johann Heinrich von Thünen and started out as a way of explaining the patterns of agricultural land use outside the city of Mecklenburg in Germany. His model connects land value (rent) with transportation costs and the type of goods being produced. Von Thünen concluded that farmers dealing with produce such as dairy or fruit need to be close to the market due to the perishable nature of the products and the limits this put on transportation. Cattle farmers who need large tracts of land for grazing prefer to be located on land in the outer periphery due to the low cost of land and the lesser need for market proximity.\textsuperscript{28} Some of his assumptions, particularly with regard to the transportation costs and the sensitivity of perishable produce, do not really apply today. His model nonetheless inspired a new wave of economic thought a century later, but within an urban context.\textsuperscript{29}

Walter Christaller’s \textit{Central place theory} dating back to 1933 was an attempt at explaining the locations and sizes of cities and towns in relation to each other. Development of the theory resulted in it being applied to the detailed geography of individual cities. The range and population requirements of markets and certain goods are of central importance to Christaller’s theory. The idea is that consumers that have to travel a distance to reach a certain product or service will only do so within a given radius. A product’s \textit{outer range} is the maximum distance a typical consumer will travel to get to it. Its inner range, or \textit{market-size threshold}, is the minimum consumer base required for the product or service to be sold or provided.\textsuperscript{30} For example, a restaurant will preferably choose a location close to the city centre or in one of the district centres where a lot of people live or spend their free time and where the infrastructure is well established, so that a lot of potential customers will be within walking distance while it will also be accessible to those choosing to travel some distance to reach it. The theory has historically been relevant for city planners when planning transportation networks and the localisation of public and private services such as schools, libraries and shopping centres. But it has also been criticised since it was based on a specific case scenario – the rural south of Germany, where certain conditions applied.\textsuperscript{31}

Masahisa Fujita takes urban adaptations of the von Thünen model and unifies them within a single framework of urban economic theory. The \textit{bid rent function}
approach, adapted to an urban context by William Alonso, is the essential core of his theory. He then applies this to the residential location choices of individual households, the location of public and private goods and services as well as multiple externalities such as congestion and pollution. The idea is that households and businesses will weigh preferences and certain conditions against the price for locating a residence or business in that area. Fujita argues that the model should enable researchers to…

“...employ the bid-rent function approach in determining the equilibrium location of each household as well as the equilibrium and optimal land use patterns of the city.”

If we take the example of private businesses they will have different bid-rent curves depending on the type of business. A restaurant will have a fairly steep curve since it depends on a solid base of customers. The owner will want to be close to where there are many potential customers. A cheap piece of land in the outskirts of town might not be a good location, even though the cost is low compared to the central parts where there are many potential customers but higher land values and therefore a higher rent.

2.6 Stadsmässighet

The idea of the city is of central importance to this study. The word “urban” is most commonly used to describe a city-like environment in the English language. In the Swedish language the word “stadsmässig” is a concept that has gained a firm foothold when characterising an urban area that looks and works the way an urban area “should”. Johansson & Råsmark discuss the concept of “stadsmässighet” in greater depth in their paper “Staden i ord och handling”. They argue that the Swedish concept is not just a simple translation of the meaning of the word urban, which in their view is a concept that has more to do with events and activities as well as a certain mentality among the inhabitants of the city, but that “stadsmässighet” is more commonly used when characterising the physical environment.

In their paper they separate stadsmässighet into a concept and a phenomenon. The concept of stadsmässighet has its roots in the neo-urban idea of the city as a densely populated area which facilitates meetings, a variety of activities and freedom of movement in the public spaces. Physical structures and characteristics are much more important than aesthetic preferences. The phenomenon on the other hand has more to do with producing the required living conditions for the individual such as a view of the waterfront, and a calm and quiet neighbourhood, rather than focussing on a varied and bustling street life.

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Much of what is associated with the term “stadsmässighet” can in addition be traced back to Jacobs’ four diversity criteria – her proposed method of judging a city’s city-like (“stadsmässiga”) qualities. Jacobs insists that city-like characteristics is something that evolves over time as a city or a city district grows, changes, experiences new building additions and take on new shapes and forms and functions. To think that this process of the city can be readily translated to the planning of new districts is therefore quite contradictory. Newly constructed city districts can never fit Jacobs’ definition of “stadsmässighet” since they will not immediately be able to fulfil all of her four diversity criteria and be said to be part of a gradual and spontaneous process of evolving.35

Is there a conflict of interests taking place here? I am sure that most city dwellers prefer to have access to a varied and entertaining city, a city with a pulse that lives and breathes in various shapes and forms. Restaurants and cafés should be filled with people. There should be theatres, musical events and other goings on alongside a healthy street life with lots of people moving around public spaces that are there to provide arenas for random encounters and spontaneous interaction. But do we want this in our own backyard? Or do people living in the city prefer calm and quiet neighbourhoods with the teeming street life of the city a safe distance away? Or is this only how planners and builders perceive peoples’ vision of city living? To what extent does legislation on the matter affect such decisions?

A common trend in city planning all over Sweden nowadays is the tendency to focus on density to a large degree. Not necessarily in the form of packing people together in high-rise buildings, but more in the way of surrounding people with other people instead of open and empty spaces. Many Swedish cities, like Uppsala, are spread out over a large area into separated districts with transportation lanes in between. The need for motorized forms of transportation in a city structured like this is evident. Environmental concerns are one reason for integrating such separated areas with each other by allotting land and encouraging construction companies to locate their projects to areas in between such separated districts.36 But social issues such as segregation are also an important argument for making the separated parts into a whole. If people from neighbouring parts of the city are given opportunities for chance encounters through common public spaces for example, the likelihood of social and cultural tolerance between people from different strata of society, or with different cultural backgrounds, increases.37

2.7 Legislation
There are institutionalized values and norms on what can be called the good city in Sweden, or at least what can be defined as being in line with the official standpoint
on the good city. The first obvious route of inspection is the state legislation on planning and construction, *Plan- och bygglagen (PBL)*. The following is quoted from the first paragraph of this particular law\(^{38}\):

> "With individual freedom in mind these regulations aim to promote a societal development with equality, good social living conditions and a good and sustainable environment of living for the people in today’s society as well as for future generations."

