

Department of Social Anthropology

Stockholm University

June 2012

The Dream of the Garden City

Representation of space as a means of resistance

Published version

Felix Törnqvist

Supervisor: Mark Graham

Contents

I	Introduction	3
II	Method	10
III	Area	17
IV	Representations of city space	25
V	Problematizing representations	56
VI	Organisation	76
VII	Endnotes	84
VIII	Bibliography and sources	91
IX	Images	97
X	Transcripts	104

Set phrases – informants

Of Eldhund – Informant living as tenants in the block of flats known as Eldhund.

On the ridge – Informants living in the immediate vicinity of the ridges in detached houses of their own.¹

Beyond the ridge – Informants living in Stora Mossen or the Bromma garden city but out of sight or earshot of the planned developments.

Set phrases – representations of space

Howard's garden city – The utopian vision of the social city as defined by Howard.

Swedish garden city – The vision of the garden city as planned and authorised by the City in the first years of the 1900's.

Present garden city – The current understanding of the garden city.

Key terms

Complaint – Synpunkt

Consultation – Remiss, yttrande

Owner occupied flat – Bostadsrätt

¹ One single informant does in fact live in an owner occupied flat located on the ridge.

I. Introduction

“These the first of row-houses were indeed both simple and inexpensive, but they were still very hard to sell. They raised a storm of protest from the “real” villa owners who considered them a disgrace to the congenial Äppelviken. According to a letter of protest, the development would:

‘Make for naught the original character of Äppelviken as the quiet and peaceful oasis of the middle class, as well as that of the low density garden city’.

It took a prominent social democrat, chairman of the City Council Fredrik Ström, to break the resistance by settling in one of the newly built row-houses. This is what he wrote in 1942:

‘The stone city receives its energy and health from this development of garden cities to become a paradise for families and children. The pulse of work becomes strong and the love for community and country grows. The urge to defend the nation and freedom animated. The love of nature and beauty untarnished’.

He is right of course, though a bit lyrically wound up. What we have a problem understanding today when we walk past the charming and well-kept row-houses, with their patches of flower, convenient communications and their own greenery areas just outside the door, is the reason for this storm.”²¹

The Stockholm metropolitan area is currently enjoying a rapid increase in population. According to public sources, annual growth for the year 2010 exceeded 35 000 people, almost half of the total population increase in the country³, a number which has increased steadily over the last few years.⁴ The rapid growth has in turn led to a sustained housing crisis, with property prices skyrocketing and a growing popular demand for more housing. In reply, the incumbent conservative City Council has proposed a plan for expanding the city by building high-density urban developments beyond the current city proper and into the first rings of low-density suburbs, utilising undeveloped greenery areas or re-zoned industrial

² Reimers, Christian & Reimers, Gerd, *Hus och människor i Bromma: från Nockeby till Alvik, Vinghästen, Bromma*, 1994, pp. 35-36.

³ USK, *Folkmängdens förändringar 2010: population changes*, retrieved 15 May 2012 <<http://www.uskab.se/images/stories/excel/b204-filer/sheet001.htm> >.

⁴ SCB, *Fortsatt stor ökning av befolkning i tätort* (Population increase in urban areas remain strong), retrieved 15 May 2012 <http://www.scb.se/Pages/PressRelease___317009.aspx >.

property as well as increasing density in already established suburbs, causing a certain amount of consternation among citizens already settled.

In Stora Mossen, a part of what is known as the Bromma garden city, the plan for new developments around the local underground station has led to vocal protests from tenants and homeowners, decrying the developments as destructive to the community in general and its historical legacy in particular.

This study concerns the struggle between the City and the citizens of Stora Mossen to take control over the contested area and to gain the right to define its usage and character.

A question of space

The issue concerning Stora Mossen and the resistance to new developments ties in with greater issues concerning the growth of the suburb as a form of urban development as well as segregation, a problem endemic to Swedish city planning. The question we shall ask in this study is twofold.

First of all we shall examine the formulation of resistance on behalf of the residents of Stora Mossen and contrast it to the representation of space formulated by the City. This shall be accomplished by compiling accounts from local informants that form two reified understandings of Stora Mossen as a geographical and social space.

On the one side is that of a historical legacy connected to the imagined properties of the garden city, a utopian city planning movement of the late 19th and early 20th century.

On the other side is that of a general historical and aesthetic ideal, tied closer to the social practice of the suburb in general than to an imagined grand origin. Together with the practical concerns of everyday life they form a cluster of views challenging the practice of the City and the real estate developer involved in the planned developments.

Second, we shall analyse the representations brought forward and contrast them to the established needs of the metropolitan area as a whole. This will find that several of the lofty ideals of historicity and aesthetics rely on an unvoiced deprivation of the greater community in order to be maintained. Others yet will be found to identify issues glossed over by City planners, wrongs that could very well be righted through more inclusive planning practices. In short, the purpose of this study is not only to point to the formation of disparate images of reality and their likely origin but to problematize their construction in relation to others, the result being a deepened understanding of the conflict specific to Stora Mossen as well as a realisation of the difficulty of formulating and achieving social change.

Representation of space

In order to achieve this we shall begin by deciding a theoretical approach for the formulation and analysis of space as a social category.

Henri Lefebvre, the pioneer of space as a concept in social science, believes that space is created on three different levels; the *physical*, which concerns observable reality such as geographical features, the *mental* which governs ideas concerning the aforementioned reality, and the *social* which negotiates the understanding of the two former in a way that might best be described as unpredictable.⁵ Applying these three components to society, Lefebvre arrives at an analogous three-part division, namely *representational space*, *representations of space* and *spatial practice*⁶, the categories that will be used to structure this study.

Representations of space are largely similar to the mental and consist of the tangible ideas and ideologies formulated by different actors that define space and its use. While this category is primarily associated with public officials and planners it is not exclusive to them but may also be the domain of informed citizens, or as Lefebvre himself puts it the “artist with a scientific bent”.⁷ Representations of space may be exemplified by the different ideas and narratives expressed about city planning and good living espoused by different actors in Stora Mossen. *Spatial practice* consists of the physical, what we might otherwise call observable reality. It incorporates the obstacles and possibilities inherent in geography and our everyday lives, which serves as a platform for representations of reality but also as a limitation to the same. While the representations of reality may dictate how we should live our lives the spatial practices limits their grasp to what is actually achievable at any given moment.⁸ The road and underground station which connects Stora Mossen with the rest of the city will offer a tangible example of places where spatial practices provide representations of reality with a reality check.

Representational space mimics the social by forming the end result of representations of space and spatial practices. What is imagined and what is done combine to form a new form of practice and ideas which Lefebvre simply describes as the lives of the inhabitants or the descriptions thereof.⁹ What is less candidly stated by Lefebvre but becomes obvious in this

⁵ Lefebvre, Henri, ‘The Production of Space’ in Dear, Michael J. & Flusty, Steven (eds.), *The spaces of postmodernity: readings in human geography*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002, pp. 133-134.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

study is how representational space provides feedback that lead to new representations of space.

Given the inflexibility of the physical and the unpredictability of the social, controlling the representation of space which governs these two forms the key to controlling space. Hardly surprising, the chief factor for controlling these representations, particularly in the urban context, comes through economical means.¹⁰ The shift from an industrial economy based on production to a post-industrial economy based on consumption forms an important backdrop to the representations of space present both among City planners and the residents of Stora Mossen. Space once allocated to housing and catering for a working population engaged in production have become economically untenable, prompting a move towards spaces encouraging consumption, displacing those without the means to maintain such a lifestyle.¹¹ In an example from Baltimore, Maryland, David Harvey indicts the post-industrial economy as the main culprit in a none too palatable change in the representation of space in which a subjugated underclass is not only shut out of the city by gentrification but see their civil rights eroded as decent living becomes a matter of money.¹²

In this new economy, the importance of consumer choice becomes paramount. Telling a story similar to the on-going dismantling of Swedish public housing policy Craig Gurney provides insight into the importance of home ownership as opposed to rented housing in Great Britain. In a society where ownership is cast as normative, owning your own home becomes a potent symbol of normalcy as well as exclusion for those unable to attain it.¹³ Those who are unable to achieve the housing norm and attain the ability to make the proper choices suffers for it, not necessarily by being labelled as bad but definitively by being labelled as not as good.¹⁴ The phenomenon itself is not new, but underlines the historical development that led to the initial creation of garden cities in Sweden as well as similar housing during the same era, a policy that persisted as a supplement to rented housing during most of the subsequent people's home era.

¹⁰ Harvey, David, *Spaces of hope*, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 2000, pp. 138-141, 148-156; Keith, Michael & Pile, Steve (red.), *Geographies of resistance*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 2-3; Lefebvre, pp. 132-133.

¹¹ Harvey, p. 148.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141, 148-156.

¹³ Gurney, Craig, "'We've Got Friends Who Live in Council Houses': Power and Resistance in Home Ownership" in Hearn, Jeff & Roseneil, Sasha (eds.), *Consuming cultures: power and resistance*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1999, pp. 47-53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-63.

The origin of suburbia

The suburb came about at roughly the same time as capitalism and the proliferation of the middle class in Britain in the 18th century, the separation of work and free time making it possible to have a residence away from one's place of work.¹⁵ The distinction between the two is perhaps the most salient reason for its existence considering the noise and pollution of both cities and industries. The separation of work and pleasure also served as both a theoretical and practical class marker; in terms of imagery the rural life of the upper classes and nobility was seen as better than that of the urban workers and in practical terms the cost involved for housing, commuting and the loss of female labour (somebody had to tend to the house even when it was no longer a production unit) was prohibitive.¹⁶ Moving to a suburb not only meant subscribing to the bourgeoisie lifestyle but living it lock, stock and barrel.

The first layer of dedicated suburbs in Stockholm (not counting independent towns that have been "eaten" or the shantytowns that grew outside the city proper) came about for much the same reason as suburbs have done elsewhere in the western world; as a retreat for the professional gentleman and his nuclear family away from the smells and noise of the industrial city and its lower classes.¹⁷

Like most other urban centres in Europe, Stockholm had experienced some twenty- five to fifty years of spectacular growth during the latter half of the 19th century as people flocked to the city in search of jobs.¹⁸ The inevitable result was overcrowding and a steadily declining standard of living, a situation not helped by the City administration that considered housing to be a matter for private developers and only took temporary measures to deal with emergencies.¹⁹ As a consequence several shantytowns were established outside the city proper, housing many thousand workers that for lack of a better alternative lived in abject conditions alongside the smelters and factories in which they worked.²⁰

The upper classes, while not suffering particularly from a lack of housing themselves, considered the situation to be unpalatable and several of the wealthier burghers and petty nobility of the city began to form associations to plan and fund an exodus from the city.

¹⁵ Wirtén, Per, *Där jag kommer från: kriget mot förorten* [Where I come from: the war against the suburb], Bonnier, Stockholm, 2010, pp. 171-172.

¹⁶ Fishman, Robert, *Bourgeois utopias: the rise and fall of suburbia*, Basic Books, New York, 1987, pp. 36-37, 42

¹⁷ Wirtén, pp. 172, 174-175, 182-183.

¹⁸ Johansson, Ingemar, [Building history of greater Stockholm], *Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria: markpolitik, planering och byggande under sju sekler*, Gidlund in cooperation with Byggnadsnämnden, Stockholm, 1987, p. 309.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-265.

Finding inspiration in rural suburbs such as that of Llewellyn Park in New York they came together to found the first layer of suburbs on the picturesque estate of Djursholm in 1889.²¹ Djursholm, like Llewellyn Park, was specifically planned to provide a less than urban yet more than rural upper-class experience, featuring lots with an average of 6000 square metres each to ensure a lush environment. The area had no industries or offices of its own and depended on a dedicated narrow-gauge railway track connecting the area with the East railway station in Stockholm.²² Construction and domestic workers were housed in barracks outside the area or commuted from the city on specially leased trains so as not to mix with the residents on the regular departures.²³

Djursholm was soon followed by a similar development southeast of the city known as Saltsjöbaden which catered to a similar clientele, though they had the disadvantage of having their dedicated train terminus at the proletarian south side of Stockholm rather than the posh east.²⁴

The founding of Djursholm and Saltsjöbaden obviously did quite little to alleviate the overcrowding of the city, however it did serve as a concept for the second layer which came about when investors realised that the upper class market already was depleted.²⁵ Wishing for a retreat of their own, groups of white-collar workers began to form settlement associations of their own, taking loans and buying property adjacent to the railway track leading to the two previous developments.²⁶ The new properties were obviously more modest than in Djursholm but nevertheless luxurious for its time and became known as villa cities (Swe. villastad), a term which has since become a commonly accepted word denoting any area consisting of private lots and privately owned detached houses. Access to these new villa cities were not as strictly regulated as in Djursholm but were nevertheless informally enforced so as not to let anyone of unsavoury character invade the area.²⁷

The garden city and the world of to-morrow

Compared to the suburbs and the villa cities of both Stockholm and other places, the garden city was something different entirely. Contemporary garden cities both in Sweden and abroad

²¹ Johansson, pp. 270-271; Wirtén, p. 182.

²² Johansson, p. 271.

²³ Ibid., pp. 275-277; Wirtén, pp. 182-183.

²⁴ Johansson, p. 277.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 278.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 280.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 281

commonly trace their lineage back to the early years of the 20th century when the thinker Ebenezer Howard published his book “The garden city of to-morrow”. Ostensibly Howard outlines a new form of urban planning, combining the rural quality of the village with the facilities of the city, a form of building which would be an alternative to the densely populated and heavily polluted cities of the era. However, the vision and plans drawn up by Howard was in fact rather more far-reaching than that and the garden cities that exist today owe more to his associate Raymond Unwin’s architectural ideals than anything else.

Howard’s vision was not just that of a rural, cosy suburb but a method for comprehensive social transformation. The plan was to establish a network of largely self-contained city units, containing industries, residential areas and essential services that were not just the reserve of the moneyed but jointly owned and managed by its own citizens.²⁸ Each city-unit would be separated from each other by a large circle of greenery but tied together by railroads to create a *social city* where each garden city formed a node.²⁹ Through cooperative ownership and organisation Howard believed that people themselves could fight poverty and inequality without having to rely on neither government nor private real-estate developers.

In its heydays Howard’s group was off to a good start, managing to secure the necessary funding to start construction of Letchworth, the first proper garden city located just outside London. The group also supported the construction of several garden suburbs that shared the same architectural style but conformed less to the planning ideals. The vast majority of these developments were planned by Unwin, who might best be described as a progressive romantic, finding his chief inspiration from old medieval cities and excelling in creating intimate milieus and using the natural landscape to great effect.³⁰

In Howard’s and Unwin’s ideal city different types of housing were built adjacent to each other to ensure that different classes would mix while retaining an overall stylistic theme. Public buildings and shops were integrated into the neighbourhoods while industries were set apart and distanced by green areas. Road space was commonly cut to create more free space, both public and private, and gardens were planned without fences, intersecting so as to create bigger lots shared by several families. Communal ownership and sharing of such gardens were encouraged to nurture closer relationships, and presumably to pave the way for social change.

²⁸ Hall, Peter, *Cities of tomorrow: an intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1988, pp. 91-94.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-107.

However the plans for a social revolution eventually came to naught. While Letchworth and its sister developments had purposefully been built on cheaply acquired lands its value and the construction costs had since risen, which led to a creeping gentrification of the garden cities and suburbs. Furthermore, the garden suburbs which were publicly endorsed by the garden city movement did not include industries and the residents were therefore forced to commute to work, contradicting Howard's original plan.³¹

Considering the original idea put forth by Howard, it is readily accepted among academics and architects that neither Stockholm nor any other city in Sweden possesses any true garden cities.³² What does exist, much like in Great Britain and some other countries, are areas inspired by Howard's and Unwin's ideas, areas which have been named garden cities for marketing purposes.³³ As such, Bromma and its precursor Enskede should not only be seen as an offshoot of Howard's (or rather Unwin's) ideals, but also as a part of the continuous expansion of the greater Stockholm area which had begun many years prior to the establishment of Bromma itself.

Disposition

The study is subdivided into seven interrelated sections, arranged for clarity and convenience. Sections one and two concerns method and other technical formalities. Section three provides a description of the fieldwork area along with relevant statistics to describe the population makeup. Sections four and five contains the lion's share of analytical material introduced by describing the dominant representations of space present in the area, followed by a description of local phenomena enforcing and/or causing the creation of these mind-sets, from representational space to spatial practice and ending in an analysis section contrasting the competing needs of the neighbourhood and the city. Follows a briefer section on the propagation methods utilised by the only non-profit organisation engaged in the area, all of which is closed in an endnotes section outlining some of the results.

II. Method

The fieldwork that serves as a basis for this thesis rests on three major sources of information, namely interviews with local residents, public material produced by or sent to the City

³¹ Hall, pp. 107-108; Johansson, p. 397.

³² Carlsson, Per, *Den förnyade villastaden: stadsgestaltning med förhinder : om mål och medel vid förnyelse av äldre villa och fritidshusområden*, Tekniska högsk., Diss. Stockholm : Tekn. högsk., Stockholm, 1998, pp. 102-104; Johansson, p. 397.

³³ Hall, pp. 105-107.

authorities and observations of the concerned area. Participant observation has not been possible to perform in the area due to the relative lack of social organisation and a failure to gain admittance to those that do exist. The fieldwork was performed from November 2011 to January 2012 which rather exacerbated the problem, winter being a season when the days are short and the climate frigid, encouraging people to stay indoors and out of the public.

Choice of informants – choice of narrative

When choosing a field one also choose not only what problem to illuminate but from what angle to illuminate it. Depending on whom we speak with the problem and its particulars change. Making an exhaustive research on an area covering all possible angles would be impossible, so no matter what we do we must choose one.