*(Author’s translation)*

This law has been of major importance to the Swedish planning process and the general work of planning offices around the country. Not only does it outline the general approach that the physical planning of cities should adopt as well as describe the rules and regulations surrounding the planning process, but it can also be said to draw an image, albeit a fairly hazy one, of the official line of good city planning and construction. Environmental concerns are very much in focus throughout, but there are also specific sections that deal with how buildings should be constructed, how they should be aesthetically appealing and blend in with the surrounding environment. New construction should also not affect or distort existing historically and culturally significant structures or milieus.\(^{39}\) Recently, additions on living regarding noise levels and other conditions inside and outside the residence have further regulated individual living conditions.\(^{40}\)

There are some conclusions to be drawn from this legislation. The radical city renewal and modernisation that typified Swedish city planning in the 1960’s and 1970’s is very clearly not in the best interest of today’s planning according to this legislation. There is a distinct feeling of an ambition of correcting or avoiding past mistakes and to make sure that planners tread carefully before making changes to a neighbourhood or a city district.\(^{41}\) Historical and cultural values are highlighted as well as aesthetical appeal alongside a concern of not interfering too much with what is already there. In the case of Uppsala this is generally very much in line with the ambitions of the structural plan. In the case of Kungsängen however, there are some conflicting issues to consider.

Boverket is the national authority on planning and housing. Their recommendations, which are drawn from national legislation, affect the way cities are shaped and specifically how living conditions should fit into the life of the city. Their guidelines on noise levels for example, very much affect how and where housing can and should be built. In the case of cities these recommendations limit the construction of housing to areas that fit within these guidelines. In the case of Kungsängen there are some conditions that clearly come in conflict with some of

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\(^{40}\) Proposition 2006/07:122 Ett första steg för en enklare plan- och bygglag.

these guidelines which I will discuss later. Although their guidelines are stated as being recommendations and not strict rules, they do affect how new housing projects are designed and constructed.\textsuperscript{42}

3. THE IDEAS THAT GUIDE THE FUTURE OF UPPSALA

So how is construction and development today shaping the future Uppsala? Below I will present the ideas expressed by the municipal planners and hear some of the voices of people representing the construction companies. But first we will look at the single most important document, the Structure plan of 2002. Here the municipal administration has put their vision for the future of Uppsala on paper and the statements and guidelines set out in this document determine to a certain degree how the city is developed and how much leeway is given to individual actors in specific areas of the city. The first part that deals with the structure plan will deal mainly with the plan chapter on goals and general ideas on the city and its development. I will not delve further into the plan but hope to complement this part later on with the more specific plans regarding Kungsängen.

3.1 The Structure plan of 2002

In the introduction for the plan of 2002 the need for a new idea, a new set of priorities for the city is highlighted as a central argument for adapting the city to changing needs and a growing demand for living opportunities in the centre. The old plan from 1990 maintained that the way for Uppsala to grow was by developing its surrounding smaller towns and communities, i.e. expanding outwards rather than developing the city and its centre. The high demand for housing in the city was expected to go down during the 90’s but this prophecy was proven wrong both by the number of failed attempts to attract people to new locations in the smaller communities around Uppsala but also in the rapidly increasing rents and prices on centrally located flats which illustrated the limited supply for the growing demand.\textsuperscript{43}

Fighting this lack of residential opportunities in Uppsala city, and at the same time maintaining economic growth, are the two main purposes of the structure plan of 2002.\textsuperscript{44}

The ambitions which are outlined initially illustrate the two sides of Uppsala: “The regional functions demands accessibility and space while at the same time the delimited and recognisable city centre must be able to maintain its small town-feet.”\textsuperscript{45}

Uppsala is in many ways integrated regionally with Stockholm and other cities, as well as on an international level through for instance the biotech-industry. These

\textsuperscript{42} Nyström, J (2003). p 141.
\textsuperscript{43} Ingvar Blomster 20061205, Office of municipal management, Municipality of Uppsala.
\textsuperscript{44} http://www.uppsala.se/uppsala/templates/StandardPage___3339.aspx, 20061124, p 8
links are seen as vital, but they must not be allowed to override local values and interests. *City healing* is a guiding principle in the structure plan. The horizontal expansion, or sprawl, of previous years that has led to a more thinly populated city is to be addressed by building a more densely populated environment in the city so that housing, businesses and other activities remain close together and in bigger numbers. The green areas are to be protected and access to the city is supposed to take place on the city’s terms so to speak. This puts pedestrians in the front seat when it comes to utilising space in the city while motorists are somewhat further down the list of priorities in the centre.46

There are ten objectives for the new structure plan for the city as listed below47:

- “Develop a healthy and good city life in all of the city’s districts.
- Create a diverse city.
- Protect the city’s green spaces.
- Improving the conditions for public transportation.
- Utilise the bicycle’s potential in the planning of the city.
- Traffic has to adapt to the terms of city life.
- Improve the different district centres.
- The character of the city’s districts has to be respected.
- Preserve the city’s skyline.
- Maintain a clear boundary between the city and the countryside.”

*(Author’s translation)*

3.1.1 Planning for diversity and a healthy social life

The structure plan of 2002 signals a break with earlier ideals of city planning in that it strongly advocates diversity and multifunctional neighbourhoods or city districts. The idea is that a neighbourhood that can serve its populace in a multitude of ways ties its residents together and builds a stronger local identity. Smaller and medium sized businesses should be able to establish themselves in areas that today are dominated by housing according to planners, but due to a fear of increasing traffic volumes in residential areas the plan recommends that the diverse areas should be concentrated along main streets or in other locations that can easily be served by public transportation. “These streets can provide some city life for district residents without disturbing quiet residential areas.”48 District centres can also function like these envisioned main streets by supplying a variety of services. External commercial centres such as the ones in Stenhagen, Gränby and Boländerna that today

are characterised by their mono-functionality should be developed into more diverse districts that in time can turn them into multifunctional district centres. The importance of an area’s diversity is connected to the idea that a local variety in public and private services provides a sound basis for neighbourhood connections and a functioning everyday life.

To combat segregation and to diversify some of the areas that today are dominated by one type of housing, rentals or tenant-owner flats, the aim is to mix in forms of ownership that can complement the existing housing stock. A mixture in forms of ownership is believed to attract people in different stages of their lives and from different socio-economic groups to the same area.