In this particular thesis I have chosen to concentrate on the people that are directly and unavoidably affected in their everyday life by the proposed developments on the ridges in Stora Mossen, rather than making a survey of the area as a whole. Most of the informants live in sight of the ridge and all of them within earshot, giving them ample reason to be opinionated.

The result of this is that the information gathered inevitably come to circulate around personal interests. When reading this thesis it should become clear that the greater part of the resistance against the proposed developments is fuelled by self-interest, but considering the choice of informants it would be rather sensational if it was not. Ideology and detached judgement does have its place in the discussion but it is easy to have an opinion when the results do not relate to you.

Interviews

Having decided on the general area of research the matter of finding informants was a question of logistics. Starting from the streets closest to the proposed developments I began to drop leaflets describing the fieldwork and my desire to find local informants in letter-boxes and then followed up by knocking doors. This process simply went on until I had secured enough interviews to last me to the end of the fieldwork period. Only a handful of those approached refused interviews outright, meaning that most people who were at home at the time I came calling were willing to talk. However it should be noted that those not at home did outnumber those at home by a significant margin.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured, aimed to get an understanding both of the neighbourhood and of the informant's opinions about the proposed developments. Questions included among other things reasons for settling in the area, social life in the area, commuting and essential services, opinion on the planned developments and reasons for these opinions. Interviews were performed by appointment at the informant's home, most of them lasting approximately an hour and all but a few recorded. Occasionally more than one informant was present which I at the time perceived to be a relative advantage, believing that this produced more of a "normal" discussion than the stiff yes/no form that sometimes occurred in one-on-one interviews.

The obvious problem with the interviews were of course that they were very obviously staged, leading to a situation more reminiscent of a questioning than a conversation which may have caused several informants to be more restrictive in their opinions. Time restrictions also worked against me as there was relatively little time for me to make myself and the informants at ease. While I eventually started to try and make some time for just "chatting" and warming up most informants were still on some kind of schedule so this was not always possible. A somewhat amusing side effect of the lack of time was that several of the more revealing things were told in the hallway after the interview, while the informant was waiting for me to get dressed so they could see me out. This situation provided a short but fruitful window for "oh, by the way" and "well, honestly speaking" kind of questions away from the notebook and recorder, both for me and the informant. While the impact of these offhand statements on the thesis is rather marginal it eventually led me to start treating my cumbersome lace-up boots as proper fieldwork tools.

As the interviews progressed I choose to take a slightly more proactive approach, trying to raise the interviews beyond mere gathering of people's opinions to actually engage the informants in discussion myself as there were rarely other people around that could do it for me. In short I began to push slightly harder on paradoxes instead of merely registering them, and challenging statements that were logically incoherent. I also began to carry and show a rough sketch of the planned developments to give those not so up to date with the plans more of a chance to talk about details rather than just "new houses somewhere" or "I just don't like it". This more aggressive form of interviewing brought both advantages and disadvantages; On the one hand arguments became more nuanced and intricate, revealing a greater amount of reflexivity on behalf of the informants which I believe gave them more justice than the mere registration of their approval or disapproval. On the other hand however I managed to push

several people to change their minds by providing material and opposition, causing at least one individual to move from vaguely aware to become a stalwart opponent to the planned developments. In retrospect this felt less like affecting the field as giving it a kick in the buttocks.

Predictably, some informants were a lot more eager to talk than others, particularly those engaged with the local action group against developments who might have seen it as either an opportunity for their message to reach further, or a chance to discuss issues which they were engaged in themselves. Framing my demands in a desire to learn more about the general area and not just the developments helped somewhat in bringing people not so engaged in this issue around as well.

Due to the lack of opportunities for long term observation and the “mass” approach I have chosen to compensate for this I have been unable to establish any particular report with any single informant. People with academic backgrounds and mind-sets proved themselves to be easier to establish report with, having an easier time to relate to some of the more abstract questions asked and me having an easier time to accept their more elaborate answers.

Interviews are labelled with name and general location such as Josef on the ridge or Woland of Eldhund. In order to protect the privacy of informants both name and gender have been randomised, as has specific details such as gender or areas mentioned in their accounts.

Some special attention has been given to the issue of language in both interviews and written accounts. All source material used for this thesis has been in Swedish, which like any other language is rich in meanings that are not always easy to translate into English. In order to facilitate a greater understanding of the source material used and to do justice to the informants I have therefore decided to include the original text of all but a few quotations at the end of the thesis, something which is not common practice among anthropologists and as such formally considered incorrect. Nevertheless, this initiative showed itself popular to my examiner who encouraged me to fully include the original transcripts and point out this initiative.

The original transcripts are numbered with roman letters and may be found at page 104, after the photographs.

Another initiative less well received is my insistence on retaining typographic emphasises such as **boldface**, *italics* and underlining in excerpts of written sources, particularly

complaints. I have chosen to ignore this criticism and retain the emphasises as I believe they convey the relative agitation experienced by the authors. Moreover, they also cause agitation to the reader which in turn makes it relatively easier to dismiss them as irrelevant or unduly aggressive based solely on style, something that adds another layer to the reading and reception of these documents.

Written sources

Most if not all material concerning the planned developments; enacted planning restrictions and minutes from political meetings are available to the public at the City Construction Office (Swe. stadsbyggnadskontoret, SBK) along with all the formal complaints lodged by individual citizens, all of which have been utilised in the fieldwork process. Material has also been produced by individuals and organisations concerning the area, mostly in the form of web pages to drum up popular opposition against the planned developments, but also some private papers kindly provided by the informants themselves.

The complaints are quite many and form the second greatest source of information in the thesis apart from the interviews. The complaints are also source to most of the quotes and citations given in the thesis as they were usually more succinct and to the point than the interviews. The complaints often mirror the arguments brought up elsewhere but they also represent many people who has been unavailable or unwilling to talk, giving new insights into the issue. Being committed to text, many of the complaints are more elaborate and well-versed, providing more persuasive arguments than the interviews, but there are also many that are not, suggesting a rather strong emotional response among some of the residents. Somewhat surprisingly, the complaints therefore ended up being a better source for more unreflective opinions than the interview. Possibly this was due to the interview situation forcing informants to be more careful in their argumentation in order to convince the outsider present, something lacking when sending a complaint by email.

The material regarding the planned development obviously provides an insight in what the developer is planning to do, but also tells us about the planning process as well as the response from a multitude of City authorities and agencies regarding its feasibility and suitability. To some limited extent the material also gives a glimpse of the attitude towards city planning in the agencies and political assemblies concerned. This material is too scarce to

form an actual counterpoint to the arguments put forward by the complainants but it does provide certain hints.

The proposed new city plan, the Promenade City, forms the bulk of the material used to illustrate the views and opinions of the City. Though the document has yet to be formally adopted it is actually quite well-suited to its role since it bears the signature of the same vice mayor in charge of construction that had the overall political responsibility for the current iteration of the planned developments. Also, the planned developments essentially conforms to the ideas about the immediate vicinity to Stora Mossen voiced in the Promenade City plan, making it likely that this plan had more bearing on the project than the city plan currently enacted.

Online material produced by individuals and organisations have also been analysed, though they are more difficult to handle since they can and are being changed and updated continuously. Two organisations in particular offers webpages that have proven useful: Västerleds trädgårdsstadsförening (roughly, Westway [more accurately rendered as west suburbs] garden city association) and Stora Mossens Vänner (friends of Stora Mossen, SMV), the latter being an organisation for people trying to stop the planned developments. The chief point of interest for these two pages has been the perspective taken and what material they chose to display and what they ignore.

All written material bar a few documents from SMV are publicly available either online or at the City Technical Agencies House (Swe. tekniska nämndehuset), most notably the written complaints which are public though privacy protected and can only be accessed in person.

According to the staff at the Agencies house material is categorised by registration number to each particular development, the one for Stora Mossen being 2007-39534, however they are not usually individually numbered, making it somewhat difficult to find specific documents. Full document details are given in the footnotes to alleviate this as far as possible.

As with the interviews, names and gender of informants have been randomised and in case a complaint has more than one author merged for the sake of simplicity. In order to safeguard the privacy of those interviewed, different aliases has been used for interviews and complaints.

Observations

Having determined to take a local rather than purely ideological approach, observations of the area were obviously in order. Finding out how areas are delineated, used and understood

has been an important element of the fieldwork process, particularly considering the lack of opportunities for participant observations.

Observations have been performed on foot and by automobile, owing to the cold climate. Walking gave an opportunity to appreciate the lay of the field as well as trying to identify the local centres of activity, particularly on the ridges. Borrowing a vehicle I could also put up observation posts on public roads, watching the hectic commute and the nightlife as well as experiencing the parking problems first hand.

The obvious but nevertheless quite important realisation one makes when trying to observe a modern suburb is that there is actually very little to see in terms of communication and social interaction. Most people are off to work or school leaving the area deserted for most of the daylight hours. If we count only those who make and control money, they would likely spend no more than a half of their waking hours in the area to begin with. Adding a pinch of self-insight we can also realise that a healthy portion of the time not spent at work will probably be used up performing daily chores such as cooking, childcare, sports and other activities, leaving precious little opportunity to idle in public spaces.

As for the rest, children home early from school, pensioners, people working odd hours or the unemployed, lounging about out of doors in November-December is a less than exciting proposition. The fieldwork area features no squares or cafés except a Thai food stand standing only a few metres away from Drottningholm road, making it a rather inhospitable place to hang around. Ulvsundaplan does feature a minimarket and a few restaurants but suffers the same problem, high traffic and a lot of fumes. Other than that there are just roads and lanes. Children might play on them on occasion but rarely in the snow. Considering also that the sun sets at about three in the afternoon, few children would have time to play outdoors in the weekdays. Several informants did mention their children playing outdoors and I have no particular reason to doubt them but I have not seen them myself.

An important exception to this is the western ridge in which the children and teachers of the local day care centre can often be found. What sets this area apart from the rest of the field is that it is big enough to act as a playground and sufficiently hilly to be interesting as one, featuring a mix of rock, soil and trees as well as birds and squirrels. A slightly similar area can be found outside the fieldwork area towards Alvik, where the eastern ridge expands to make room for an area that appears to be used in a similar fashion by local children.

In terms of usage however Stora Mossen is probably best understood as an area of transit, as this is the most common use of public space. Stora Mossens Backe, the thoroughfare that leads down from the ridge, is a focal point to almost all residents regardless of their mode of transport as it leads both to Ulvsundaplan and to the underground station, forcing almost everyone heading out of the area to traverse it. Considering that most people would use it at roughly the same time of day, it becomes easy to see how the issue of congestion become a common complaint despite its relatively benign nature.

The thoroughfare is also used as a parking spot for the tenants of Eldhund as well as for commuters changing to the underground. Most locals also allege that the thoroughfare is used as a shortcut for commuters from the outer suburbs, which is not unlikely though I lacked the means to confirm it.

The ridges, both eastern and western can also be seen as areas of transit though usually for pleasure rather than business as the footpaths do not lead anywhere except to other residential areas. Dog owners are some of the more frequent walkers along the ridges and it has been hinted by some informants that they form an impromptu class-spanning information network, as dog owners from different areas meet and exchange non-committal small talk. A much more mundane usage of the ridges that was observed during early mornings were as a dog loo, with owners popping in and letting their dogs relieve themselves before going to work. The same practice can be seen on weekend nights when the canines are replaced by slightly inebriated humans instead.

III. The area

Stora Mossen (Great moss, image 1) is a sparsely built residential area sandwiched between Äppelviken to the east, Ålsten to the south and Abrahamsberg to the west (Apple bay, Eel stone and Abraham's hill respectively. Names are usually derived from former farms or estates).

To the north the area is delineated by the green underground line and the Drottningholm road which separates it from Ulvsunda (Wolf strait). Just to the northeast lies Ulvsundaplan, a busy intersection connecting Stora Mossen, the western and north-western suburbs with Traneberg (Crane hill) to the east and the bridge to the city proper. Despite the heavy traffic Ulvsundaplan features several small restaurants and a small supermarket as well as a petrol station.

The underground was originally built as a part of the tram network in the early 20th century and the tracks therefore run over ground on an artificial ridge. Stora Mossen sports its own station, curiously small by contemporary standards, providing excellent communications with the city proper as well as certain other suburbs to the west, south and soon also to the north by changing to the tram in Alvik (Alder bay) one stop away.

Just south of the road and the station lies a slightly esoteric block of flats called Eldhund (Andiron, image 2. Blocks in the area are named on a coal and fire theme.), consisting of a long three storey stretch and a slightly detached five storey tower, combining two different building styles known locally as lamellar and point-house (Swe. lamellhus and punkthus). The complex was built in the 1950's and features ~50 rented flats as well as several businesses, particularly a Waldorf day care centre known as Hattstugan (the hat cottage).

Behind Eldhund runs a thoroughfare called Stora Mossens Backe (Great moss slope, image 3. The area and the road share the same name), which connects the area with Drottningholm road. The thoroughfare is one of three roads that can be used to reach the area from the outside and is a source of frustration for local drivers due to the difficulty to cross Ulvsundaplan, which leads to certain levels of congestion during the morning rush. The thoroughfare also serves as a parking space for the tenants of Eldhund and commuters wishing to avoid the congestion charges inside the city proper.

At the very end of the thoroughfare lies an air-raid shelter managed by the public transport agency that is currently leased to a motorcycle club.

Just behind Eldhund lies a forested ridge, the place where the developments are planned, and beyond which the greater part of the local residents live. The ridge is divided into two parts, eastern and western, by the Stora Mossens Backe thoroughfare. Both sides of the ridge features a mix of mostly pine and evergreen trees, with some assorted brush and occasionally exposed rock. The eastern part of the ridge is relatively level and features a dirt path that runs along the ridge all the way to Alvik, approximately a kilometre away, as well as a staircase (image 4) providing a shortcut between the station and the residences above the ridge. The staircase is illuminated and has both dustbins and a bench, features that are not seen elsewhere on the ridges.

The western ridge is both larger and decidedly steeper. Several informal paths crisscross the area though none are publicly maintained. The top of the ridge sports a small plateau of exposed rocks while the rest of the area is relatively level, featuring blueberry bushes and the

remains of an abandoned walkway, made apparent by a set of dilapidated stone stairs. The area is quite popular among the teachers and children from Hattstugan and serves as a playground on the weekdays. Evidence of children playing is apparent (image 5) and has been brought up in official documents in the planning process. The planned developments will be roughly equally distributed on the eastern and western ridge.

The housing on the ridge consists almost exclusively of two storey detached houses (image 6), commonly known as villas, constructed between the 1920's and 30's. The building style ranges from mostly national romantic and classicist in the eastern part to functionalist on the western part. The houses are built close to the road with their gardens facing inwards (image 12). This feature is one of the few remaining traits of the garden city tradition, creating a slightly more urban street while making maximum use of the gardens. Just as in its British precursors the gardens were built without fences, in theory creating a kind of commons between the houses where space could be shared between the residents. In some places these open spaces remain, though in other places fences and hedges has been erected. The gardens were originally planted with a mix of pine and fruit trees, apple and possibly cherry being the most popular, though many of these have later been taken down to create more open space. The lots were originally owned by the City and leased to the homeowners for a nominal fee, but have been sold off to the homeowners for a favourable price when the lease expired. Right now, only a few residents remain tenants with increased rents.

The lots are not overtly large by Swedish standards, the common garden average appearing around 600 metres squared. The houses however are fairly big with some of the larger coming in at over 200 metres squared in two to three storeys.³⁴

Beyond the villas and outside the area of study lies Bromma upper secondary school (Swe. gymnasium) and the local sports centre. Adjacent to the sports centre is a small cluster of two to three storey residential blocks which appears to be the most recent development in the area (image 7). South of these runs the local thoroughfare with a bus line connecting the residents with Alvik and Abrahamsberg.

Income, housing and social standing

Stora Mossen was built for the relatively well-off already from the beginning. Almost all buildings feature several entrances, seemingly made for household servants³⁵ and some of the

³⁴ Booli.se, *Stora Mossen: Stockholm*, retrieved 1 May 2012
<<http://www.booli.se/salda/stora+mossen/74934/>>.

older houses on the ridge used to have separate quarters for live-in maids in the kitchen region. One particularly large house features at least three different entrances and a hat-stand that could comfortably fit the clothes of up to twenty people but currently houses only a single family. Other houses are significantly smaller, akin to the more common private residences from the first half of the 20th century, though most are still rather roomy compared to workers houses, a fact that is underlined by the prevalence of minimalist interior decorating. In terms of income the class makeup appears to be rather uniform. According to a 2009 survey by Statistics Sweden one of the two postal code areas that include roughly half of my informants is ranked as having the highest median income in the country, with the area encompassing the other half of the informants coming in at fifteenth.³⁶ House prices are slightly less intimidating though far from easily attainable. Between 2005 and 2007 prices on detached houses varies from SEK 4.7 to 7 million, while the two houses sold on the open market in 2009 went for 6.9 to 8 million (EUR 1 = SEK 9-10).³⁷ The prices inside the area, away from the underground tracks and Drottningholm road are even higher. The average lies around SEK 6-8 million with a peak of more than SEK 11 million. To put this in context, the average income of the Swedish working population is SEK 258 400 per year³⁸ and the required down payment for private housing since 2010 is minimum 15% of the total price.³⁹ For a 6 million house this would be SEK 900 000 in hard cash, or four and a half spanking new Volvo station wagons.⁴⁰

The situation in Eldhund is rather different from those above the ridge, the housing consisting of rented flats and with the underground tracks less than fifteen metres away. A ~50 square metre flat in the lamellar section with windows facing both the eastern ridge and the underground tracks costs SEK 5 700 per month according to a resident, while a ~100 square

³⁵ According to Deland, lodgers were considered a threat to decency so it is rather unlikely that the entrances were built with that in mind. Deland, Mats, *The social city: middle-way approaches to housing and suburban governmentality in southern Stockholm 1900-1945*, Institute of Urban History (Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet), Diss. Stockholm : Univ., 2001, Stockholm, 2001, p. 122.

³⁶ Welander, Åsa, *Bara Hovås platsar i inkomsttoppen* (Only Hovås make the top income list), 9 May 2011, retrieved 13 March 2012 <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=104&artikel=4492399>>.

³⁷ Skatteverket, *Värdeområde och riktvärdeskartor: småhus 2007-2012; 2012-2014* (Average price map, detached houses 2007-2011, 2012-2014), värdeområde 0180006; 0180023, retrieved 13 March 2012 <<http://www.skatteverket.se/4.18e1b10334ebe8bc80002123.html>>.

³⁸ SCB, *Taxerad förvärvsinkomst 2010* (Taxable wage income 2010), retrieved 26 March 2012 <http://www.scb.se/Pages/TableAndChart____303797.aspx>.

³⁹ Wikström, Per, *Dyrare lån för dem som saknar kontantinsats* (Higher mortgage rates for those without cash), July 9 2010, retrieved 15 May 2012 <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=3843411>>; For those without half a million plus lying around in their savings account the money can be raised through an unsecure loan with very high interest rate.

⁴⁰ Average prices, Volvo V50 Classic, http://www.volvocars.com/se/footer/Documents/Volvo-priser_2012_5.pdf, retrieved 26 March 2012.

metre flat in the point section facing the eastern ridge comes in at SEK 10 500 per month⁴¹, which is not particularly cheap but roughly comparable to other parts of the outer city.

The residents above the ridge are predominantly arranged in nuclear families with only one of my informants being single, or rather widowed. Among the occupations mentioned are economist, medical doctor, private entrepreneur, mid-level manager, board-room executive and professor.

There are different opinions among informants on whether or not the class and income makeup has changed in the area. Some claim that the rapidly increasing house prices have created a greater influx of “management” people while others say that it’s pretty much the same as before. Some houses are still owned by those considered to be their original owners, those who moved in when it was constructed or just sufficiently long ago so that no-one can remember a time when they did not live there. Some houses are alleged to have been inherited, but there is also said to be a fairly substantial number of houses being bought and sold, with families moving in and elderly moving out. However, all these claims are anecdotal and hard to substantiate.

The social standard of the informants in Eldhund is more mixed, with most of them being single and several of them pensioners. Among the tenants are several artisans, students, pensioners and artists but also consultants and engineers. According to one informant, recent renovations have raised the rents substantially causing several long standing tenants, most of them pensioners, to move out.⁴²

Recent surveys on ethnic diversity by Statistics Sweden published in one of the largest dailies indicate that the general area of the Bromma garden city is the most ethnically segregated area in Stockholm municipality. 89% of residents are Swedish born with only a fraction of the remaining 11% born outside Europe.⁴³

Organisations

During the fieldwork I have tracked down four different organisations in the area, with only one of them being particularly involved with the planned developments. The organisations seldom meet in in the flesh and have most of their activities online and out of the public eye.

⁴¹ Albert and Agnes of Eldhund.

⁴² Angus of Eldhund.

⁴³ Ritzén, J, 'Stockholms Chinatown finns på Östermalm' (Stockholm Chinatown lies on Östermalm), Dagens Nyheter, May 11 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5.

The first organisation I became aware of was the local branch of the villa owners association (villaägarna), which is known as Västerleds trädgårdsstadsförening. Its purpose is to further the interests of its members in the whole Bromma area and has recently come to include an interactive map detailing several different planned developments in the greater Bromma area.⁴⁴ The map bears some resemblance to another one produced by SMV which is featured in detail below. The second association is a mostly dormant homeowners association (bostadsrättsförening) in Eldhund that meet once or twice per year. As the flats are not currently for sale the associations chief raison d'être is to give the residents first dibs if that were to change sometime in the future. According to some of the members the meetings are to some extent used to spread information regarding the planned developments but no meetings have been held during the fieldwork period.

The third and more important organisation is Stora Mossens Vänner (SMV), which organise some of the residents, primarily those on the ridge. The organisation was officially founded in the summer of 2011 by local homeowners in order to coordinate their efforts to convince the city to abandon the development plans. While having a proper charter (kindly provided by their chairman) and encouraging people to sign their name list the organisation holds no public meetings and my application to join the singular meeting held during the fieldwork period was ignored. Their number is allegedly around 55 active members, with the highest confirmed number being 44.

The fourth and final association is the East Coast Riders Motorcycle Club that has their base in an air-raid shelter on the eastern ridge. The shelter lies just outside the planned area and it is currently unknown whether or not it will remain if the plan is green lit.

The planned developments

The plan began to take shape in 2006-2008 when the eastern ridge and a lot located south of Eldhund and slightly north of Hermelinstigen (Ermine Path) were allotted to the construction company NCC.⁴⁵ According to a memorandum issued by the City Construction Office (Swe. stadsbyggnadskontoret, SBK) in May 2009 the plan originally called for six houses with three to four storeys encompassing approximately 50 flats in total. Five of the houses were to be

⁴⁴ Västerleds Trädgårdsstadsförening, *Byggplaner i Trädgårdsstaden Bromma* (Construction plans in Bromma garden city), retrieved 15 March 2012 <<http://www.vasterleds.se/byggplaner-i-bromma/>>.

⁴⁵ P: 2007-39534-2; P: 2007-39534-3.

located on the eastern ridge while the sixth was positioned on the lot separating Hermelinstigen from Eldhund (image 8).⁴⁶

Predating the formal approval of the Promenade City plan in 2010, the approximations given in the memorandum are fairly conservative and the sketches presented show the developments in the same template as those of Eldhund; three storey lamellar houses with sloped saddle-roofs, very purposefully blending in with the existing houses, though it is unknown whether or not they would've ended up doing so had they been built.

While this is the first detailed suggestion for the developments that was made public there is at least one other map predating it. In a requisition issued by SBK in January 2008 the number of flats is put at 80 rather than 50⁴⁷, while a report from a private contractor investigating noise pollution that was published a week later mentions seven point houses with four to six storeys rather than the original six with four storeys.⁴⁸

The plan proposed in the memorandum was approved by SBK's governing body, the City Construction Committee (Swe. Stadsbyggnadsnämnden, SBN), with minor changes in August 2009. The decision that eventually carried the day included three caveats: that the traffic situation had to be further considered, that the architectural design be changed to reflect the functionalist houses on the other side of Drottningholm road and that the houses be "... relatively low but decidedly urban...".⁴⁹

Part of the motivation deserves to be quoted at length, considering the outline given in the Promenade City:

Stora Mossen Backe lies in the borderland between the detached housing to the west and the more urbane space at Ulvsundaplan. SBN wants to see further improvement of the proposed plan in which the city-like qualities must be paid particular attention.^{50II}

The main opposition party, the social democrats (S), concurred with the critique of the traffic situation but did not mention the rest, ending up neither voting for the conservative suggestion nor preventing it from being accepted. The green party (MP) were the only ones to object at

⁴⁶ P: 2007-39534-3.

⁴⁷ P: 2007-39534-2.

⁴⁸ P: 2007-39534-4.

⁴⁹ M: 2007-39534-8.

⁵⁰ M: 2007-39534-8.

length to the suggestion, making a statement against further urbanisation by quoting complaints put forward by local residents.⁵¹

You do not create urbanity by developing what little remains of the forest. The only thing achieved by this concentration is rather the destruction of the existing qualities of the Garden City. As is it has been put by a local resident: *‘The garden cities were an expression of the new ideas inherent in early functionalist city planning – light, open spaces and greenery for children and adults that make a functional residential area – a contrast to the condensed city planning of years past. Stora Mossen is a living example of this and the ideas that influenced city planning at this time are still (perhaps now more than ever) relevant. The proposed developments will destroy this.’*^{52III}

The quote reappears in several other documents and seems to have originated with Josef, an informant who is active both in SMV and in Västerleds trädgårdsstadsförening. The objection further cites a fear that the greenery might disappear altogether, that less space will be available for the children attending Hattstugan day care centre and that congestion, noise and air pollution will increase due to traffic.⁵³

MP was supported by the left party (V) that also voted against, citing a lack of relevant data.

Roughly one year later, in November 2010 a revised plan was presented in an official statement from SBK. This edition showed significant change: the development was removed from the lot between Ermine Path and Eldhund but expanded onto the western ridge, featuring ten houses in total rather than the six or possibly seven that had been considered originally (image 9). The development would be five storeys on the eastern ridge with six storeys on the western (image 10-11)⁵⁴, the first floor being dug or blasted into the ridge itself, and the number of flats increased to 130. The houses featured a new, neofunctionalist façade with flat roofs and were reclassified as “city villas” (Swe. stadsvilla) rather than point houses, at least

⁵¹ M: 2007-39534-8.

⁵² M: 2007-39534-8.

⁵³ M: 2007-39534-8.

⁵⁴ Some sketches make it appear as if house no. 10 would be five storeys rather than six. However this is unclear.

ostensibly denoting a smaller kind of free-standing multi-family house.⁵⁵ The plan was considered a suitable improvement by SBK, particularly concerning the “city-like qualities” demanded by SBN, and it was sent back for approval.⁵⁶

The draft provided in the official statement was discussed by SBN in December 2010 in which it was approved, though with another caveat as to the design of the buildings, which were deemed “not convincing” and “needing a more original expression ... that connects with yet complements the character of the area”.⁵⁷ The MP delegate yet again protested the decision, adding that it should be re-evaluated due to the expanded scope of the developments and that it should be considered to move the developments on the western ridge closer to the underground tracks.⁵⁸

The draft eventually became the provisional project map and description which were properly unveiled in May 2011, a little less than two months before the deadline for appeals against the plan. In this final draft the models of the buildings have not been changed, a fact that is remarked upon by the MP representative to SBN, who also serve on the Bromma District Committee (Swe. Bromma Stadsdelsnämnd, Bromma SDN).⁵⁹

IV. Representations of city space

Looking closer at the conflict playing out in Stora Mossen we can identify three paradigms, three distinct representations of space that compete for the power to dominate and change the perceptions of the city in the eyes of its citizens. The first is the representations given by the City’s politicians, representations that are manifest in the as of yet still not enacted city plan and both followed and questioned by the civil servants tasked with applying them. The plan like all others takes inspiration in the contemporary, or as some has put it in the recent past, particularly in the style commonly known as new urbanism.

The second is primarily that of a small elite of informants present in Stora Mossen who has created their representation of space based on a specific historic model of the garden city,

⁵⁵ The term stadsvilla has no precise definition, providing a literal carte blanche to the developer unless the authorities specify exact measurements [personal communication with architects G and V].

⁵⁶ P: 2007-39534-17.

⁵⁷ M: 2007-39534-18.

⁵⁸ M: 2007-39534-18.

⁵⁹ P: 2007-39534-14; R: 2007-39534-141.

casting it as a short-lived but unique form of city planning that must be preserved for coming generations.

Both these two can in Lefebvre's system be labelled as representations of space, producing and at least supposedly adhering to written documents and coherent arguments. The images presented are obviously as much a part of spatial practice and representational space as any other opinion but they have been compartmentalised, much like a political ideology or religious scripture, providing supposedly firm and unambiguous direction while at the same time providing almost infinite opportunity for interpretation.

The third representation is that of the majority of informants in Stora Mossen, a category much more ambiguous than the previous two. Like the second the third bases itself to a great extent on a historic-aesthetic model but unlike the former it does not adhere to a single fixed idea, but to an abstract ideal of city living based in real or imagined practice and tradition. Put simply, the third representation seeks to defend the garden city by casting it as an aesthetically and organisationally sound principle for city planning, based in a common though undefined understanding of local city planning as it has been performed until the arrival of the Promenade City plan.

In terms of the categories prescribed by Lefebvre the third category is ambiguous, located on a sliding scale of idealism and practice, eventually ending up in what can unequivocally be described as spatial practice in which it engages not so much with pure ideals as it does with everyday inconveniences and practices.

The Promenade City

The planned developments in Stora Mossen are in its current form planned along the lines of the proposed new master plan (Swe. översiktsplan) for Stockholm, known as the Promenade City (Swe. promenadstaden). As the plan has yet to be enacted (it was immediately appealed) the previous master plan of 1999 is technically speaking still the guiding document. However, since the Promenade City was approved by the incumbent conservative coalition and signed by the then Vice Mayor in charge of City Planning and Construction (Swe. stadsbyggnadsborgarråd), the same person that headed the SBN at the time the planned

developments were given initial approval⁶⁰, it is reasonable to say that it better represents the view of the City council.

In the outline provided in the Promenade City the authors suggests a two-pronged policy shift from the purposefully dispersed suburbs of the 20th century⁶¹: A densification of suburban space by removing some of the greenery areas separating different areas, and the development of particular “attractive focus areas” which would form denser clusters of “concentrated city life”.⁶²

In the first instance the plan draws extensively on the ideas put forward by the New Urbanism movement, a collective name for a more essentialist form of city planning intending to mimic a supposedly timeless form of city as represented in the medium-dense small town.⁶³ New urbanism is in itself not mentioned in the Promenade City plan, however the two share similar features, particularly walkability, where necessary functions such as shops and public transport should be located within walking distance, a development which necessitates the intermingling of commercial and residential buildings as well as pedestrians and automobile traffic.⁶⁴ The purpose of this is to remedy the chief shortcoming of previous planning practices which is travel distance, that encourages (some would say necessitates) automobile usage.⁶⁵ Increased density is cited as a way to increase the efficiency of public transportation and decrease the distance to necessary services.⁶⁶ Another issue that the plan hopes to solve is the compartmentalisation of work and living spaces, which forms distinct business districts serviced by sleeper cities. The Promenade City plan argues that by mixing the two the city can become more “lively and safe” by ensuring continuous movement.⁶⁷

In the second instance the Promenade City goes its own way by emphasising the creation of high density urban areas, which in the plan sometimes appears like an end in itself, much like

⁶⁰ M: 2007-39534-8.

⁶¹ The basic tenets of 20th century developments appeared in the post-war period and concerns a style in which city expansion was spread out along main railway and underground lines, forming a dispersed pattern of denser suburb clusters separated by low-density developments and expansive greenery areas, a pattern sometimes referred to as the “star-city”, quoted by informants on page 57. Basics can be found in Deland, p. 9 and Johansson pp. 539-542, 547, 611-612.

⁶² *Promenadstaden: översiktsplan för Stockholm antagen av kommunalfullmäktige 15 mars 2010* (The promenade city, master plan for Stockholm approved by the City council 15 march 2010), pp. 1-2.

⁶³ Grant, Jill, *Planning the good community: new urbanism in theory and practice*, Routledge, London, 2006, pp 4, 11.

⁶⁴ New Urbanism is both a general style movement and a particular non-governmental organisation trying to control and define the term. Luckily general tenets are much the same across the board. *New Urbanism, New Urbanism*, retrieved 2012-05-16 <<http://www.newurbanism.org/>>; *Promenadstaden*, pp. 8, 33, 35-36.

⁶⁵ Critics sometimes lampoon the problem through word-play, turning the affectionate description of older developments, “house-in-park” into “car park-in-park”.

⁶⁶ *Promenadstaden*, pp. 20, 32.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the non-existence of industry and production.⁶⁸ While New Urbanism is commonly described as a shout-back to less than metropolitan Anglo-American towns with corresponding population levels, the plan refers to the desire to turn Stockholm into a “world-class city”, something which apparently implies greater density.⁶⁹ While it is never plainly stated in the plan there appears to be a general tendency to put the words “attractive”, “central” and “dense” together, as in this quote:

In the central parts of the city and in areas such as Kista real estate prices are generally high. This makes possible the creation of the dense and attractive city, even though such developments come at high costs.^{70IV}

Areas singled out for particularly dense development also tends to be emphasised⁷¹, which in itself contradicts the previous commitment to mixed construction. This is partially noted in the document under the heading “Conflicting objectives for sustainable growth”.⁷²

A diverse development at focus points risks undermining the access to services in surrounding areas, in some of which the selection of services is lacking already today.^{73V}

There is also some ambiguity as to how these new focus areas would become any more successful than previous local centres which the plan notes has met with limited success, though it is implied that the increased density would somehow be key.⁷⁴

Despite the apparent vogue for “city-like” living that appears both in the plan and in the documents concerning the planned developments in Stora Mossen as well as the dismissal of the extended greenery areas of old⁷⁵, the plan seem unlikely to change very much for the city. The basic pattern of suburban centres with surrounding residential areas will remain much as

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 32-33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Promenadstaden*, pp. 16, 37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

they are, if denser and more expensive to live in.⁷⁶ Most of the new focus points are already successful as shopping districts or commuting nodes, the possibility for development already inherent in the existing design. These centres will be allowed to expand further but the limitations provided by physical space, i.e. distance, is not going to be reduced other than along the proposed tram and train lines, putting an effective dampener on how far this expansion may be carried. Newly constructed areas can be built with a greater mix of residential and commercial buildings but whether or not they will be found attractive enough to entice businesses to establish and stay remains to be seen, particularly in the places that will not be graced with new communication lines. Furthermore, no provisions are made to connect with the remaining metropolitan area or neighbouring cities to allow long distance commuting.⁷⁷ Commuters from outside Stockholm County who work anywhere else than in the city centre will still have to add another half-hour to their commute after they arrive. Another issue that is likely to remain if not worsen is the segregation problem. Of nine focus areas only Skärholmen may be described as not being dominated by “Swedes”.⁷⁸ Particularly noteworthy is that the similarly integrated and dense areas of Tensta and Rinkeby, located a few kilometres from the successful Kista, are being passed over in favour of Spånga which is decidedly sleepy by comparison.