As part of the idea of a healthy city the need for closeness to green areas, water and parks no matter where in the city one happens to be is another priority for the municipal planners. Every district has to have at least one park to provide its residents and visitors with recreational areas and fulfil “...their daily need to experience greenery.”

3.1.2 Emphasis on public transportation and traffic adaptation
Being a city that is spread out as much as Uppsala is makes travel distances longer than they need to be. In the structure plan the need for further concentration of different services, businesses as well as housing in and around district centres and main streets is highlighted as a means to solve the dependence on multiple daily journeys by car. The new commercial district that have been established in the old industrial area of Boländerna is to be expanded to be able to further complement commercial services in the city centre. Activities that require a lot of space is to be located in this and other external areas while the majority of smaller establishments will be concentrated to the city centre and the different district centres. Concentrating multiple functions in a few easy to access centres makes public transportation more efficient and offers the individual a real alternative to getting around the city by car. Further improvements to cycle lanes and pedestrian areas in the city are also needed to make those means for getting about more attractive. By providing motorists with a complete ring road outside the city centre planners hope to further decrease the number of cars and lorries on city streets that are more sensitive to noise and pollution. The ring road together with the bigger, multiple lane main streets are basically the only areas where motorists will be given priority. In other areas of the city, particularly the central areas and residential areas, streets will be gradually adapted to the conditions of city life and slower speeds. Pedestrians and cyclists along with an expanded public transportation system will be prioritised while motorists will have to adapt to a slower tempo within the central areas, thereby

52 Ibid, p 34.
hopefully encouraging people to choose other forms of travel for shorter distances in the city. Except for maybe lowering the speed limit in these areas sidewalks will be widened while streets will be narrowed to make slower speeds seem more natural for the driver.\textsuperscript{53}

3.1.3 Kungsängen
The Kungsängen area has been dominated by industrial activity and space-demanding commercial businesses. According to the new structure plan this is one of the areas that are to be gradually redeveloped into a “city like” area characterised by housing mixed with smaller commercial services and offices. According to the plan this area will experience the most dramatic increase in housing, with room for 2200 new residences.\textsuperscript{54} JM, one of the construction companies that are active in the area named their recently completed housing development “The industrial city” that in a way reflects the changes the area is going through but that also tie the new development together with recent history.\textsuperscript{55} The development in this area consists mainly of large residential buildings dominated by the tenant-ownership form.

3.2 Conditions for city renewal
Why now then? All of a sudden Uppsala is experiencing a sort of city revival in the form of new and expanding residential areas, big landmark projects and developing district centres. What factors have contributed to the development that is altering the image of the city and increasing the number of construction projects across the city? According to Ingvar Blomster at the office of municipal management, a former building director of Uppsala, simple coincidence plays a role. Two of the major projects, the concert and congress building and the new central station have both been planned for a long time. The former project was first proposed some fifty years ago but due to a combination of local political differences over the years, unwillingness on the part of politicians and a lack of appropriate land, it has taken this long to realise those ideas. The fact that the previous local government had been in power for twelve consecutive years has probably also been an important factor. In the case of the station project, initial propositions surfaced during the mid 80’s that argued for an overhaul of the area around the central railway station to allow for a centralisation of all the different forms of public transportation, both local and regional, to one big connected travel centre. The proposition was shelved after a change in political leadership but resurfaced when other cities in the region started similar work in the 90’s, most notably that in the neighbouring city of Västerås. From then on the major political actors in Uppsala pretty much agreed that this centre was necessary for the city.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, p 24-25, 30-34.
\textsuperscript{54} http://www.uppsala.se/uppsala/templates/StandardPage__3339.aspx, 20061124, p 53, 64.
\textsuperscript{55} http://bostad.jm.se/, 20070105.
\textsuperscript{56} Ingvar Blomster 20061205.
Political willpower and the courage to realise projects that might be taxing both financially and politically has been an important factor in realising the landmark projects mentioned above. The fact that the social democrats had been in power for three consecutive terms i.e. twelve years, has perhaps made them more able to proceed with these and other projects that require a long period of processing and planning. During the latest term they also cut their cooperation with the left wing parties and started a period of minority governing which in many ways was supported by the right, significantly when it came to realising the two landmark projects. Twelve years is a long time to govern in Uppsala. Municipal elections have more often than not led to a change in leadership which oftentimes also means a varying degree of change in ideas and visions for the city. Time in office is obviously an important factor when trying to realise ideas.57

The market for housing in Uppsala has changed rapidly during the last decade or so. There was a period of calmness during the early 90’s when construction of new flats in the central areas was almost non-existing. In part this was due to the fact that the city’s planners still regarded the smaller towns in the municipality as the primary locations for growth. Attractive, peaceful and with good regional connectivity places like Storvreta, Bälinge and Björklinge was where the construction of new housing was to take place while the city was to remain in a kind of standstill. In reality it was in fact the city and the rural areas that experienced growth while the smaller towns could not attract people or construction companies as well as was initially thought. The city grew during this period without any real influx of new housing which naturally created a severe housing shortage which in turn led to a rapid increase in prices. Once it became obvious that the city was not going to stand still, the city planners started to work according to a new set of principles called “Vision 2020” where more attention was focused on the city.58

The rapid increase in prices on the existing housing stock meant that the market for sellers in Uppsala became very profitable. This is also an important incentive for construction companies to invest large sums of capital into new projects. This in turn can be said to present the population of Uppsala with more options in the housing market. By selling your flat, which has risen in value remarkably in a short period of time, at a high profit margin you might have the option to move into a newly built flat. At JM for instance this fact is seen as important to increase the possibility of making a housing career within Uppsala.59

3.3 Uppsala as a city and as a small town
An important change in the way city planners approach the city lies in the view of the city as a competitor on a bigger arena. Earlier the focus was much more on the municipality as a whole, with the city as one place within the municipality. Today,