At first one might think that it is planned for these two areas to be incorporated into the Kista focus area but the proposed tram and commuter train lines conspicuously passes by or even underneath both Tensta and Rinkeby, stopping instead at Solvalla hippodrome, the middle-class area of Rissne and the proposed developments in the far western parts of Ursvik.⁷⁹ While the plan commit to increasing integration and deem it critical that “more common meeting places are developed” the meeting places, if at all present, would appear to be located on middle-class terrain.

Segregation is also enhanced in economic terms with only 46% of the new developments consisting of rented flats, including student housing and retirements homes, compared to 50%

⁷⁶ Or as Pyatok puts it in relation to new urbanism: “simply repackaging suburban sprawl in more seductive ‘urbane’ clothing”. Pyatok, Michael, ‘The narrow base of the new urbanist’, Planners Network, 2002, retrieved 16 May 2012, <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2002_152_spring/pyatok.htm>.

⁷⁷ *Promenadstaden*, pp. 72-76.

⁷⁸ SCB defines anyone born abroad or with both parents born abroad as belonging to the category “foreign background”. Anyone born in the country with at least one of their parents born in the country as well is considered “Swedish background”. Whether or not this categorisation is made as a reflection of a segregated reality where those of foreign parentage are treated different than others or a reification of the same situation is anyone’s guess. SCB, *definitioner*, retrieved 22 May 2012 <http://www.scb.se/Pages/List____261536.aspx>.

⁷⁹ SL, *Plankarta: Tvärbana norr Kistagrenen* (SL plan map: tramline north Kista line), retrieved 22 April 2012 <<http://www2.sl.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=15094>>.

owner occupied flats which is said to be in line with the current ratio in the city at large.⁸⁰ A compilation of official statistics commissioned by the left party (V) however suggest that the city have had at least 80 000 rented flats converted into owner occupied flats in the last twenty years, lowering the average of publicly owned flats to less than a fifth of the total stock.⁸¹ The new developments also come at a cost. A recent brochure sent out to subscribers to the City Housing Procurement Agency (Swe. Stockholms stads bostadsförmedling), a central distribution agency for rented flats, make a point of separating new developments from older ones, suggesting that it is easier but a lot more expensive to get hold of a newly built flat. Predictably, the shortest waiting time for an older flat is in Tensta, slightly less than five years compared to more than eighteen years on the posh Östermalm. Those able to spend more on their housing however might take a shot at a new flat in Kista in three and half years or so. Obviously, it is just about impossible to get a flat in the first place if you have once failed to pay off a debt in time or lack a job.⁸²

The plan is of course not without its detractors. Apart from popular protests and objections online and in the papers there has also been professional concerns regarding noise levels, pollution and population density, which were the very things that the 20th century suburban development style was designed to minimise. For instance, according to an architect in the private sector an on-going development around Karolinska university hospital has caused consternation among the architects involved due to the high density demanded by the City.⁸³ Another more high-profile issue has also arisen with new developments adjacent to the free port where relevant city agencies have had to scale back developments to comply with noise regulations, causing a dramatic enough backlash from the City council to warrant a spread in the country's largest daily.⁸⁴

When it comes to Stora Mossen itself, we can tell from reading through the assessments (Swe. remissvar) made by various City agencies that the civil servants tasked with evaluating and guiding the project are also willing to hold and voice opinions that go against the representation given in the Promenade City and by the city council. While there are no agency

⁸⁰ *Promenadstaden*, pp. 16-17, 22-23.

⁸¹ Tottmar, Mia, 'Bostadsrätterna på väg att ta över stan' (Owner-occupied flats about to take over the city), *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 April 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5.

⁸² Stockholms stads bostadsförmedling, 'Tänk nytt' (Think new), brochure, May 2012.

⁸³ Conversation with architect G.

⁸⁴ Sundström, Anders, 'Höghusen i Värtan krympte' (The high-rises in Värtan shrank), *Dagens Nyheter* online edition, 19 March 2012, retrieved 15 May 2012 <<http://www.dn.se/sthlm/hoghusen-i-vartan-krympte>>.

giving assessment that oppose the planned developments in their entirety there are three who recommend that it be scaled back, two of which are concerned with aesthetics and heritage exclusively. The City Museum (Swe. stadsmuséet) voices the fiercest criticism, from a tacit approval of the first development plan in 2008 to a complete opposition of the revised plan in 2011:

The character of the area will be visibly affected and the disruption of the natural environment will be great. There is a risk that the planned developments will [visually] dominate the villas... the planned development would constitute too great an expansion. A significantly scaled back expansion in lower density city villas may in the museum's opinion be possible without disrupting the character of the area.^{85VI}

In the same document however the museum notes that the area has not yet been properly classified⁸⁶, though it is uncertain whether or not this would affect their judgement.

The Beauty Council (Swe. skönhetsrådet, a consultative organ of artists and experts tasked with safeguarding the city's aesthetic qualities) provides an argument similar to the museum, that the plan must be scaled back but also that the developments on the western ridge should be abandoned:

The council believes that the eastern part of the planned area may be developed. The new developments must however leave a clear distance to the villas and must also be reduced in height... concerning the western part of the area the council deem the disruption to the environment too great to be accepted. This is a commonly used space for recreation with great importance to the greenery of the area.^{87VII}

Finally, Bromma SDN recommends a third variation, arguing that the houses on the western ridge should be moved further down towards the underground tracks:

⁸⁵ R: 2007-39534-156.

⁸⁶ R: 2007-39534-156.

⁸⁷ R: 2007-39534-112.

A greater regard shall be paid to the complaints from Badger Road [Grävlingssvägen] regarding the height of the developments as well as other effects. When the developments have now been expanded westwards a similar attention has not been given to the residents on Ermine Path and Hedgehog Road [Igelkottsvägen] considering that houses 8, 9 and 10 are situated on the rock itself.

88VIII

Of the arguments presented, both the Museum and the Beauty Council specifically refer to the need to retain the historical character of the area, both particularly mentioning the sliver of greenery separating the villas above the ridge from the road and Eldhund below the ridge⁸⁹, an argument that as will be shown later is somewhat troublesome.

Of the argument championed by Bromma SDN the issue of social justice appears the strongest as it points to the concessions already given to the residents on Badger Road and implies that it would be unfair to deny the same to those living on Ermine Path and Hedgehog Road. The assessment also mentions that the western ridge sees significant usage as a playground for local children.⁹⁰ What is not mentioned in the report is the opinion of the tenants of Eldhund, or the consequence it would bring to the future residents of houses eight through ten of the planned developments if they were moved closer to the underground and Drottningholm road.

Other agencies provide more passing remarks as to possible problems connected to the planned developments. Among them, the County Administrative Board (Swe. länsstyrelsen) sees no obstacle to development but expresses concern about soil erosion⁹¹, while the Committee for the Protection of Health and Environment (Swe. miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämnden) notes the biodiversity on the western ridge and push for a proper investigation of the environmental impact, something which other agencies deemed unnecessary.⁹² Similarly, the Fire Brigade (Swe. brandförsvaret) chastises SBK for not taking Drottningholm road into account while evaluating safety hazards.⁹³ As a final example the

⁸⁸ R: 2007-39534-141.

⁸⁹ R: 2007-39534-112; R: 2007-39534-156.

⁹⁰ R: 2007-39534-141.

⁹¹ R: 2007-39534-160.

⁹² R: 2007-39534-142.

⁹³ R: 2007-39534-67.

Traffic Office (Swe. trafikkontoret) raises issues regarding waste management and handicap parking, but provides suggestions for solutions to both issues.⁹⁴

Representing the garden city

The Bromma garden city itself is not included in the areas slated for redevelopment but Stora Mossen and its underground station in particular is located at its border, and thus finds itself with one foot in the garden city and the other in what is to become an “extension of the city proper”.⁹⁵ While most informants do not relate themselves to the Promenade City at all, the existence of the development plan has launched the majority of them into a flurry of activity, trying to formulate a counter- representation of their own.

While the term garden city is commonly known and approved of among the informants of Stora Mossen, the meaning of the term appears quite disparate. The themes vary greatly in both written complaints and interviews, particularly in the latter in which only a minority of informants actually uses the term on their own without being prompted. Nevertheless, putting together the information gathered during interviews and the complaints lodged with SBK we can bring out a few salient arguments that tend to reappear.

Of the roughly twenty official complaints that mentions the garden city only two come from Eldhund, the remaining ones all originating above the ridge, which might indicate a certain amount of consistency in these representations, at least in terms of class.

In general terms the representation of the garden city brought forward by informants is that of a historical concept that is inseparably tied to a mode of living that include a certain kind of buildings and a certain form of planning, which together form an archetype for good, natural living.

Josef on the ridge, one of the informants most active in resisting the planned developments, wrote the following in a complaint to SBK:

The garden city is a hundred year old cultural environment. The current city plan has been created from an even older concept. The idea of the garden city, a notion imported from England and Germany at the beginning of the last century, was to let buildings and lots form an alternating, organic environment in *concert* with the

⁹⁴ R: 2007-39534-46.

⁹⁵ *Promenadstaden*, map.

surrounding greenery and parks. The fact that these parks are under threat is not only a grave problem, but entirely unacceptable.^{96IX}

Another complaint pointing to the same is made from a template which has been used in different forms by at least four other informants; Anna, Sergei, Gerhard and Natasha, all from the ridge:

The green spaces in and around Stora Mossens Backe is part of the fundamental ideas of the Garden City concept. Unlike the urban city where houses and streets separate blocks in straight lines, the streets and roads were built to follow the natural landscape. Lots and gardens create varied and organic milieus.^{97X}

The nature of the garden city can according to these two excerpts roughly be equated with a certain form of building and planning, a planning that is natural and organic not only in the meaning of trees and parks but in itself. Tanya of the ridge explains while citing parts of the plan description for the planned developments:

The green areas in and around Stora Mossens Backe is part of the mainstay of the garden city idea.

“The residential houses to the south consist of detached houses originally planned from 1910 and onwards. In the Stockholm Order of Settlement of 1997 the planned areas is part of what is categorised as garden city. The area is of particular importance for the lush character of Stockholm where housing, topography and vegetation form a characteristic whole.”

It is this whole that the planned developments would destroy.^{98XI}

Sonia on the ridge helps us clarify the issue further by citing exactly what it is that may be nullified and by what means, an opinion that Mats on the ridge appears to concur with:

⁹⁶ C: 2007-39534-144.

⁹⁷ C: 2007-39534-40 , also appears in C: 2007-39534-71; C: 2007-39534-74; C: 2007-39534-87.

⁹⁸ C: 2007-39534-44, same text also appears in C: 2007-39534-40.

The concerned area is a cultural heritage and is part of a Garden City. To build 5-6 storey houses with garage as planned would with all certainty destroy the character of the area for all future. The current standard of living would be degraded and unique greenery areas destroyed.^{99XII}



The erection of new multi-family housing goes against the existing architecture and the idea behind the construction of the garden city. Parts of Stora Mossen are already Q-labelled. Residents like us have the bother of applying for permits for every single little improvement on our houses. It appears strange that you suddenly welcome a great change in the area.^{100XIII}

In short, the garden city consists either explicitly or implicitly of low houses mixed with greenery. These two characteristics form the greatest bulk of complaints by far. Similar notions also appear in the interview material, though decidedly less well spoken.

The historical garden city

For most, affirming the historical nature of the garden city is achieved by using non-committing, self-validating terms such as “heritage” or by asserting the exact age of the settlement, examples of which has already been cited. Some few however refer to outside authorities, creating a more fixed image of the garden city conforming to a proper representation of space. Klas of Eldhund:

Most of those who have settled in Bromma have been charmed by the unique hundred-year cultural environment of the Garden City, built on existing city plans where buildings form a varied environment together with greenery areas and parks. Now this unique area is under threat, an area where researchers and city planners travel to seek knowledge and inspiration....^{101XIV}

Exactly what experts Klas refers to is unclear but it might have to do with a visit from the British Town and Country Planning Association in in the autumn of 2011, a visit that has

⁹⁹ C: 2007-39534-79.

¹⁰⁰ C: 2007-39534-56.

¹⁰¹ C: 2007-39534-122.

been widely publicised by both SMV and Västerleds trädgårdsstadsförening.¹⁰² According to the report from Västerleds the group was very pleased and impressed by their visit, but since they only stopped at the neighbouring area of Äppelviken which is both older and very different in style from Stora Mossen it is hard to see how their experiences would apply.

Other informants actually gather and disseminate reified historical images using available sources. The best example of such historical legitimisation can be found on the SMV homepage in an excerpt allegedly from the 1994 book that Josef on the ridge contributed to.¹⁰³

The reformer Ebenezer Howard... wanted to change society using city planning as a tool. Artists, idealists and intellectuals flocked to Letchworth but the middle class was never enthused. The experiment never garnered public support.

However Letchworth paved the way for Hampstead which in turn became an important model for city planning in the new century.

Another inspiration was the Austrian architect Camillo Sitte. He turned against the monotonous ugliness of the modern stone city...

The Bromma garden city is connected to both these ideas... Low detached villas meshing with higher terraced houses – such as the “English” terraced houses at Alley Park. Almost no two Bromma villas are the same but they all carry the same idea, like variations on a melody.^{104XV}

Such detailed accounts do not appear elsewhere but as parts of the same quote not included here has made its way into several complaints it is most definitively part of the same discourse.

Support for this historical view is brought forward not only by informants but by the City authorities themselves. In the Order of Settlement, an advisory document from 1997, SBK details specifics for different city areas and recommends the way in which they should be

¹⁰² Västerleds trädgårdsstadsförening, *Rapport från TCPA:s besök i Äppelviken 19:e oktober* (Report from TCPA's visit in Äppelviken 19 October), retrieved 15 May 2012 <<http://www.vasterleds.se/>>; SMV, *Trädgårdsstaden internationellt topprankad* (The garden city on international toplist), October 2011, retrieved 26 April 2012 <<http://www.storamossen.info/>>.

¹⁰³ When asked, Josef said that the excerpt is actually from an unpublished second edition of the same book which was supposedly written in the early 2000's.

¹⁰⁴ SMV, *Om Stora Mossen* (About stora mossen), retrieved 26 April 2012 <<http://www.storamossen.info/omstoramaossen.php>>.

developed and/or maintained. The following quote is taken from the description of garden cities.

Houses were wooden, built in a single storey with furnished basements and attics. Houses and streets were built into existing terrain features keeping larger trees. The most ungainly areas were left unimproved, either as groves or natural parks.

The classic garden city

In areas such as Old Enskede, Äppelviken and Smedslätten the classic garden city was built in 1910 to 1920 with larger detached houses inspired by the classic Swedish town. The City was directly involved in both design and planning. On flat areas hedges and alleys bind the streets together. On broken ground the streets are instead defined by masonry walls and high, solitary trees.^{105XVI}

This document appears to have served as a basis for the descriptions featured in the planning material, and several informants lampshade the discrepancy between the descriptions given there and the scope of the planned developments. Edgar on the ridge:

The city construction office itself has described Stora Mossen as a historically important environment where it is important that the area keeps its character and any changes are carefully made. The current plan with 6 storey concrete colossi in this **small park area** is entirely alien to this environment and goes entirely against the description SBK itself has made.^{106XVII}

Historicity compared

Much like the Promenade City plan the general representation brought forward by the informants of Stora Mossen contain certain inconsistencies. Most notably, the different views on the development of the garden city either omit facts or do not match up to each other. To illustrate, we need to make another excursion into historical material and examine the origins of the Swedish garden city.

Unlike the first layers of suburbs added to the city which were planned and constructed by associations or private companies the garden cities of Stockholm marks the beginning of a

¹⁰⁵ SBK, *Stockholms Byggnadsordning* (Stockholm order of settlement), 30 June 1997, retrieved 26 April 2012 <<http://www.sbk.stockholm.se/op/BYO.HTM>>; <<http://www.sbk.stockholm.se/op/BYO-3.HTM>>.

¹⁰⁶ C: 2007-39534-130.

conscious planning effort on behalf of the city, buying and allotting land to serve a political purpose. This was not without due cause; dissatisfaction with the substandard living conditions was rife among the working class and after the municipal elections of 1903 it was decided that the city council had to take a more proactive role to facilitate the creation of proper housing.¹⁰⁷ One of the first areas selected for development was Enskede, the first of Stockholm's two garden cities.

The plan for Enskede was far more ambitious than any previous developments aimed at the working class. It was heavily inspired by the garden suburb of Hampstead, London, which was considered one of Unwin's masterpieces, and the development garnered significant interest among architects and planners both at home and abroad.¹⁰⁸

Following Unwin's lead the area was built as a whole, mixing single and double houses with blocks of flats and terraced houses that were uniform in style. Commuting was facilitated by incorporating electric trams and traffic was managed by separating horses, automobiles, pedestrians and other kinds of vehicles from each other on the main streets, allowing citizens to walk unmolested on the back streets. Generous public spaces were provided with a park located in the centre alongside a school.¹⁰⁹

Enskede was most definitively not meant to be a haven of communalism in the way that Howard proposed, the lots and all public spaces were owned by the city council and leased to the tenants at a moderate price, but it was meant to provide affordable and decent living for the hard-working, sober and god-fearing everyman.