57 Ingvar Blomster 20061205.
58 Carl-Johan Engström 20061208, planning director, office of municipal management, Municipality of Uppsala.
59 Mary Starck 20061220, sales manager, JM.
regional planning as a concept brings the city into a wider playing field where it competes in many ways with other cities in the region. This in turn has shifted the focus much more on the regional core areas, the cities, which function like hubs in the perspective of the region. This can lead to areas and places outside these cores to become forgotten or overlooked in some ways. Both judging by the contents of the structure plan of 2002 which separates the city of Uppsala and the smaller towns in the region into two different documents, but also by looking at what the market is focussing on this seems to be true. The construction that is taking place in the wider Uppsala area today is very much concentrated to the city, although this can be argued is taking place to counterweight the earlier focus on more external areas. Previously, by looking at Uppsala as part of a whole within a delimited administrative space, more energy was perhaps devoted to strengthening not only the city and its immediate surroundings, but also the smaller towns and rural areas beyond.60

3.4 Where to build and why?
During the early 1990’s the prices around the area of Kungsängen in Uppsala started to skyrocket as a result of a growing demand for office space and administrative buildings in the city centre. The area is located very close to the heart of the city next to one of the main streets that funnels traffic from the centre towards the south-bound freeway to Stockholm. It was and still is to an extent an area that is dominated by industry, car dealerships and service shops and other space demanding activities. The city planners were worried by the inflated prices because they saw the area as an ideal site for new housing developments. A plan, Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen, was drafted to put the idea of Kungsängen as a place for residences into the minds of construction companies and landowners. It was a statement of intent from the municipality that was going to affect the way the area was developed. The grand plans for office buildings launched by some companies never materialised and then the market for housing changed during the latter part of the 90’s so that building housing in Kungsängen as well as other central areas became more profitable. This was in part due to the rising demand of centrally located living spaces and the resulting rapid rise in prices. A similar chain of events affected the Kapellgärdet area. Today many of the big contractors have vacuumed these and other areas close to the city centre for land on which to raise new residential buildings. The residential demand for a central and ‘city like’ environment is at an all-time high in Uppsala.61

NCC is one of the bigger construction companies active in Uppsala. They are currently heavily involved in the construction of new housing developments in the older industrial areas of Kungsängen and Librobäck as well as Kapellgärdet. The new residential areas that are springing up in these parts are located close to the centre which make them easy to sell on today’s market. The land on which construction is taking place was for the most part procured cheaply several years ago.

60 Ingvar Blomster 20061205.
61 Ibid.
when NCC along with other companies saw the potential for housing in these run down industrial areas considering the high demand for central housing locations. After pushing for a redevelopment plan for these areas from the municipal planners so that housing could be built, the price for land surged upwards when those plans became reality. The only type of housing NCC is currently involved in building in the aforementioned areas in Uppsala is tenant-owner flats. The rental flats that the municipal management office is asking for are a rare occurrence generally speaking when looking at what is being built in Uppsala today. The reasons being that first, rentals would become very expensive in these areas and the safest way for the companies to earn back the money they invested in construction is to sell flats rather than to let them. Second, the target group for many of their projects are the middle-aged group of people that are looking for central and exclusive locations as an alternative to the house that they may currently live in. When their children move out they might look for a place to live in that is oriented towards couples rather than large families. Another group that is of interest are the younger couples that are in an advanced stage of their housing career. Both of these groups can afford the expensive tenant-owner flats that companies like NCC and JM has to offer. Rental flats are often more attractive for people who are just starting their housing career, or for retired persons who have to cut back on living expenses during their later years.62 Another turn of events that has deterred construction companies from building rental flats is the fact that a state-financed subsidy for building that type of housing will no longer be available as of 2007.63

3.5 Designing the city: City life and quiet neighbourhoods
What does city life entail? Is simply living close to the centre enough? Well, the municipal planners have actively tried to get the different contractors in Kungsängen and the other areas to allow for a variety of functions. The residential buildings of the 70’s that we associate with public housing and strict single-use functions are to be replaced by buildings that in the bottom floor have room for smaller businesses that can service the residents in the area and make the neighbourhood more lively. But getting the construction companies to accept this view has proved to be difficult. Making the entire building a block of flats is considered to be a safer and more reliable source of revenue for the companies that pay for the construction, and later for the tenant-owner associations that take over the management of the building, than providing space for smaller businesses at ground level.64 This fact is not lost on the city’s municipal planners but the issue of providing space for different commercial services in the areas where renewal is taking place is seen as a very important issue indeed. But selling the idea to the construction companies is admittedly a bit of a problem at this stage.65

62 Tore Berglund 20061215, Section manager, NCC housing. Mary Starck 20061220.
63 Mary Starck 20061220.
64 Tore Berglund 20061215.
65 Carl-Johan Engström 20061208.
The residential areas that are built by NCC are for the most part designed to be quiet and enclosed. The buildings are facing courtyards, parks or squares with very few of them facing the street. Even though they are promoted as central locations with a vibrant city life only a few minutes walk away, the distance from a bustling centre and the proximity to nature is also highlighted. Berglund explains this by pointing to the fact that various factors have influenced this decision:

“If we were to build smack in the middle of Uppsala we would design these areas in a different way, but these areas are not completely central which is why they are designed to be quiet residential areas… …we cannot turn the balconies and buildings to face the street because of different building restrictions.”

(Author’s translation)

Building in the absolute heart of the city is not what NCC sees itself as doing. The older industrial areas are supposedly “a natural expansion of the city” but not a natural expansion of city life, at least not at this point in time. The restrictions refer to noise and pollution levels set by Boverket that cannot exceed certain values. On top of these though there are other recommendations and municipal programs that can put even tougher restrictions on the construction and design of residential areas. If NCC and other companies were to just follow the basic regulations set out by Boverket and ignore the recommendations from the municipality their plans might be delayed or halted further down the processing line. These views are echoed by Starck at JM who also points out the advantage of building enclosed blocks that face inward:

“Building in this way makes use of as much of the available land as possible but also allows plenty of light to come in from all angles. Furthermore, the enclosed courtyards provide safe areas for the children.”