While being lauded as an architectural triumph Enskede met only with mixed success commercially; while most of the double and single houses sold well the terraced houses, being a new and untested form of housing, did not. Moreover, the larger single-houses were soon found to be too expensive for working class families. The original plan was eventually revised somewhat to allow for more of the small, single houses to replace the intended terraced houses but with that the aesthetic uniformity of the area soon fell apart.¹¹⁰

While Enskede had been at least moderately successful the garden city of Bromma met with an even less fortunate end, at least from the perspective of the City council. The project that had begun a few years later than Enskede was caught up in the recession of 1913 and the prices of houses and flats soon rose to become unattainable for the average worker.¹¹¹ With

¹⁰⁷ Johansson, pp. 321-323.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 399-403.

¹¹¹ Johansson., pp. 404-405.

the projects main raison d'être gone the original plan soon began to fall apart. The area was gradually expanded westward from Äppelviken, incorporating new areas until reaching Stora Mossen, the latest plan of which is from 1936. Except for Äppelviken, the original plan maps are still enacted and by reading them one can see how the area has gradually been developed from a relatively large and mixed neighbourhood in 1922 with blocks of flats, detached houses and public buildings such as schools and a church¹¹² to increasingly small allotments with the possibility for mixed housing¹¹³, all the way to maps with detached houses only (image 12).¹¹⁴

The single houses with two rooms and a kitchen that had become popular in Enskede were for the greater part replaced by villas with up to eight rooms instead, turning the area including Stora Mossen into a prosperous villa city rather than anything else.¹¹⁵

This failure marked the end of the garden city experiments in Stockholm and paved the way for later developments, consisting of independently built houses in the Enskede style or even smaller and later larger blocks of flats that were designed to bring down living and construction costs.¹¹⁶ The former make up some parts of both Enskede and Bromma garden cities but also formed independent neighbourhoods, while the latter found a home to the west of Stora Mossen in Abrahamsberg. The basic idea of the good suburb providing decent living spaces for those in need continued along with some of the elements tried out in Enskede and Bromma but the garden city, although its planning practices still applied in the designated areas, was gone.

With the basic idea of what we in this study call the Swedish garden city hampered already from the beginning, processes of exclusion common to other suburbs began. In 1927 residents of Ålsten complained about the planned construction of a tenement house on an empty lot, citing concern for social unrest by putting two different forms of housing and income so close to each other. Possibly being an inflaming statement already in the 1920's, others preferred to claim that the construction would destroy the idea of the garden city, mirroring the complaint about terraced houses from the 1940's featured in the introduction.¹¹⁷ Just a few years later members of the social democratic party (S) in Enskede, which one would normally assume would be proponents of integration voiced similar complaints, much to the chagrin of the

¹¹² SBK, Plan map 195, 219.

¹¹³ SBK, Plan map 374.

¹¹⁴ SBK, Plan map 1636.

¹¹⁵ Johansson, pp. 401, 404-405.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 407-409, 428-435; Wirtén, p. 211.

¹¹⁷ Deland, pp. 347-348; Reimers, pp. 35-36.

party central.¹¹⁸ While City planners and politicians had not intended for this to happen the protests eventually forced a compromise, instituting a separation of different forms of housing by putting swathes of greenery between them¹¹⁹, a practice which has since become widespread in Swedish city planning despite its less than glorious origin.

Within less than twenty years of their founding, the main principles of both Howard's garden city and its Swedish iteration had thus been thoroughly subverted, the intended working class tenants marginalised and the areas become thoroughly gentrified, much like the garden cities in Great Britain had been as well.¹²⁰

This story of origin is not known either on the ridge or as it seems among City agencies. While some informants do not exclude the possibility of there being multi-family houses in a garden city only one person in the entire study appears to have made the connection outright, namely a civil servant in SBK who wrote a memorandum at the beginning of the planning process in 2009, when the plan was still considerably more conservative:

The term garden city allows for mixed developments, often consisting of lower multi-family houses in central areas with terraced houses and detached houses in the outskirts. The proposed development connects to the current tenement in the Eldhund block...^{121XVIII}

The representation of space that claim that the present garden city is more than ostensibly grounded in either the Swedish or Howard's vision of the same is in other terms almost entirely imaginary.

However, in itself this has little impact beyond the usage of terms. While the intentions of the garden city forbearers may have been undone almost immediately and the usage of highflying terms is technically incorrect, it only applies to the representation of space, i.e. the mental image of the same, and not the representational space which has had roughly eighty years to develop since. Regardless of what should have happened in Stora Mossen the area has been dominated by detached houses and upper middle to upper class income for most of its time, creating a representational space from which the majority of the representations of space of the informants spring, making it just as historically viable as anything else. Two informants

¹¹⁸ Deland, pp. 348-349.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Hall, p. 108; Johansson, p. 412.

¹²¹ P: 2007-39534-3.

actually allude to this, though it is impossible to gauge whether this has to do with an actual analysis or merely a fortunate choice of words. Annika on the ridge followed by Stephan beyond the ridge, one of very few complainants that do not live either on the ridge or in Eldhund, but further towards the south:

The development of Stora Mossen ridge and Ermine Path as well as several other on-going projects in the Western Suburbs violates the city planning made in the area in the thirties and destroys the garden city thinking that characterised the planning. The cultural heritage handed us will be destroyed and substantial historical values are lost.^{122XIX}



These areas were planned and developed in the 1910-20-30 and 40's at a time when Swedish city planning were globally leading and a by right a model to the whole world. This environment is unique in the world and that it should be protected and preserved ought to be beyond discussion.^{123XX}

Consequently, should one today try to turn Stora Mossen into a Swedish garden city under the pretext of restoration it would be just as much a way of falsifying history as the claims that the present garden city was supposed to happen.

What does go out the window however is the ability to claim uniqueness and demand special status. Several houses in the area are relatively old and subjected to protection status, a fact that is lamented by several informants such as Azazello on the ridge:

The main argument against development has already been made by the City Construction Office itself in a brochure to the residents of Stora Mossen (1995).
...Stora Mossen is in the Stockholm master plan labelled as an important heritage area. According to the planning and development law this means that any change to streets and buildings must be undertaken with outmost concern to the heritage area as a whole. It is important that the area keeps its character. The façades of the buildings are integral to this wholeness. Changes must be made with care.^{124XXI}

¹²² C: 2007-39534-82.

¹²³ C: 2007-39534-83.

¹²⁴ C: 2007-39534-135, similar statement also appear in C: 2007-39534-99.

But unless the area has a more substantial claim to special status than being preceded by good intentions, this judgement is ultimately subjective and gives no more protection for the whole area than to any other old villa city, of which there are quite many.

Beyond clear-cut representations

While the grand historical narrative dominates the formulation of the present garden city, not all informants refer to the garden city in a defined historical sense. The historical explanations do form the most coherent and thus dominant representation of the garden city, but it is made up of elements that can and are readily explained by themselves or in relation to other, more mundane occurrences than attempted utopia. These views do not amount to a singular representation of space but is better understood as representational space, or the everyday practice of space.

Compiling the views expressed in the complaints and interviews it becomes clear that less than half of the informants submitting written complaints chose to frame their protests in terms of architecture and city planning in the first place. And while almost all informants who chose to frame their objections or views in such terms refer to the garden city, only a minority of informants argues at length about the historical dimension, the majority referring to it in an unspecified manner and letting the reader draw his or her own conclusions.

Talking of the qualities of the garden city Pontus on the ridge and Rose of Eldhund both refers to planning in itself but never quantifies what they mean more exactly:

I oppose this since it runs contrary to sensible city planning to use greenery areas for densification which destroys a part of the garden city idea that were the typical mould for the development of Västerled.^{125XXII}

Φ

The garden city has a unique layout. It was made so that people could live in light and air with greenery and housing forming a harmonic whole. Now economic interests want to smash this functional living environment. It is short-sighted and poorly reasoned.^{126XXIII}

¹²⁵ Email, *Synpunkter om pågående plan*, 2011-06-19.

¹²⁶ C: 2007-39534-110.

This habit was more common in interviews, where informants would sometimes omit the garden city entirely until prompted, at which time they were forced to improvise their answers. Herbert on the ridge who did not want to be recorded guessed that the garden city might be connected to having swathes of uninterrupted nature, a view possibly inspired by the “green wedges” that run largely uninterrupted between suburbs in 20th century city planning.¹²⁷ After looking on a map and realising that there are no such wedges in Bromma he speculated that perhaps it had something to do with greenery and the private gardens instead, reflecting briefly on the fact that he himself had recently cut down several trees in his own garden, somewhat undermining his own argument. Martha on the ridge speaks vaguely of cultural heritage in her official complaint but struggles with the term when asked, eventually managing an answer that comes pretty close to some of the core elements of Unwin’s planning style. Vladimir of Eldhund on the other hand goes more freestyle:

Martha: Well, I’m no expert on the garden city but... as I see it, it’s about open gardens, err, and that the houses are built facing each other, and the idea was also, hmm, what I believe was the idea with the garden city at least were the small lots, eh... that it would be a coherent living environment. Relatively small but open gardens that you could look across and socialise across... I’m sure there’s more to it but that’s as far as I know it ...^{XXIV}

Φ

Vladimir: ...yeah, I know of it, heard of it [the garden city]. I suppose it’s that they built the area so there’s a lot of greenery and forests, grass and... I hope it won’t become like downtown, where there’s only asphalt and concrete all over...^{XXV}

When writing their complaints or asked in interviews several informants also tend to use the term garden city and villa city interchangeably, the latter commonly denoting a low density area of detached houses usually without any particular heritage associated with it.¹²⁸ Kara on the ridge sees no particular difference between the two:

Interviewer: Many here speak of the garden city, is that something familiar to you?

¹²⁷ Deland, p. 9.

¹²⁸ Carlsson, p 102.

Kara: Sure is, it's about the allotment gardens and the things around them, a lot of commons...

I: Did it have anything to do with you settling here?

K: Why of course it had, to a degree, also that Bromma is in this older style, quite a few parks and, eh, a nice, idyllic villa city you could call it...

I: Is there any particular difference between a garden city and a villa city?

K: You know I'm not sure. I don't think so because the gardens probably have something to do with, what do you call it, the allotment gardens...^{XXVI}

Others however takes the term quite literally, regarding any form of buildings other than detached houses as being alien to the garden city, essentially forcing it to become a villa city.

Karl on the ridge:

Karl: The garden city, yes that's what we're living in...

I: But what is it really?

K: Yeah, well it's an area with only villas, just about... and this new thing is trying to look a bit like a city, eh, a city-city then, haha! ... Well I don't really know, garden city, if there's any difference to a villa city, hehe, I'm not really sure...^{XXVII}

Surprisingly, even one of the most active and well-read informants appears to have confused the two until recently. In the book that Josef on the ridge contributed to in 1994 he does not deliberate any further on the purpose of the garden city and uses the term interchangeably with villa city.¹²⁹

Suburban aesthetics

The confusion between villa city and garden city is not fetched out thin air, and even if the two of them have a rather different historical heritage they are related, if only in that they share the status of being suburbs.

¹²⁹ Reimers, pp. 20-12, 34.

While the garden city in the form prescribed by Howard or the Swedish style is essentially a city made more bearable to live in, the villa city is more clearly a call to the country and a reified idea of nature.¹³⁰ Like the suburb itself the villa city is in many ways a romanticist notion, primarily formulated as a return to the good life in the countryside, something which is represented in the detached houses on Badger Road in particular where unabashedly romanticist façades intersect with classicist examples, in themselves a stark contrast to the later functionalist style dominant on Hedgehog Road.

While several informants mention the participation of City architects to the architectural designs in the area,¹³¹ the detached houses in Stora Mossen are, much like the houses in the villa city, a fundamentally individualistic affair,¹³² being very much private property while at the same time forming a collective expression of an entire area. The slightly anarchic shape of some houses can be illustrated by this excerpt from Mona on the ridge's statement:

Mona: ... a bit of curio for you, Emil Norlander, an old variety show artist [built this house]... that's why it's a bit special, with pillars and... kind of a pomp and circumstance thing, a bit of megalomania, but that makes it a bit fun too...^{XXVIII}

The individualistic touch of these developments is sometimes even pointed out by informants as a reason for them settling in the area in the first place, as this exchange with Vincent on the ridge suggests:

Vincent: Bromma is a very charming area, apart from this street where the houses look a bit boring... these houses here are built in the forties, they look rather dull...

I: So, if you had had a choice you'd had one of the national romantic houses then..?

V: We were choosing with one such at the time but we wanted it practical, and then there is also the vicinity to the underground...^{XXIX}

The fact that some of the older, better preserved buildings in Stora Mossen are subjected to regulations brings the intersection between private and public to the fore with several

¹³⁰ Carlsson, pp. 96-97, 102.

¹³¹ C: 2007-39534-40 for instance.

¹³² Carlsson, pp. 96-97.

informants complaining about their freedom of action being infringed by restrictive rules and contrasting this to the City's own plans.

The shape and form of the planned developments is one of the more important points of concern. Talking of the planned developments themselves informants are almost unified in their criticism, denouncing it as ill-fitting, grotesque or the most flowery one, "Stalin's gift to the umpteenth party congress" (which in itself is a bit of a misnomer as the plan looks nothing like Stalin classicism).¹³³ Particularly the elevation of the projects garners extensive and widespread criticism. Natasha on the ridge:

How can it be possible that you are allowed to put up a six storey building 7-10 from a private garden! Shouldn't there be any guidelines you have to follow?^{134XXX}

Even SBN show concern towards the aesthetics of the project, which is perhaps not so strange considering that it is the organ with overall responsibility, though it does so in an almost schizophrenic fashion. SBN demanded changes to the proposed plans on two different occasions on account of its architecture, however what it actually wants is not immediately clear from the minutes taken during its meetings, where it appears like the members are caught in between of different paradigms. On the one hand the first draft of the planned developments that went to pains to appear similar to Eldhund was vetoed for not being city-like enough but the second draft was criticised in turn for going too far away from its surroundings.¹³⁵

The aesthetic expression inherent in the buildings appears to be a symbol for the kind of suburb Stora Mossen is supposed to be. In the eyes of informants it would appear that SBN enforcing a more "city-like" form of development in the vicinity of Stora Mossen would serve to undermine the illusion of the good rural/suburban life, whereas SBN appears to have difficulty on where to draw the line on what constitutes a suitable middle way between high-density and low-density developments.

¹³³ Enok on the ridge.

¹³⁴ C: 2007-39534-74.

¹³⁵ M: 2007-39534-8; M: 2007-39534-18.

The romantic notions of the classical suburb are also very much present in the arguments concerning greenery and environment. The nature of the suburb has never been the cold and muddy affair of the actual countryside, but rather a sunny, well-ordered and patriotic ideal serving as a counterpoint to the filth and grime of the industrialised city.¹³⁶

By itself or combined with other grievances, environment and greenery alone is just as common an argument as the garden city and given that it is included in practically every complaint mentioning the garden city as well, one could definitively say that it is the more common objection. Christopher from beyond the ridge speaks eloquently and at length while David of Eldhund keeps it briefer:

I am saddened when in each passing year another green oasis in Bromma is developed. To a layman it is often shocking to see how even the smaller greenery areas are built on in a way that you'd not think possible. From small lots that serve as a playground for children and which are seen as "natural" to greater swathes of greenery where multi-family houses suddenly spring up among the villas... The small, thin screen of trees that exist on the ridge today serve both to reduce noise and as a popular walking area. It's also pleasant to look at, both from Drottningholm road and for those who live or walk in the area (of which there are quite a lot since the underground station also lies on the ridge).^{137XXXI}



Around Stora Mossens Backe we have marvellous forest areas that are important both to physical and psychological health! Don't build away Stockholm's beauty!! Stockholm is famous abroad for its green splendour – don't destroy this reputation! In these forested areas there are valuable trees, plants and above all animals...^{138XXXII}

The views of greenery and environment most often expressed by informants is usually similar to the two examples given, as an integral part of the area either by mentioning the garden city or by referring to a general view in which such areas are normal, which in the context of Swedish suburbs it actually is to an extent. Much like in other North European countries vast

¹³⁶ Deland, pp. 122-126; Hall, pp. 88-91.

¹³⁷ Email, *Beställning av objekt: Kontaktformulär*, 2011-06-28.

¹³⁸ C: 2007-39534-137.

greenery areas were integral to planning during most of the 20th century.¹³⁹ Smaller spots deemed unsuitable for developments, either because it would drive up density or because they were hard to build on in the first place, became labelled as greenery areas as can be seen in the garden city entry of the Stockholm Order of Settlement cited previously. In the new planning process this has in turn become something of a problem as the City agencies have the same general label for leftover greenery areas as for parks¹⁴⁰, and many of the informants regard parks in particular as sacrosanct, which in turn caused several to cry bloody murder. Regardless of their origin the presence of such greenery areas are deeply appreciated by many citizens and are still used as a marketing ploy by many of the smaller cities caught in the shadow of the rapidly growing metropolitan areas, advertising themselves as the natural and peaceful alternative to the capital, within merely an hours commuting distance.¹⁴¹

While greenery and environment has mostly been seen as a commonly appreciated aesthetic ideal when talking in terms of city planning, the early 20th century reifications of nature has made a comeback in the shape of everyday environmentalism that has turned the fate of small, aesthetically appealing though hardly very natural greenery areas into a matter of grave environmental concern and legitimate ground for political action¹⁴², a fact that is not in the least mirrored by the resistance offered to the project in SBN and Bromma SDN by the green party (MP). Alexei on the ridge provides several highlights in one of his complaints, pointing among other things to a loss of valuable natural habitats for animals and certain species of greenery:

The greenery areas in the Western Suburbs consist of very old forest. Modern forestry has not been practiced in the area in the last century which leaves a particularly great deal of old (older than 200 years) pine trees... The access to dying or older broad-leaf trees attracts a **wealth of insects**, some of which are rare... These “primeval-esque” greenery areas are rare in built up areas should be

¹³⁹ Deland, p. 9; Donnelly, K.J., ‘A Ramble Through the margins of the Cityscape: the postmodern as the return of nature’ in Dear, Michael J. & Flusty, Steven (eds.), *The spaces of postmodernity: readings in human geography*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002, p. 426.

¹⁴⁰ The difference which is not at all mentioned in the documents concerning the plan is that parks have substantial improvements (Boverket 2002: 81), which the ridges lack apart from the staircase on the eastern part.

¹⁴¹ Bo i Nyköping, *Jämför Nyköping* (Compare Nyköping), retrieved 30 March 2012 <<http://www.nykopingsguiden.se/Boinykoping/Jamfor/>>.

¹⁴² Donnelly, pp. 427-428.

preserved due to their great **biological diversity**... The natural connections to other green lungs in the area would disappear as well...^{143XXXIII}

The validity of this view is in itself confirmed as several aspects are later echoed in a report issued by the city Environment and Public Health Committee (Swe. miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämnden) which calls for further investigation.¹⁴⁴

When mixed together the aesthetic and environmentalist argument becomes a potent demagogical tool. This can be seen in the complaints bringing up the negative impact of the nearby Drottningholm road on the surrounding area in which the greenery on the ridges have the alleged ability to shield and absorb at least some of it. Francesca of Eldhund:

The already chaotic traffic situation and poor air quality (high particle levels) will worsen considerably [if the planned developments are carried out] (the traffic from houses 6-10 will form an idling, smelling queue outside my bedroom window) ... The few ‘lungs’ that still remain must be preserved! The capacity of trees in cleaning the air is unrivalled!^{145XXXIV}

What the particle levels entail is not elaborated on any further, but it is a common device in both interviews and complaints. According to Edgar on the ridge among several others the levels exceed those of Horn’s Street (Swe. Hornsgatan, a major street in the city proper)¹⁴⁶, where air quality has been deemed so bad that a local ban on studded winter tyres have been enacted, making for a handy argument.

While some informants believes that new developments might perform the same job as the trees in warding off noise and perhaps even fumes from Drottningholm road, others do not. Richard on the ridge gives the following account:

At Ulvsundaplan Drottningholm road is one of Stockholm’s busiest streets with poor air quality and high particle levels – a bad environment for housing. The new developments would restrict circulation between houses and road, which would reduce the air quality even further. Developing in the forest would also mean

¹⁴³ C: 2007-39534-84.

¹⁴⁴ R: 2007-39534-142.

¹⁴⁵ C: 2007-39534-129.

¹⁴⁶ C: 2007-39534-130.

taking down trees which in themselves improve the air quality (and reduce noise levels). A fully grown tree that is cut down takes a thousand (!) new trees to achieve the same environmental effect. It takes at least 50 years for a sapling to reach the same environmental effect as a fully grown tree. Don't build away our green lung – we and coming generations both need it.^{147XXXV}

The question of air quality is tricky, particularly when lacking either experience or knowledge about such issues, but if secondary school chemistry serves trees cannot in fact absorb or neutralise anything in themselves apart from carbon dioxide. If so, what remains of the argument is the same as that of aesthetics in general, to provide an aesthetically and emotionally pleasing living environment while obscuring less pleasant things.

Daily usage and spatial practices

As important as individual houses and greenery is to informants a very large part of the complaints and the spontaneous reactions during interviews regards something quite detached from housing, namely traffic and to a lesser extent children's play.

While traffic and commuting always forms a part of city planning, in both Howard's garden city and its Swedish iteration the inclusion of communications was paramount, the particular properties of the traffic apparatus forms not only a space in itself, but also a network tying such places together. The roads and the tracks have a life of their own.

Moreover, while most of the aspects brought up by informants are intangible, related to an abstract understanding of space, the act of commuting as well as that of play is both hands-on and regular, bridging the connection between mental and physical. Consequently, the act of playing or commuting count primarily to spatial practice rather than representational space. While commuting and play is never detached from the representations of space, modes of commuting is after all a prominent symbol for environmental concern and games such as cops and robbers or house re-enact social practices in obvious detail, the connection with the physical is all the more obvious. The fact that there is a commute in the first place is because there is distance to be bridged and the origins of games are commonly found in relation to the environment in which they take place, as is pointed out by several informants themselves, lauding the "natural" play as opposed to the "ordered" counterpart taking place on playgrounds.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ C: 2007-39534-77.

¹⁴⁸ Anna and Kenneth on the ridge.

In the public sphere we can isolate two individual places that see a significant usage on an everyday basis, the Stora Mossens Backe thoroughfare and the western ridge. Other places do see usage as well but not to the same extent, at least not in November-January.

The ridges

When asked about usage of the ridges many informants claim that they are indeed used but only a few claim to do so themselves.

When it comes to the eastern ridge it is indeed somewhat hard to see how it could be extensively used for almost any activity. At its widest, the ridge measures roughly 50 metres across with the narrowest stretches at 20 to 30 metres, several of which are occupied by the path that runs alongside it. While the stretch certainly was inhospitable during the study it is hard to imagine it giving enough shelter for more advanced games even in the warmer seasons, particularly when such space is much more plentiful further eastward, where traces can be found of outdoor play. The activities that could actually be confirmed through observation of the eastern ridge were rather less encouraging from a civic perspective as many of the passers-through, both sapient and canine, were obviously using it as an open-air toilet. And while both people and animal have to go somewhere it is likely that neither city planners nor residents had this particular purpose in mind.

The western ridge fares significantly better in this regard, being more than twice as big and showing signs of usage as well as tangible observations of the same. Children are clearly present in the area and using it actively for recreation. Moreover, the ridge sees daily usage from the roughly twenty children and teachers of Hattstugan day care centre. The staff expresses their concern over the planned developments in a complaint to SBK during the consultation period in June 2011, along with several similar ones from parents of the children enrolled in the centre, pointing among other things on the joint custody the children of the centre and the other children who play on the ridge have of the playhouse featured on image 5.¹⁴⁹

An argument that is not clearly conveyed in the complaint lodged by the centre but that emerged in conversation with the staff is the centrality of unorganised “natural” spaces as opposed to “unnatural”, ordered playgrounds. According to Ellen, one of the teachers of the centre, the lack of prefabricated playthings as well as fences and other barriers serves an

¹⁴⁹ C: 2007-39534-103 along with several following.

educational purpose, allowing the children to develop their own games more freely as well as taking responsibility by not wandering off beyond the boundaries set by the teachers. While this obviously puts greater demand on the teachers it is deemed central to the pedagogic tenets held by the centre and would be hard to maintain without access to the ridge. According to the teachers the ridge is normally used four out of five weekdays, the fifth being spent at a more remote play area which calls for a greater logistical effort in order to reach.

The thoroughfare

The most common place in the entire area, both in terms of usage and in terms of public access is the Stora Mossens Backe thoroughfare that runs down the ridge, past the underground station, underneath the underground tracks and out on Ulvsundaplan and Drottningholm road. The situation on the road features in almost all interviews, complaints and other narratives of the area and does so for a reason. Put simply the thoroughfare is the place where almost everyone in the area must go if they want to go anywhere outside to work or shop. All forms of commuters convene here, usually at the same time in the morning, turning the area into the most common of things in the area. What happens here affects the whole neighbourhood and is seen and related to by almost everyone who has any business outside.

However, the time of communality is severely limited. While the children from the day care centre play for several hours on the western ridge most people only congregate on the thoroughfare during the proper rush hour, which according to observations last for slightly less than an hour each morning.¹⁵⁰ An afternoon rush most likely exists as well but the massing of people is somewhat different then. Since there are few workplaces in the area the bulk of people using the thoroughfare are residents who have no particular reason to linger once they have reached their destination. Similarly, the vehicles that visibly clog the thoroughfare in the morning have to wait at Ulvsundaplan in the afternoon and once done there they can speed up the ridge without further hindrance. The problem of congestion therefore only seems to hit Stora Mossen in particular during the morning.

What this congregation produces is a remarkable commitment to and uniformity in accounts of the thoroughfare, something not otherwise seen anywhere in the area. What can be seen from these accounts is that the thoroughfare is regarded as a problem, chiefly due to the

¹⁵⁰ In this particular location, mind. On Drottningholm road the busy hours are likely longer, much the same as it is on the underground.

congestion it experiences. Ephraim who lives close to the sports centre and Michael on the ridge both put it short and concise:

My opinion is that we are having a **catastrophic** traffic situation in the area today. It is not unusual to have traffic jamming on New Meadow Road and in Stora Mossens Backe as well as connecting streets.^{151XXXVI}

Φ

With the current traffic situation we can't leave our area (above Stora Mossens ridge) until the rush has died down. It takes 30-45 minutes to travel 300 metres down Stora Mossens Backe in a car. How do you propose to solve that?^{152XXXVII}

Valentin on the ridge gives a slightly different estimate than Michael and also points to the culprit behind the congestion:

NN depends on the car to get to work and it takes a bit more than 15 minutes to travel 250 metres down to Drottningholm road. The reason for this is that the traffic lights shifts so fast that only 4-6 vehicles can pass with each green light.^{153XXXVIII}

Several accounts also make the point that the situation has deteriorated during the last few years. Valery on the ridge provides an example:

We've lived on Badger Road since 2004 and during these years the traffic situation has grown more and more chaotic... All thoroughfares [leading to and from the area] are experiencing heavy traffic. Stora Mossens Backe has traffic jams leading all the way up to Bromma upper secondary school almost every morning and often also in the afternoon. Sometimes we can hardly even get out from Badger Road to travel in the opposite direction towards Ålsten.^{154XXXIX}

The congestion does not only cause problems for the residents above the ridge. Per on the ridge and several others talks about the difficulty in getting out from the small lane that lies

¹⁵¹ C: 2007-39534-49.

¹⁵² C: 2007-39534-62.

¹⁵³ C: 2007-39534-75.

¹⁵⁴ C: 2007-39534-88.

parallel to Eldhund, a difficulty that they fear would be compounded if the planned developments with their plan for an underground garage using the same lane were to come true.¹⁵⁵

Estimating the reliability of the accounts given above is hard as traffic fluctuates from day to day, making it difficult to make more than an informed estimate of the traffic load at any given moment. When commencing observations in November there were indications of quite heavy traffic on the thoroughfare both in the morning and in the evening but since no proper count was taken at that time this remains unproven. When the analysis of gathered data showed the importance of the traffic situation a new round of observations were made in late April focusing solely on traffic and congestion. These observations, undertaken in a (mostly) less frigid and considerably brighter climate, did not bear the previous indications out. While there was congestion in the morning the queues created were substantially smaller and shorter in duration than claimed in the complaints and interviews. Moreover, the afternoon rush failed to materialise at all during the dedicated observations.

The most significant amount of traffic happened between a quarter to eight and eight thirty in the morning when up to twenty vehicles could be found standing in line waiting for the lights to switch. The traffic lights were indeed very short, working on a two minute cycle with roughly 1 minute 45 seconds red and 15 seconds green, but when trying to count how many vehicles could pass in this timeframe the average number was seven rather than four or five. Using this average to calculate the waiting time of the line the total waiting time during these observations never exceeded 6 minutes, somewhat like waiting for a bus. The length of the queue as well as the average time in line would of course fluctuate depending on the kind of vehicles present, the space left between them and the alertness of the drivers. Heavily laden lorries or drivers fiddling with his/her latest electronic gadget might affect the situation, though this could not be seen during the observations despite both elements being present. Though only a small sample was obtained due to the relative lack of vehicles the numbers were surprisingly coherent, the lowest and highest numbers of passing vehicles per interval being six and eight respectively.

Despite the congestion being rather less severe than initially expected there were still some issues connected with it. First of all, the congestion obviously continued on Ulvsundaplan and Drottningholm road, which as already mentioned channels most of the traffic between the

¹⁵⁵ C: 2007-39534-50.

western and north-western suburbs on the one side and the city proper and the Essinge bypass on the other. This traffic also makes it quite difficult for people heading out from Stora Mossen to go north, which according to Theseus of Eldhund forces him to try and use the exit in Abrahamsberg instead.

Moreover, even modest congestion causes a very real traffic hazard as it cuts across the zebra crossing which is used by residents on the ridge and particularly the students of Bromma upper secondary school trying to get to and from the underground station. While vehicles may not stop on the crossing they still obscure it both for other vehicles and pedestrians, a fact compounded by the sometimes rather strong morning sun shining in the face of drivers. The consequent danger posed to pedestrians is prominently featured in the written complaints¹⁵⁶ but strangely absent in the interviews, where all but a few claimed that they had no problems whatsoever with pedestrians, even when specifically asked.

The other common component of traffic related grievances regards parking space. Stora Mossens Backe is fairly broad and features some thirty largely unregulated parking spots.¹⁵⁷ These parking spots have become prime material for automobile commuters wishing to avoid the congestion charges inside the city proper, parking their cars and taking the underground downtown. This issue has become quite infected, particularly to the car-owners of Eldhund who have only a few parking spots of their own. Practically all of them complain of the problem finding a free spot with Theseus alleging that he rather stays a bit longer at work than come home too early and find no place to park. Among the informants on the ridge who almost all can park on their own property the spots on Stora Mossens Backe serves more as a demagogical device in complaints. This except for Tuesdays, when parking on the thoroughfare is forbidden and according to several accounts the vehicles instead park on the back roads among the villas, causing considerable ire. Herbert on the ridge who otherwise had very little to add about the planned developments was quite incensed about other people's cars blocking access to the snow-ploughs, forcing children to walk out in the street. The problem on the ridge are not entirely clear cut, one can for instance wonder what kind of commuter parks their vehicle for several nights without moving it, particularly when not everyone on the ridge has a garage. It is also pointed out by some informants who parks in this manner that it would be odd to expect a trafficked road without at the same time allowing vehicles on it.

¹⁵⁶ C: 2007-39534-62.

¹⁵⁷ R: 2007-39534-46.

While the two most common words associated with the traffic issues on Stora Mossens Backe is “chaotic” and “untenable”, the possibility of turning the situation into something that would be called “ordered” and “tenable” is rather slim. As is hinted at by many informants the area is an integrated part of the western suburbs, the parking problems allegedly being caused by “outsiders” rather than locals.¹⁵⁸ Indeed it is rather likely that the cause of the irregular congestion problem can be tied to the traffic situation in the western suburbs as a whole, rather than anything else. An accident or road work on the main roads would force drivers to find alternative routes, convening on Stora Mossen and in all likelihood the other exits in Abrahamsberg and Alvik as well. Instances of this have been described in the local papers where a spokesperson for the Transport Committee (Swe. Transportstyrelsen) attested to the fluid nature of the congestion in the western suburbs.¹⁵⁹ The spokesperson alleges that the commuting habits are malleable enough that certain congestion serves to channel people into other, more desirable modes of commuting, a stance which is not only made part of the Promenade City plan but is apparently already practiced by local politicians and public servants, an issue further discussed on page 60. Informants who have been in direct contact with political bodies and/or agencies have been told by the same that they will not get far against the planned development arguing solely on the traffic issues.

V. Problematizing representations

The conflict of Stora Mossen is in essence a conflict of borders, a conflict on where the line between the urban city with the representations of space created by the City and the suburban garden city with its homemade equivalents shall be drawn.

The different arguments are plentiful, from historic and aesthetic ideals to environmental and practical everyday concerns such as traffic and the running of a day care centre, but they all convene on the point that the planned developments in Stora Mossen ought not to be carried out. Edgar on the ridge, Kaspar of Eldhund, Rose of Eldhund and Paris of Hattstugan day care centre:

The now hundred year old idea behind the garden city was and is that buildings and lots should form a varied environment together with the surrounding nature

¹⁵⁸ C: 2007-39534-59.

¹⁵⁹ Sjölund, Jan, 'Här kommer monsterköerna: månadsskiftet en av årets värsta trafiktoppar', Mitt i Bromma, 23 August 2011, p. 4.

and park areas. That these parks are under threat is not only grave but unacceptable. Must ALL green areas be developed? ^{160XL}

Φ

I oppose the proposal for 10 new multi-family houses around Stora Mossens ridge due to the following reasons. Should the planned developments be approved I will appeal. The reasons are as follows. The traffic situation is already chaotic. ^{161XLI}

Φ

The few remaining greenery areas must be preserved... every tree should be preserved for human well-being. Small oases in the traffic chaos. Don't remove these possibilities and create an unsound living environment. ^{162XLII}

Φ

We are a preschool without a fenced off garden of our own. Each day year round we go to our forest... This can have a very grave impact on our preschool... Running a preschool is no lucrative business... We might even, if bad comes to worse, be forced into bankruptcy. ^{163XLIII}

These arguments have already been explored from the perspective of Stora Mossen and have as such been largely explained as belonging to two reified images of space, one being a reified representation of the historically unique garden city and the other an more abstract aesthetic ideal and expression of a suburban lifestyle belonging in representational space, with practical everyday concerns such as traffic and children's play being counted apart.

However, Stora Mossen is not an obscure entity floating around in empty space, it is a neighbourhood in a greater metropolitan area and the arguments and ideas created within its boundaries need to relate and make sense to other parts of the city. Claiming uniqueness only goes so far, particularly when standing on a shaky historical ground.

This second section shall take a look at the arguments brought up in Stora Mossen in a different way, looking at how the problems and their proposed solutions relate to the issues and difficulties of the outside world, a relation which is more faceted than that of self-representation.

¹⁶⁰ C: 2007-39534-130.

¹⁶¹ C: 2007-39534-122.

¹⁶² C: 2007-39534-110.

¹⁶³ C: 2007-39534-103 .