(Author’s translation)

Many ongoing projects are shared to a certain extent with other construction companies. In Kungsängen for example, JM are building two of the corner buildings that together with a further two buildings constructed by Skanska will form a square-shaped block surrounding a square. Starck points out though that little or no cooperation takes place between the companies even when they build this close to one another. Even though the block as a whole will look very much like one unit, the two sets of buildings have been designed by different architects and planned

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67 Tore Berglund 20061215.
69 Tore Berglund 20061215.
70 Mary Starck 20061220.
independently as two separate projects. The only parts that are planned together are practical necessities such as streets that go in and around the complex as well as the square in the middle. Nothing in the architectural design is coordinated. But since there are not that many architects with a local knowledge and they are mostly influenced by the trends of today, and since both companies want to utilise the maximum amount of available space, both vertically and horizontally, they end up looking pretty much the same after all.71

There are not that many of these projects that have facilitated the establishment of smaller businesses in the ground floor of the buildings to enable various other functions apart from living, even though this is something that would raise the attractiveness of that particular area.72 The city planners have requested that ground floors should have higher ceilings to allow for services like restaurants, pubs, hairdressers and day-care centres. But to many construction companies this is a hard pill to swallow. The planner’s long term perspective conflicts with the short term interests of the builder. The fastest and safest way for companies like NCC and JM to make money in these areas is by making the whole building consist of tenant-owner flats, the reason being the high demand for housing and the relatively low demand for service space in these areas at the current prices and ownership forms. Flats are easy to sell but business owners would rather rent their spaces than own them. This poses a problem for the tenant-owner’s society that shares the cost of every flat and space in their building. If the area fails to attract businesses and thereby leave many ground floor spaces empty, the tenant owner’s society would still have to share the cost of those empty spaces. The construction companies’ solution to this problem has been to turn some of the bottom floors into larger flats with a combined space for business, thereby hoping to attract people who might want to live in their office so to speak. For now though many of these spaces have turned out to be attractive mainly for people who use them solely as places for living in. In a long term perspective these flats have a potential for being used by different forms of services and businesses. The demand for those opportunities is not very high in these areas yet, but the municipal planners predict that in time that demand will rise as areas like Kungsängen and Kapellgärdet become more densely populated. If and when that happens it will at least be possible to adapt these larger flats with high ceilings into places for business.73

4. REDEVELOPING KUNGSÄNGEN

This chapter will deal with one specific part of Uppsala, namely Kungsängen. Kungsängen is a typical area for redevelopment or renewal in urban Sweden. In

71 Mary Starck 20061220.
72 Ibid.
73 Tore Berglund 20061215. Carl-Johan Engström 20061208.
many cities across the nation areas previously zoned as industry, especially in the bigger cities, are redeveloped into attractive residential areas. The proximity to water makes the project in Kungsängen even more similar to the ongoing trend of redevelopment in urban areas. First off we will look at the program formulated by the municipality for the redevelopment of Kungsängen. In the following section we will look at some of the local development plans to see how the general statements translates in detail.

4.1 Program for renewal
In the southern part of Uppsala on the eastern side of Fyrisån lies the area known as Kungsängen. This part of the city has for a long time primarily been characterized as an industrial district and zoned as such by the municipality. More recently, as demand for industry decreased and the demand for office space and commercial services increased businesses such as car dealerships, supermarkets and other retailers were established in this part of the city. Despite the commercial services located here and the relative proximity to the city centre the area has never really been integrated with the inner city or been included in what one might view as the flâneur-friendly neighbourhoods and streets of Uppsala. Instead the commercial services in Kungsängen are accessible mainly to motorized customers.

What the municipal planners are aiming to do at this point in time is to push a gradual transformation of Kungsängen into something completely different, namely an entirely new mixed-use district with housing and public as well as commercial services complemented by the waterfront (Fyrisån) which will be given a face lift. The general idea is to guide the development of the area in such a way as to allow a natural expansion of the city centre southward into Kungsängen. In 1991 work started on the development of a program of renewal for the Kungsängen area which included an inventory of the area as a whole and the different activities that took place within it. The time estimate for the completion of the entire program is generously set at a minimum of 30 years depending on current property owners, on the interest from private actors such as construction companies and crucially, on the possible future relocation of the sewage treatment plant that in its current location in the southernmost part of Kungsängen limits any residential development in that part of the district due to the smell emanating from the site.

The program in its revised form dating from 2001 starts off by describing the conditions and limits for renewal. Buildings that are defined as having a significant cultural and historical value are identified for instance. Activities that have the potential for disrupting a healthy city life are described and potential solutions to the noise and odour pollution that these activities emit are proposed briefly. It is very clear from the start that the older industrial activities that take place within

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Kungsängen will have to adapt to the different environmental criteria set by Boverket so that the construction of residences and offices can begin. It is also clear that the intention is to create a diversified and mixed-use urban district that to as large an extent as possible should resemble the city structure that is present in the very heart of urban Uppsala. However, the program states that the development of Kungsängen must take place naturally and with limited municipal control by “selling” the idea to various actors rather than forcing the issue on property owners. The only area that the municipal administrators will have close to total control over are the public spaces such as streets and parks.\textsuperscript{76}

The primary function of the area will be residential in character according to the program. But throughout the document there is an emphasis on complementary functions such as commercial and public services to keep the character as close to an inner city like environment as possible. Statements such as these illustrate this aim\textsuperscript{77}:

“[A block consisting mainly of residences should at least allow space for offices or shops in the ground floor.]”

“[Streets, squares and parks should invite life, movement and interaction, be beautiful, eventful and feel safe during all hours of the day. A characteristic of the city is that the street and the public spaces are places of meeting. To achieve a living street the ground floor should contain activities that face the street.]”

(Author’s translation)

There is also an expressed intent to make two of the north-southbound streets, Sågargatan and Muningatan, into main streets lined with shops and other commercial and public services to supply the local area.\textsuperscript{78} Kungsgatan, which today functions and will continue to function as one of the city’s main thoroughfares, is suggested as an alternative location for bigger, more space demanding businesses such as shopping centres that need to be easily accessible to motorized customers. These businesses have up until now to a large extent localised themselves in places such as Boländerna, one of the city’s external shopping districts and there is a growing fear that further large scale commercial establishments too far away from the centre of Uppsala might impoverish the central service supply.\textsuperscript{79}

The program states that the density of the area will be allowed to increase and therefore a larger portion of each plot will be available for construction purposes, maximising the use of land. Furthermore, the buildings in the area are to be designed as closed square-shaped quarters to fit into the general shape of the city centre and maintain a grid plan (See figure 2 below). There are no specific instructions as to

\textsuperscript{76} Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen. p 9-17.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid. p 18.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid. p 25.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. p 37.
which direction the buildings should face but entrances should at all times face the street. Inside each closed off quarter there is to be a courtyard that can function as a meeting place with plenty of greenery.  