Stora Mossen vs. the world

As has already been noted the vast majority of informants in Stora Mossen wants to see the planned developments abandoned in their entirety. However, the rationale for doing so, i.e. the other ways in which city development should be pursued instead, is less well documented. When present however the arguments differ quite significantly, representing different ideas of city development.

The majority stays true to the representations of space made in Stora Mossen by refusing to accept the City's representations and suggesting any of four alternatives; a continuation of old-style city planning, reverting to *really* old style city planning, developing road infrastructure to ease traffic problems or in one rare case suggesting a newer form of city planning altogether.

A relative minority shows an acceptance of the representations of space made by the City, the solution for this line of argumentation being an acceptance of the dense-city developments but have them happen somewhere else.

No way like the old way

The most common of ways to connect to city planning generally takes the form of wondering why developments cannot be done in the old way, either by general statements which is most common in interviews or by referring specifically to the present garden city and its place in it. The latter is mostly the domain of SMV's campaign to raise the discussion from a local to a national level by high-lighting the distinct layer-like formation of Stockholm, an obvious counter-offer to the "world-class city" propagated by the Promenade City plan, though it is unclear whether or not the informant has read it in its original form. Martha on the ridge, Caroline of Eldhund followed by Yuri on the ridge:

Martha: ... I think it's wrong to densify the city like this, to remove all the popular green lungs. They rationalise away areas that at first look just appears to be a little forest but I think that... you should keep these wedges, take entire areas somewhere and build high-rises then, build something new like Hammarby Sjöstad. Well, that's not particularly high but something completely new somewhere else... destroying a good environment, I mean nobody's suggested to

Develop Humlegården [a downtown park], we could do that too, it's just to develop... the green wedges are important...^{164XLIV}



Caroline: That's another thing I asked the politicians, what kind of housing is this and what kind of people can afford to live in them? And if you say... [they said] well, there's so many youth that have nowhere to live... well that's great! They will come live here then I said, that's brilliant! Hehe! [and they were like] Yeah, well... It'll probably be stupid expensive flats too of course...

...

I: Well, how should it be solved then, particularly when a lot of people can afford to live like that either?

C: No, exactly. This is no way to solve it, saying that's just silly... this densification term that's so popular, this is such an extreme sample of it it's a joke, I suppose they want to expand the city... the city is becoming a ghetto for people with a lot of money, it's a weird place, Stockholm city, and I really like in many ways but...^{XLV}



Yuri: ... I do agree we need more housing, but it must be built like in the old days, otherwise it'll turn out like in the USA. If you've read economic geography you know cities are built on a railroad junction or a harbour or something like that... the people move in and the city expands... but in Stockholm it wasn't done like that, this is a star city, and that's unique in the world. You have the city centre... and then you've built cities along the underground... it's a lot better way of city planning, in some places you still build like that...^{XLVI}

The referrals to earlier forms of city planning are usually very general and often come together with arguments relating to either environmental and greenery or population density and congestion issues, suggesting that the city planning the informant in question wishes for might not be so specific in itself as it is different from the recent emphasis on dense developments. This makes the arguments somewhat ambiguous as the previous planning styles encompass very different levels of density and style, ranging from pre-war detached

¹⁶⁴ Ironically enough, the area surrounding Humlegården was actually the first area to be developed as a villa suburb in the latter half of the 19th century. Rising real-estate prices however meant that the project fell apart almost immediately, paving the way for Djursholm. Johansson, pp. 267-270.

houses and lamellar houses to post-war underground station suburbs which in themselves go all the way from the 50's chic Vällingby some ten minutes away from Stora Mossen to massive outer-city tenement areas like Tensta and Botkyrka which are commonly and condescendingly referred to as "concrete jungles".

Stephan beyond the ridge is one of the very few who provides a more specific example, along with a postulation:

It is entirely possible to keep on developing according to the ideals we had during the first half of the 1900's. But constructing new suburbs takes time, long-term planning and resources.^{165XLVII}

The example provided here for the former is unusually unambiguous, making a clear distinction between pre-war suburban development compared to the post-war ditto and citing a strong preference for the former.

It is however uncertain if this kind of preference really can stand up to the demands placed on a metropolitan area, without the metropolis losing the population that turned into a metropolis in the first place. The growth of Stockholm during the 20th century has shown that moderately dense suburbs are possible to combine with the growth of a metropolitan area, though not without the problems that the Promenade City plan engages such as the propagation of automobile commuting and poor connectivity, which would have to be solved if the post-war planning practices were to remain. A challenge but quite possibly one that can be overcome. However, shifting back to a pre-war development style reminiscent of the present garden city is highly unlikely to work, if nothing else than on account of limited space.

The population density of Stora Mossen and its parent administrative division of Södra Västerled is 25 and 24 persons per hectare respectively, which is not even half as dense as neighbouring Abrahamsberg (69 pph) or mixed housing areas such as Hägersten-Liljeholmen (51 pph), which in itself is barely a third of the denser parts of the city proper such as Södermalm or Vasastan-Roslagstull (147 and 167 pph respectively).¹⁶⁶

This can also be compared to the latest vanity project of the City, the south part of Hammarby Sjöstad. Development of this area began 1998, some six to seven years after initiation, with the first areas finished around four years later in 2002. Despite a density four times greater

¹⁶⁵ C: 2007-39534-83.

¹⁶⁶ USK, *Areal och befolkningstäthet i stadsdelsområden, SDN-delar och stadsdelar* 31 December 2008-12-31: *Area and population density by City district*, retrieved 1 May 2012 <<http://www.usk.stockholm.se/arsbok/b039.htm>>.

than Stora Mossen (102 pph) the area only houses some thirteen thousand citizens, at best a third of the recent yearly influx of new citizens to the metropolitan area.¹⁶⁷

While Stora Mossen is certainly not the only sparsely populated neighbourhood in the metropolitan area it still stands at just more than half of the entire Stockholm municipality (43 pph). As such, imagining that the city could be sustained and offer housing to its citizens solely in developments such as the present garden city hardly appears to be realistic.

The long and winding road

Informants who do not engage so much with aesthetic concerns or city planning as such often end up urging an expansion of infrastructure to ease traffic flow, an argument that somewhat paradoxically connects both to traffic and environmental concern as the fumes from cars stuck in congestion is labelled a problem for residents of Eldhund as well as bicyclists and pedestrians passing on the road. Ephraim beyond the ridge, Jim of Eldhund, Edgar on the ridge and Tanya on the ridge:

Where will all the traffic go? Solve the traffic problems BEFORE building more residences! Grateful if these grievances are taken into consideration.^{168XLVIII}

Φ

[Stora] Mossens Backe is today a thoroughfare for drivers from the Mälars Isles that can't stand standing in queues at Brommaplan. What will traffic look like in the future when all the new developments in Bromma are finished if there is chaos already today. What responsibility do you have for the health of current residents like us who have to live with all the fumes...^{169XLIX}

Φ

If the traffic situation in Västerled cannot be solved through improved access it would be highly unsuitable to build any more housing in Stora Mossen and its vicinity.

This is common sense and such should not be ignored!^{170L}

Φ

¹⁶⁷ SCB, *Fortsatt stor ökning av befolkning i tätort* (Population increase in urban areas remain strong), retrieved 15 May 2012 <http://www.scb.se/Pages/PressRelease___317009.aspx>.

¹⁶⁸ C: 2007-39534-49.

¹⁶⁹ C: 2007-39534-59.

¹⁷⁰ C: 2007-39534-130.

It is therefore important **to solve the traffic situation with commuter parking and increased traffic load before** any and all further developments.^{171LI}

While the full extent of the congestion troubles specific to Stora Mossen is still uncertain, the traffic on Drottningholm road and Ulvsunda road is very real and very dense, as can be expected from two roads as major as these. But as one might have guessed already, allowing roads to expand beyond a certain degree within the city does not come without its own problems.

While primarily a question of the allocation of space and the money involved in construction, not to mention the inevitable complaints of people affected, findings suggests that road traffic cannot in fact be built away at all as the road space itself encourages the use of automobiles, a phenomenon known as induced demand.¹⁷² Put simply, automobiles are comfortable to use and only slightly more expensive than public transport if one removes the associated costs of maintenance and fees. Consequently, if one already owns an automobile using it to commute makes perfect sense. If road space is limited however the automobile commute becomes expensive and tedious, inciting commuters to find alternative means of communication. Trying to build away congestion would therefore be counter-productive.

Moreover, supposing that more roads do not just mean that vehicles will spend less time idling but that there will be more vehicles as such the effect on air quality and noise pollution would likely be detrimental, nullifying any environmental gains both as a whole and for anyone living in the vicinity of the roads.

This has been commented upon by the Transport Board (Swe. Transportstyrelsen), in connection to post-holiday congestion in the general area, and the same connection is also made in the Promenade City plan regarding to the general outline for future communications.

¹⁷³

Ok, but not here

Some informants choose to adapt to representations of space originating outside Stora Mossen. The acceptance line draws chiefly on a realisation that change in one way or another is inevitable due to circumstances in connection to the growth of the city and the necessity for

¹⁷¹ C: 2007-39534-44.

¹⁷² Duranton, Gilles & Turner, Matthew, The Fundamental Law of Road Congestion: Evidence from US cities, Working Paper 370, Department of Economics, University of Toronto, 2009; Litman, Todd, Generated Traffic and Induced Travel: Implications for transport planning, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, 2011.

¹⁷³ *Promenadstaden*, p. 20.

political or commercial actors to take action in accordance with this. This is sometimes expressed by empathising with the issue, occasionally in terms of recognising the primacy of political institution but most often by referring to commonly mentioned need for more housing. Valery on the ridge followed by Sergei of the same:

If one removes the small green areas that have been the fundament of the garden city the character of the garden city which the City has tried to protect for more than 80 years will be gone. Many small steps away from the fundamental architectural idea gives a grey and dull environment for new and old residents alike. We do understand that the city must change with the time, but this change must be carefully and deliberately pursued...^{174LII}

Φ

Our house lies next to land belonging to the City and the decision on whether or not it will be developed is ultimately a political decision...^{175LIII}

Some informants does not necessarily express any understanding of the rationale of political or commercial actors in relation to the planned developments but rather notes the difficulty in convincing the same to refrain from them, an example of which can be seen on pages 79-80.

Those expressing an acceptance of the basic tenets of densification or, more commonly, fail to provide any alternative argument to challenge it generally tend to compensate by pushing Stora Mossen's extraordinary qualities instead, a practice that has already been presented in the historicity and aesthetics arguments. Others go the other way by providing specific arguments for the unsuitability of the planned developments in Stora Mossen compared to other places, commonly by connecting to spatial issues such as traffic and parking or the qualities and usage of either of the ridges. An anonymous complainant followed by Eleanor, a parent to one of the children attending Hattstugan day care centre:

Since the plan concerns one of three exits from the area this evaluation [regarding traffic] should include all planned developments [in Bromma] and not just on Stora Mossens ridge. The investigation should also compare the traffic flow on Stora Mossens Backe (3600 vehicles) to the flow on Drottningholm road (71000

¹⁷⁴ C: 2007-39534-88.

¹⁷⁵ C: 2007-39534-71.

vehicles)... it won't be easy to increase the outflow from Stora Mossens Backe considering that it is a much smaller road than Drottningholm road.^{176LIV}



We protest and oppose the construction of 10!!! tenement houses at Stora Mossen ridge. These small green lungs are really needed to remain for the sake of environment, the air, the residents and the children and personnel of Hattstugan day care centre who use the rather small green areas daily for pedagogic education in game and adventures.^{177LV}

To an extent this line of reasoning shows that many informants are well aware both of Stora Mossen as a part of the greater metropolitan area and the need to back up their arguments with substantial claims. While the traffic argument brought forward by anonymous is unlikely to be accepted by City agencies concerned with induced demand it is both interesting and specific, as is Eleanor's vigorous protest against the removal of areas used for play and childcare. Not all ridges boast a day care centre of its own.

A small handful however is less subtle, allowing their bolstering of specific qualities in Stora Mossen to go over into a devaluation of other areas. Janos on the ridge followed by Lucy on the ridge:

As a little contribution from us we suggest that Ängbyplan underground station is fitted with another exit leading to a greater commuter parking lot in the northern part of Judarn forest, where few people linger close to the underground tracks.^{178LVI}



Post-stamp developments [a gradual expansion of pre-existing areas rather than large scale free standing developments] should instead be carefully made on "sub-standard" land. For instance the unused and untidy lot next to Abrahamsberg underground station ought to be a good choice.^{179LVII}

These two arguments are inherently treacherous as it is all but impossible for anyone without a perfect overview of the city's geographical disposition to evaluate what place is better for

¹⁷⁶ C: 2007-39534-96.

¹⁷⁷ C: 2007-39534-105.

¹⁷⁸ C: 2007-39534-99.

¹⁷⁹ C: 2007-39534-72.

something which in itself is next to harmless but still undesirable. And while there is no particular reason to doubt that Janos and others who would support the idea see the spot near Judarn as ideal, and for all we know it might objectively be so, the Ängby residents are liable to think the very same thing of Stora Mossen, particularly if they were aware of the proposal. The same of course being true for Lucy's suggestion.

New ideas

Though rare, some informants also suggests an alternative form of development, for instance proposing high-speed rail services to solve the commuting problems of the greater metropolitan area and beyond.

Why not put our money at bullet trains to reduce commuting distances, and by that we mean something more durable than today's south Mälär line. Stockholm mustn't allow far-reaching densifications of this kind to make the connection of bullet train lines to its central parts impossible. A bullet train could cover the distance between Enköping and downtown Stockholm in 20 minutes, the same time it takes today to commute from Stora Mossen to the city proper. If the City Construction Office listens too closely to the short-term solutions of the real-estate developers the politicians can avoid deciding on more pioneering solutions.

180LVIII

Ironically enough, the suggestion comes from Janos on the ridge, the same person who in the same complaint saw it proper to let Ängby and Judarn forest accept developments unwanted in Stora Mossen, demonstrating how many arguments a single informant can espouse at once. Nevertheless Janos's suggestion is interesting as a way of opposition. While it would take an expert to estimate the feasibility of building high-speed rail to Enköping the suggestion of an alternative way to the ones already proposed gives fuel to a democratic discussion that may serve to challenge views based squarely in knee-jerk conservatism or diffuse political agendas.

Compromises

Aware of the difficulty of stopping the planned developments outright and (possibly) anticipating some of the practical concerns raised in relation to the rest of the metropolitan

¹⁸⁰ C: 2007-39534-99.

area, several informants provide a secondary compromise option supplementing the primary demand for the planned developments to be stopped outright.

The compromises concerns points already raised, reducing traffic or at the very least reduce parking and maintaining the aesthetic integrity of the general area by reducing the planned developments and increasing the distance to pre-existing houses. Compromises along these lines would allow the residents of Stora Mossen to maintain their lifestyle.

Maintaining such a lifestyle however comes at a cost, a cost that is not equally shared.

Spheres of entitlement

Villa areas/neighbourhood of the kind present in Stora Mossen is a fairly common form of housing in Sweden, and there is scarce reason for it not to be. With an area almost twice that of the United Kingdom but a population barely exceeding nine million, space is plentiful and greenery abundant, particularly in smaller towns and villages.

What is in short supply however is good location, and Stora Mossen with its population of about one and half thousand souls is situated on a cache of some of the most desirable, publicly owned land available in a metropolitan area of roughly one point four million inhabitants.¹⁸¹ To illustrate, Stora Mossen lies just outside the city proper, outside the area covered by congestion fees but with only a fifteen minutes underground commute to the central station and less than five minutes travel to either of two local centres in Alvik or Brommaplan.¹⁸² Space, as has already been noted, is generously allocated for those living in detached houses, private lots averaging at 600 metres squared while living area comes in at about 170 metres squared¹⁸³, which is about twice the size of a generously proportioned flat. Also the amount of public parkland per citizen in the Bromma region is the greatest in Stockholm municipality¹⁸⁴, which of course ties in with the overall low population density of the area.

¹⁸¹SCB, *Fortsatt stor ökning av befolkning i tätort* (Population increase in urban areas remain strong), retrieved 15 May 2012 <http://www.scb.se/Pages/PressRelease____317009.aspx>; USK, *Areal och befolkningstäthet i stadsdelsområden, SDN-delar och stadsdelar 2008-12-31: Area and population density by City district*, retrieved 1 May 2012 <<http://www.usk.stockholm.se/arsbok/b039.htm>>.

¹⁸²SL, *Reseplanerare*, query travel time between Stora Mossen – Central Station, Alvik and Brommaplan, retrieved 2012-05-01 <<http://www.sl.se>>.

¹⁸³Booli.se, *Stora Mossen: Stockholm*, retrieved 2012-05-01 <<http://www.booli.se/salda/stora+mossen/74934/>>.

¹⁸⁴More to the point, Bromma has the least amount of money to pay upkeep for their parks, money which is allocated per resident. Tottmar, Mia, 'Bromma har inte råd att hålla efter sina gröna ytor' (Bromma can't afford greenery upkeep), *Dagens Nyheter*, March 24 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5.

To many if not most informants these are the very qualities that make Stora Mossen attractive, open spaces and convenient location, but access to these publicly owned privileges has never been equal.

When asking informants why they came to settle in Stora Mossen, homeowners on the ridge commonly refer to their settling as a matter of choice, satisfying the need for space for an expanding family together with convenient location. By comparison, most of the tenants of Eldhund cite chance as the main reason for them living in Stora Mossen. Not that anyone objected to the location in general, apart from the recently raised rents. Leonid and Vincent on the ridge followed by Albert and Vladimir of Eldhund:

Leonid: ... I attended Bromma upper secondary school when I grew up... it was a good school so I actively pursued it... and it felt good there but, oh how snobby they are in Bromma, I'll never live here... to settle here was never even something I considered, we were looking further out in the archipelago, Vaxholm and Värmdö. But then for some reason we came driving through here and NN said why don't we look here?