Figure 2. Sketch of a residential block.  
Source: Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen, Uppsala kommun.

To complement the development of residences and commercial services and offices, the program for Kungsängen is also meant to establish a plan to give the waterfront in Kungsängen a major facelift. The establishment of a “green corridor” in Kungsängen is one of the major objectives of the program and one that is seen as necessary because of the lack of greenery in the area. As has become so common in planning policy nowadays the proximity to water is emphasized and it is next to Fyrisån that the local green corridor is planned. To make that part of Kungsängen even more oriented towards recreation and casual strolling the street that runs along the waterfront should be restricted by functioning strictly as an access road and not as a thoroughfare. The plan is also to expand the quay that runs along the water to allow plenty of room for smaller boats to dock and provide further space for strolling. The construction of a bridge solely for pedestrians and bicyclists

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80 Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen. p 18-19.
connecting Kungsängen directly to Stadsparken would provide another green corridor and would connect the eastern and western waterfronts together.\(^{81}\) The emphasis on greenery is repeated in the part of the program where the design and structure of the local streets is treated. In fact, one of the distinctive features of the street level in Kungsängen is that there should be a generous green space, or front yard, between the building and the street. This is more generous than in the case of more central parts of the city.\(^{82}\)

### 4.2 Local development planning in Kungsängen

Two plans will be analysed in this section: First, the plan that deals with one of the bigger ongoing construction projects in Kungsängen lot 23:1 that affects an area approximately 180 x 200 metres in size. Within this area JM and Skanska will complete four individual residential buildings separated by access roads that together will form a square-shaped block with a park/square in the centre.\(^{83}\) Second, the plan for the block which is the northern neighbour of the previous one where HSB will complete one residential building just at the edge of Kungsängen and alongside what is planned to be one of the main streets in the new Kungsängen, Muningatan.\(^{84}\) The reason for choosing these two plans is simply because construction is at an advanced stage. Because they are also among the first of these projects to be finished they will likely set the tone for how Kungsängen will end up looking generally further ahead.

#### 4.2.1 “Spolen”

As stated previously, this block will consist of four separate buildings, together consisting of up to 650 tenant-ownership flats, which will each surround its own inner courtyard. The courtyards are considered as private although they will be accessible from the intended public green space, the square that is surrounded by the four buildings. This square will only be accessible for pedestrians and bicyclists. These two separate green spaces are seen as ideal playgrounds for the local children.\(^{85}\)

The overall height of the buildings will exceed the previously allowed maximum of eight metres since they will all consist of five to six floors. The plan clearly states that the ground floors of all buildings should have a minimum height of 3.2 metres to allow for the establishment of shops and other services. The presence of available space for commercial services and shops in the area is not a requirement in the local development plan but rather expressed as an option for future development. Sort of a when-the-need-arises approach.\(^{86}\)

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\(^{81}\) Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen, p 22, 33.
\(^{82}\) Ibid. p 26-28.
\(^{85}\) Detaljplan kv Spolen, p 4-5.
\(^{86}\) Detaljplan kv Spolen, p 5.
The lack of any green spaces in the immediate area is expressed with regret but the future revitalisation of the waterfront is referred to as the primary green corridor of the district as a whole. In figure 3 the other green space in the immediate vicinity is visible on the left-hand side with the recently completed north-eastern building (JM) in the background.

![Figure 3. View south from Muningatan towards Kungsängen.](image)

The distinctive characteristic of Kungsängen according to the program developed by the municipal planners was to be the green spaces created along the streets and front yards in the area and this intention is repeated in the local development plan for this particular lot. Reasonably wide sidewalks will be flanked by the front yard and the avenue and its trees. The space in the front yard is intended to be used as parking for bicycles, outdoor tables for restaurants or cafés, patios or other appropriate uses. In figure 4 this design can be seen clearly (although the “green” isn’t all that green yet). There is also a section that deals with different proposals for reducing the different forms of pollution coming from the industries nearby. We will look at this in further detail in the next section since they are both very much alike.

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87 Ibid, p 5-6.
4.2.2 Hovställen

This block is located at the northern edge of Kungsholmen or what is referred to as “Kungsholmsporten” and the plan states the intended construction of a residential building with the possibility of business activity as illustrated by a minimum height of 2.9 metres for the ground floor. The building will take the form of a closed-off square surrounding an inner courtyard which will remain private so as to provide the local children with a healthy and safe playground. The buildings will reach a maximum of seven floors or 28 metres and will be made up of 145 tenant-ownership flats. Part of the lot includes a building that is marked for conservation which means it cannot be altered in any way. HSB, the construction company that has purchased the development rights for the lot is urged to advise the Upplandsmuseum of its intentions before commencing construction.89

A school and a pre-school is planned for the area according to the renewal program but the exact location of these has not yet been established. As for commercial services the plan points to the proximity of the city centre and its diverse supply and also emphasizes the need for adaptation in the local area. If the demand

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89 Detaljplan kv Hovställen, p 1-2, 4.
for a local supply of these activities increases the area should be able to supply that demand “gradually”.  

Figure 5. View south into Kungsängen with the residential building constructed by HSB to the left.
Photo taken by the author

South of the finished building and adjacent to the previously described lot there is room for a park, shown above in figure 3, to supply this part of Kungsängen with its much needed green spaces. The importance of the planned green corridor on the eastern bank of Fyrisån is again emphasized for the vitality of the entire area. The same standard as in the previous plan applies for the spaces at street level, avenues flanked by a wide sidewalk with a generous front yard.  

Finally, there is a section that at length deals with the proposals for dealing with the sound and air pollution emanating from the nearby industrial activities. As in the previously described plan it is established that certain things must be done to reduce the noise levels in the area as well as take necessary steps to provide clean air for the residences. The noise level in the area can be reduced by investing in new equipment and taking steps to muffle the noise coming from some sources, most notably those at Nord Mills and Odal. In both sets of plans it is clearly stated that these types of measures are absolutely necessary and that the responsibility for investing in them is laid solely on the construction companies active on these two lots, JM, Skanska and HSB.  

90 Detaljplan kv Hovstallängen, p 12.
5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I will start off this chapter by applying some of the ideas from Jacobs and Le Corbusier to what is going on in Kungsängen and attempt an application of land use theory in the case of functional diversity.

5.1 Jacobs four diversity criteria

Since the structure plan pushes the idea of diversity in Uppsala’s city districts so passionately it might be of some value to try and apply Jacobs criteria to the planned redevelopment of Kungsängen. Now, one can easily argue that Jacobs’ argument is based on the life within much larger cities and cityscapes and she herself does in fact point to the importance of a city’s population if her statements about city life are to have any bearing on a particular case. Uppsala is not really a big city like New York but neither is it a small town. Jacobs’ book might be more oriented to cities of millions, but I argue that her reasoning behind a healthy city life can also be applied to a city like Uppsala. This is something that the municipal planners of Uppsala seem to agree with since they use many of the terms and conditions for city life in the same way as Jacobs does in her book. So, let us take a look at the diversity criteria one by one.

The first criterion is of great importance to Jacobs, namely that an area should contain more than one primary function. Today Kungsängen can still be characterised as primarily an industrial area, a place of work. The construction projects that is ongoing in the area further serves to strengthen that image. The residential function is gradually growing and will likely come to characterise the area in time. But what will happen to the industry in the area? When leafing through the renewal program, browsing the structure plan and analysing the local development plans there isn’t much in the way of arguing for a preservation of this function. Certainly some industries have to go to make room for new residential buildings, but can the presence of some industrial activities be beneficial for the neighbourhood and the future of commerce in the area? It might be that the negative externalities that industry often produces such as noise and air pollution weigh heavier than the positives such as a growing number of customers for local shopkeepers during the day. And the fact is that many of the larger industries are located close to the water, Fyrisån, which make them and the lots that they sit on prime targets for the construction companies who willingly admit that they cannot wait to get their hands on them. When you are closer to water, selling with a high profit margin becomes that much easier in today’s housing market. What about supporting or secondary functions? The renewal program clearly states that the presence of private commerce is of vital importance in making Kungsängen a part of an expanded city centre. So far this condition seems like it is unlikely to be fulfilled in the near future. Even though there might be a possibility to alter the ground floors of some buildings and adapt them for different types of businesses, there simply isn’t space now for that to

93 Tore Berglund & Mary Starck.
happen. If the plan to build some kind of shopping centre somewhere along the main thoroughfare of Kungsgatan is realised, it could supply the area with a second primary function and make conditions for city life much more favourable. But so far the majority of large commercial establishments have taken place in external commerce districts such as Boländerna.94

The second criterion for Jacobs is that each city block must not be too large so as to allow for many intersections. Jacobs’ idea is that many intersecting streets and walkways provide each person with several different options for getting to a certain place, thereby increasing the likelihood of random meetings of different kinds and supplying the district with many corners that can serve as valuable places for business. The Kungsängen of today is characterised by the opposite, large lots that consist of large open spaces with few intersecting streets. The plan though is to cut up many of the existing lots before raising new buildings so as to provide a more city like feel and a design that resembles the grid plan of the city centre. When walking through the area you can definitely sense the difference that the new square-shaped block of four buildings create in “Spolen”, the local plan described in the previous chapter. It is markedly different to the surrounding area in that it is a big lot cut up in four pieces surrounding an inner square. This square is accessible from four directions and is easy to pass through. In fact, as a pedestrian this will more than likely be the natural way to go if you want to traverse the area from north to south or the other way around since the main street of Muningatan ends just as the access road to the square from the north begins. It is not possible to cross the square by car, but it is accessible on foot or bicycle. The one thing that struck me when walking here though was that there didn’t seem to even be a remote possibility for any type of commercial establishment within the square in the future. The “adaptable” ground floors seem to be limited to the parts that are facing the street, not inward towards the square. In a few years when the area has matured a little bit this could have made an ideal spot for an entrepreneur to start his or her café or restaurant.

Thirdly, the building stock needs to vary in age and pricing. Well, this is a point that the area will almost certainly fail to live up to. The residences that are present will for the overwhelming part consist of tenant-ownership flats in the medium-high to high price range. Newly built flats are more expensive and it does not look like there will be much in the way of rentals in the area. In any case, these will likely be expensive as well. There are some buildings that will be preserved for their cultural and historical value and these might provide cheaper alternatives for business owners with low profit margins, but it is not known yet what type of activities that will be allowed in the buildings that are to be preserved. In the renewal program there is a stated desire to keep the huge silo structure in the north-west of Kungsängen currently owned by Nord Mills regardless of whether business continues there as usual or not. The structure is a distinctive feature of Kungsängen and could continue to function as a landmark. One option could be to convert the silos into housing as

94 Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen, p 37.
has been done in other places.\textsuperscript{95} This would not only provide an architectural challenge but also a unique place of living (See figure 6 below for an example). Jacobs’ point on preserving old buildings may not be as easy to apply in an area such as Kungsängen that is going through a functional transformation from industry to housing. This is important to consider in this particular case.

The last criterion states that a high concentration of people must be present in the area at any given time. Apart from the people who live there places of work and business provide an additional group of people to the area. They will also ensure that the area is populated during the day when many residents might be at work outside of Kungsängen. Whether or not Kungsängen will live up to this criterion is difficult to say. There will certainly be a high concentration of residents in the area, but if the area is to be populated during the day it requires the fulfilment of the first criterion – a multifunctional neighbourhood.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{silhouette.png}
\caption{A silo converted into flats in Copenhagen, Denmark. Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Copenhagen_buildings}
\end{figure}

5.2 Modernism in Kungsängen

At first glance it is hard to find much common ground between the modernistic planner and the development in Uppsala and specifically Kungsängen today. Much of what is being done can easily be explained as city healing, as a way of solving the

\textsuperscript{95} http://sydsvenskan.se/skane/kavlinge/article236610.ece, 2007-05-10.
problems a city such as Uppsala is facing in part as a result of the modernist view on planning a society and a city. Modernists such as Le Corbusier tried to heal the cities of the early 20th century by fixing what they felt was inherently wrong with them. Large scale interventions were deemed necessary and cities needed to be adapted to the growing number of cars in the streets. Critics like Jacobs later argued for moderation and a return to more traditional values when rethinking cities. The wholesale changes that big cities went through in the 50’s, 60’s and 70’s was later on attacked by the general public and soon enough by the planners themselves. So what are we seeing today? Surely there is a mixture of ideas when planning the new Uppsala and Kungsängen in particular. The planning of traffic and efficient solutions to parking are examples of planning today that comes from the modernist vision of the city. In Kungsängen the majority of cars are parked underground in big parking garages, the only option really when you are building big residential buildings on relatively small pieces of land. Another inspiration from the works of Le Corbusier and his followers is the emphasis on green spaces and green corridors. Like him, the planners of today see the presence of nature and greenery as something essential to human existence and life within the city. The structure plan talks of a daily need to experience greenery and that view is echoed when looking at how the areas in Kungsängen are planned. Sure, walking around Kungsängen today you might despair over the lack of comfort and calmness. But that could also be because of the presence of industry rather than the lack of something green. Personally I first and foremost associate city life with people, lots of people and lots of different things to do. Trees and lawns are nice, but there is not much point to them if there are no people to populate these green spaces or no activities to attract them. The often stated importance of green areas is a clear heritage of modernist visions of the city. The safety and health aspects of closed off courtyards for children of families living in the area are another element that can be traced to Le Corbusier and maybe even to Howard. The green spaces behind the buildings should be closed off from the street for safety reasons.\textsuperscript{96} It is hard to argue with this point but Jacobs did so by claiming that raising children became easier if when outside they had several eyes on them. The wide sidewalks of traditional New York lined with residences, cafés, shops and offices were, at least to her mind, an ideal environment for children.

As Westin has argued, the modernistic vision often shines through a stated focus on “stadsmässighet”, a concept that bears more resemblance to Jacobs than Le Corbusier.\textsuperscript{97}

5.3 Functional diversity

Despite the proximity to the city centre there is currently little room for business to take place at ground level which could potentially liven up the neighbourhood and, at least according to Jacobs, make it safer and more interconnected. The possibility is there for a gradual adaptation of the ground floors into commercial spaces, but

\textsuperscript{96} Program för förnyelse av Kungsängen, p 18.
\textsuperscript{97} Westin, S (2005).
looking at the finished buildings it is not hard to see that it would take some major reconstruction to fit a store or a restaurant into any of the ground floors of the buildings that are finished to date. This is also a subject of some conflict between planners and construction companies. As the interviews with NCC and JM showed there is little in the way of an economic incentive to allow for this kind of development straight away. The safe money lies in selling flats, not leasing space for potential businesses. The views expressed from the municipal planners echoed a concern that the objective of allowing for businesses in the ground floor might not be realised in the short term. What effects this will have for the area remains to be seen.

The representatives of NCC and JM seem to have a valid point though. When walking through the area today there is obviously a limited basis for any business to prosper straight away. As the renewal program is gradually realised it might take some time before the demand for different services is high enough for potential business owners to invest time and capital in a business in this area.

By applying the theories on land use that I presented in chapter two it may be easier to understand the reluctance of the construction companies in leaving space for commerce in the area. The von Thünen model adapted to a modern urban context by Alonso and even later on by Fujita, can explain to a degree the expectation on business establishment in an area such as Kungsängen. Today the number of people living in the area is relatively low and the area is not really obviously connected to the rest of the city, at least not on a “street life” level so to speak. Even though the land values may not be as high in Kungsängen as in the city centre, the high costs associated with new construction would make the rent for potential business owners high. According to the bid-rent function approach a business would attempt to choose its location based on a set of conditions, the rent being one, and the consumer base and potential for monopolistic competition being another. Businesses with steep bid-rent curves such as restaurants might not be put off by the higher rent, since a business that depends on a high concentration of people expects to pay a fairly high rent for its location, but might instead be put off by the lack of costumers and street life. Businesses with shallow bid-rent curves that don’t need to be close to “the market” to use von Thünen’s terms will more than likely be put off by the high rent.

In Christaller’s Central place theory the market size threshold is of central importance. The question is whether there is, in Kungsängen today, a sufficiently large consumer base for business to flourish. Without a doubt this base will change as the area gradually shifts from industry to housing. I say “change” because while more people will certainly live in the area as it transforms into an area of residence primarily, the amount of people that is present there might not change too much from today. There are a number of working places where a lot of people spend a large part of their day today. Isn’t it entirely possible that there is in fact a sufficient base for say, a restaurant to flourish by appealing in part to the people working in the area as well as those living there? Are there other factors influencing business owners decisions than rent and consumer base?
I would argue that the appeal of the area as a construction site, because in essence that is what it is and looks like today, is very low. This point should be valid for business owners and for people taking casual strolls alike. Kungsängen just doesn’t “feel” like city-like surroundings just yet. It is a city district in transition with a potential for being something more than it is today. How it will evolve and change into something else, into something resembling what Jacobs along with modern day planners might refer to as “stadsmässigt” remains to be seen. The least that can be done in the meantime is to ensure that a potential for ground floor businesses and storefronts is encouraged by planners and builders alike. This should be required as being part of a sustainable and long term perspective on physical planning.

What about the industrial activity in Kungsängen? In the national legislation on the planning and construction there is an emphasis on preservation and careful consideration for historically and culturally significant buildings, milieus and traditions. In Kungsängen the fact is that industrial activity has pretty much been ever present in the area. This tradition is considered to some extent in the municipal plans, as in the expressed intent to preserve buildings raised by Gunnar Leche and the landmark structure of Nord Mills’ silos. But in other ways it is clear that industry must give way to the development of housing. If the guidelines from Boverket are to be followed to the letter there is simply no room for industry so close to residential areas. Noise and odour pollution levels are high as it is and they will more than likely have to be lowered in the immediate vicinity and further south as well as the redevelopment continues. Add to that the current trend of building residences as close to water as possible for property value maximisation and it is easy to see the industrial lots near Fyrisån being converted sooner rather than later. How far the consideration of local cultural traditions will be pushed regarding the presence of industry in Kungsängen will be very interesting to see.
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