...

L: ... a great advantage to living here is that the everyday life is so much smoother since we're so much closer to the city... life as a consultant was so much harder out in the archipelago... here it takes only 20 minutes to get downtown, living out on the island it took one and a half hour to get to town and then you might have to go somewhere else...^{LIX}

Φ

Vincent: We used to live in Nacka previously but we wanted to get closer to town, and closer to work too... and we wanted to live in a villa, close to the underground at the same time, yes kind of like in a villa area... with a villa you get a garden and a place to take in the sun.^{LX}

Φ

Albert: Well I had a larger flat in Solna and a son who was on his way to move out, so I swapped my large flat for two smaller ones...

...

I: Did you choose this flat or was it just coincidence?

A: No, no, I had friends who had friends who wanted to move in together and they had a large one room and kitchen flat each, so ok, they got our four-room flat and we got a one-room each...^{LXI}

Φ

Vladimir: Why I live here? I got a flat from the landlord, my first was another one in the same house, and I got this one, a bit larger, two years later. That was just chance... my aunt knew the two who owns the house since long ago, she'd worked for them, so that's how it was.^{LXII}

Already when the city acquired the estates of Bromma in preparation for the construction of the garden city the prices were the highest for any land acquisition in the City's history¹⁸⁵, a fact which in itself contributed to the end of the Swedish garden city in Bromma before construction had even begun. This development, as has already been noted, persisted throughout the 20th century and has with the dramatic rise of real-estate prices become stronger than ever, limiting the ability to actively choose to settle in Stora Mossen and taking part in these benefits to those moneyed enough, something which if the household composition of the informants on the ridges is anything to go by excludes pretty much anyone not cohabitating. The only non-widowed single informants in the area are found in Eldhund, which incidentally is also the place where the only informant born outside Europe lives as well.

If anything, the informants on the ridge in Stora Mossen are not so much the victim everymen hounded by powerful economical and political interests, as some accounts cast them as, but more or less self-witting winners in the erosion of political rights, their money assuring them a comfortable and spacious home in the heart of the metropolitan area.

One of the informants that do not particularly oppose the developments even lampshades this himself, suggesting that those desiring a villa life can simply move, though he himself obviously does not believe that would be an option to most residents. Gunnar on the ridge:

Gunnar: ... as a matter of principle I have no objections to developments. As I already said, people have got to live somewhere and then everyone has to participate and take their responsibility for development. If you want to... keep the illusion of the garden city alive you have an enormous, sparsely populated

¹⁸⁵ Johansson, pp. 330-335.

countryside hahaha, so it's just... hehehe... no, I suppose they'll have to make town-house arrangements themselves.^{LXIII}

What is reasonable?

A critical breaking point between what can be maintained as a reasonable demand in a metropolitan context as opposed to a Stora Mossen-only context is the issue of parking, which features problems that are both relatable and less relatable in a city-wide context.

As has already been noted commuter parking on the Stora Mossens Backe thoroughfare causes tangible problems for the tenants of Eldhund, primarily because their house almost entirely lacks dedicated parking. However, similar complaints have also been raised by informants on the ridge, most of which already have parking spaces on their own land. The accounts instead focus on accessibility, with commuters allegedly blocking the back roads.

Walter on the ridge:

The narrow streets of the area have become a commuter parking for underground passengers. This highly problematic situation was aggravated even further when the congestion charges were introduced in the city proper. The “commuter-parkers” block off all back streets in the area and often disregard the inadequate parking regulations in place. The result is a greatly increased risk of accidents in the narrow streets. Children are difficult to spot... sanitation vehicles have trouble coming through. Fire engines or lorries can't get through. Snow cannot be removed... street sweeping doesn't work.^{186LXIV}

The situation is not entirely clear-cut. Judging from several early morning observations most vehicles parked on the back roads appears to have been stood throughout the night, something which is confirmed by at least one informant, which would imply that the vehicles belong to residents rather than commuters. Considering also that there are a number of houses on the ridge that lack parking spaces of their own, it is possible that the allegations of out-of-towner's nicking parking spaces on the back roads, much like the congestion issues, is a bit overblown.

However, the argument that wrongly parked vehicles obstruct essential services is not insignificant, particularly considering that the issue of commuter parking is not something

¹⁸⁶ C: 2007-39534-73.

which hits all parts of the city equally. Neighbourhoods close to the congestion charge toll stations are subjected to a greater influx of commuters than others and it can be argued that since the citizens inside the toll area are now benefitting from somewhat less traffic the areas to which this traffic has allegedly shifted could expect some basic relief.

The problem with relating to issue only occurs when looking at the cause of the problem, alluded to by Janos on the ridge:

... residents from all over Bromma and the Mälars Isles fill the narrow neighbourhood with parked cars, reducing accessibility. .. These local streets are neither made for a generation of broader cars (SUV) nor the combination of snowy winters and mass motoring...^{187LXV}

The problem with congestion in general and the back roads in particular is indeed connected to overuse of increasingly large automobiles, a problem that if induced demand is to be believed can only be solved by reducing the total amount of vehicles on the roads.

Considering the interconnectedness of the traffic system such a reduction would have to be a joint issue for all citizens in the metropolitan area, including local residents in Stora Mossen. SUV's are quite common on the ridge and while we have no comprehensive overview on the number of vehicles per household other complaints suggests that having two is deemed to be normal.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, according to several informants City officials have made a point of dismissing complaints related to traffic as unsolvable, which in other circumstances might have given incitement to take a cue from Confucius and begin reducing the impact on traffic at home.¹⁸⁹

The information gathered however does not indicate any such change.

While the idea of adapting commuting habits is sometimes mentioned by informants and several claim to commute by bicycle rather than cars, others appear almost to be allergic to the idea. Valentin on the ridge uses his car for travelling to Smedslätten, which lies less than two kilometres away and can easily be reached on back roads, seemingly making it ideal for bicycles:

¹⁸⁷ C: 2007-39534-99.

¹⁸⁸ C: 2007-39534-87.

¹⁸⁹ Analects: "Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety:-then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"

We depend on our car to leave our son at his preschool in Smedslätten. To get there is fast and easy but when returning we get stuck in the queue leading to Drottningholm road...^{190LXVI}

In other accounts the basic condition for traffic change is simply that someone else should do it. Specific complaints are constructed as a way to reduce the traffic impact of the planned developments, either by turning the houses into student housing or simply remove the garages. Josef on the ridge:

The new houses are sold with “green arguments”. The vicinity to the underground is one of the main points: “In Stora Mossen you can live without a car”. Yet more empty rhetoric. If the City Construction Office wants to keep its credibility any new multi-family houses in Stora Mossen must be built *without* garages or parking spots. Take the “green argument” to its conclusion: “Welcome – without cars”. Stora Mossen can’t handle more traffic.^{191LXVII}

While it is pretty obvious that statements such as that of Josef are made in mockery of the planned developments, the problem still remains. Traffic is a common issue to the entire metropolitan area and beyond and must therefore be solved in common. Which means that unless money, space and air are enough for each adult to drive and park their own automobile everywhere in a comfortable manner compromises have to be made. Compromises that have to be shared.

Aesthetics

While the issue connected to traffic compromises shows both a possibly valid claim to compensation as well as unwillingness to engage with the problem at home, compromises based on aesthetics are almost entirely impossible to relate to the city as a whole.

Not only is aesthetics a fundamentally subjective value, relatable only to those sharing the particular sentiment, values which often goes hand in hand with class, but the consequences of demanding that other adapts to a specific form of housing can cause substantial problems to those forced to live with them.

¹⁹⁰ C: 2007-39534-75.

¹⁹¹ C: 2007-39534-144.

The aesthetical compromise chiefly concerns the elevation and distance of the planned developments, the particular styling of façades and roofs being more of an annoyance in the context. Gherman, Annika and Victor on the ridge:

We demand that the houses follow ground elevation, pre-existing architecture in the area, that the elevation is reduced with at least three storeys, position and angling. These must be conditioned along the position, situation and shape of current buildings.^{192LXVIII}

Φ

If the plans for development continue they must be adapted to harmonise with pre-existing developments, **first and foremost the elevation of houses must be reduced with at least two storeys. Maximum four storeys including the basement should be allowed.**^{193LXIX}

Φ

As an affected party I think that residential buildings 6-10 should not be built at all. In this I agree with all neighbours. The nature area consists of a thin layer of soil which means that all low vegetation will be eroded with heavy usage. This also means that all trees, pines in particular, will die for lack of nourishment and water.^{194LXX}

The problem with any of these three demands is that they are detrimental to the people who would settle in any of the planned houses.

Reducing the height of the planned developments would limit both the number and socio-economic span of the people being able to settle in Stora Mossen. Apart from the simple fact that the number of flats would be fewer a smaller development would also mean a higher price per flat, the housing units themselves being relatively cheap compared to the initial cost of various utilities, foundations and planning. Effectively though perhaps unintended by the informants suggesting reductions of this kind serves to enforce the wealth gap between Stora Mossen and other residential areas and exclude people from an equal share of the public resources present there.

¹⁹² C: 2007-39534-78.

¹⁹³ C: 2007-39534-82.

¹⁹⁴ C: 2007-39534-139.

These things are in fact acknowledged by informants, both the construction cost estimate and the price commanded by the good location of Stora Mossen are mentioned (quote on page 80), but only in connection with the real-estate developer NCC which simplifies argumentation considerably. While there is no particular reason to doubt that NCC will first and foremost look to its own profit, reducing the argument to being one between the interests of neighbours and a single developer skirts the fact that what is built are residences for citizens, citizens that have the same right to a good living environment as those already present in the area. The aesthetic integrity and lifestyle of an area consisting predominantly of detached houses can in essence only be preserved by denying access to others.

The suggestion of moving the developments further away from pre-existing houses is equally common among informants and has also been brought up both in SBN and in Bromma SDN as a way of reducing the impact of the planned developments.¹⁹⁵

Moving the developments further down is not an option on the eastern ridge as they are already planned as far away as possible but the western ridge does offer such an alternative, primarily by moving the access road behind the developments that would then lie almost on top of the underground tracks. Lucy on the ridge:

If this area is indeed to be developed anyway the houses must be moved closer to the underground tracks. The forest closer to the underground tracks is less valuable... In this way we can save a greater part of the valuable forest to the benefit of everyone.^{196LXXI}

Again, while this might be seen as desirable to people living on the ridge it would be highly questionable for the people who would eventually come to reside in the planned development, having no space at all between themselves and the underground. Having the access road behind the developments would put it underneath the only usable space for balconies as well as form an obstacle to children making use of the remainder of the ridge for play and games, games that cannot in fact be played anywhere else as flats lack dedicated gardens of their own. The access road would in this way also come closer to the villas, bringing automobiles and fumes closer on the expense of people which is hard to imagine being an improvement. Judging from some of the complaints however this seems to be the case, particularly in this

¹⁹⁵ M: 2007-39534-18; R: 2007-39534-141.

¹⁹⁶ C: 2007-39534-72.

rather uncharacteristic citation from Victor on the ridge, one that was amended a few days later.¹⁹⁷

Flat-owners (75 families) living in houses 6-10 will take the greenery area south of Ermine Path as their backyard which would cause great stress on the area as well as noise with barbeques, biking and moped-riding etc... What you are doing now is the same thing that was done in America, stealing from Indians.^{198LXXII}

In fact, it is in connection with distance that the people who would actually come to live in the planned developments are first mentioned apart from being people who cause congestion, though they are not cast in the best of light.

Several homeowners who live just opposite the ridges themselves complement their argumentation by claiming that the planned developments will violate their privacy. Sergei on the ridge and Gherman on the ridge:

Our house lies next to land belonging to the City and the decision on whether or not it will be developed is ultimately a political decision. **But it is in no ways acceptable to put a five-six storey building just a few metres away from existing villa gardens.** Even if the shrub provides some cover during the summer our garden will be like a theatre scene lined with balconies. The houses are no further away than an ordinary villa garden! ... Lower houses would significantly reduce the discomfort of the development.^{199LXXIII}

Φ

To begin with the distance from our house to the next (house 5) is circa 8 metres counting the balconies. **To even consider multi-storey houses meeting villas with 8 metres distance is completely absurd!** All balconies and flats would have a **clear view** – and also look down on – our house, our balcony and our garden since they are at the same elevation or greater than our house. Our house faces Stora Mossens Backe. It is like living on an open arena – **a theatre stage.**^{200LXXIV}

¹⁹⁷ C: 2007-39534-139.

¹⁹⁸ C: 2007-39534-120.

¹⁹⁹ C: 2007-39534-71.

²⁰⁰ C: 2007-39534-78.

What these arguments basically do is asserting the division between different forms of housing, the basic segregating action pioneered in the 1930's, and making it integral to both private convenience and aesthetic identity. The problem with it however is that it basically expands the private gardens of the informants into public space, claiming exclusive rights to the area. While several informants on the ridge do cite the greenery of the area as one of the reasons for settling, they did not buy the rights to anything but their own houses and gardens as the ridges are public property, though some have allegedly tried to change that. Joakim on the ridge:

Joakim: ... of course, I tried to buy the lot [between Ermine Path and Eldhund] so that we wouldn't get any developments there and just keep it but... you need a special permit to do that... and I mean it's the right thing for the City to keep it if it can keep it but since they weren't doing anything with it...

I: Wait, I don't follow. You tried to buy a bit of a common to safeguard it?

J: Yes, only to keep it as it was of course... because there are discussions from time to time about developing it... so I thought I could buy it and never use it, just to keep it as a common... there have been other neighbours on the other side who have tried to buy it too, and I suppose that's good too but... they [SBK] just said flat no.^{LXXV}

Granted residents have a right to decent surroundings, particularly those who lack access to private greenery areas like the tenants of Eldhund or the prospective flat-owners in the planned developments, but there is nothing suggesting that decent surroundings equals an untouched grove outside your window.

Another problem is that the accounts given regarding distance openly treat people living in multi-family houses different than their current neighbours in detached houses in terms of demands.

The distance between houses on the ridge is regulated to a minimum of twelve metres²⁰¹ with a relative lack of hedges and fences, as per the vision of both Howard's garden city and the Swedish equivalent. This provides ample insight into the neighbours' affairs, particularly from the windows and occasional terraces on the second floor. The minimum distance

²⁰¹ SBK, Plan description 1636.

between the detached houses and the planned developments as shown on the plan map is at least twice that including whatever trees and shrubs present²⁰², which begs the question in what way this is unreasonable. It would appear that the eyes of some are much more hurtful than the eyes of others, particularly considering that the houses across the street have at least five neighbours at a shorter distance and at a different elevation and do not complain about that.

One single informant in the entire survey goes as far as to outright state her views about people living outside Stora Mossen, evoking the image of a threatening socio-economical other. Margarita of Eldhund:

Think before you act. Stora Mossen mustn't become a new Tensta, Botkyrka. Buy real estate from Ekerö where there are enormous fields that can be built on without destroying trees... [or] parts of land alongside the underground Ängbyplan – Åkeshov – Islandstorget.^{203LXXVI}

The general qualities of Tensta and Botkyrka have already been elaborated on and needs no further introduction. Exactly what Margarita associates with these two areas remain unmentioned but it demonstrates a bottom line that comes frightfully close to the exclusionist statements of the 1920's and 30's, being so alienated to people below their own social standing as to interpret them as a latent threat.

VI. Organisation

While most informants in both Eldhund and on the ridge do not claim to engage themselves in any more organised resistance, there are those that do. Stora Mossens Vänner is a non-profit organisation with the expressed purpose of stopping the planned developments on the ridge. Though organisations of this kind are not entirely uncommon in Sweden in general or in local issues in particular, SMV is somewhat unique in its formation and behaviour.

Formation

According to one of its headpersons, SMV was originally founded by homeowners close to the eastern ridge during the initial stages of the planning process²⁰⁴, a development that

²⁰² P: 2007-39534-33.

²⁰³ C: 2007-39534-133.

²⁰⁴ Nils and Annika on the ridge.

gradually gathered momentum as neighbours who were more or less acquainted with each other saw a common interest in resistance. As the plan expanded the number of people directly engaged with it increased and came to encompass people closer to the western ridge as well. It was formally incorporated in the summer of 2011, according to one leading member in order to improve its legitimacy in the eyes of concerned authorities.²⁰⁵ SMV is classified as a non-profit organisation (Swe. ideell förening) which is officially recognised but has no particular demands attached to it in terms of keeping or sharing accounts of its activities, this in order to facilitate the formation of political organisations.²⁰⁶ Consequently there is no independent way of confirming such things as membership rates or other activities. The estimated number of members of SMV is according to one member around 55, though some informants involved with the organisation appears to confuse them with their non-member supporters, putting the number at 600 which seems a tad excessive for a local organisation. Using the addresses in an email sent to SBK, which like all such correspondence is made public, we can conclude that the membership of the organisation as of early 2012 is at least 40²⁰⁷, which approximates the first number given.

Modus operandi

What puts SMV apart from most other non-profit organisations is its emphasis on direct action through individuals rather than mass action which might be seen in more public organisations. To date, only two public events have been undertaken that might be compared to mass organisations, namely a coordination of complaints on a consultation meeting held with SBK and a petition on a Christmas market in late 2011.²⁰⁸ Other than that the organisation hosts a functional but sparsely updated homepage, carrying among other things the aforementioned petition, prominent arguments, links to friendly organisations and a selection of public documents regarding the planned developments.²⁰⁹

According to informants, the organisation is subdivided into committees concentrating on one particular argument or issue, allowing them to coordinate and concentrate their efforts on

²⁰⁵ Nils and Annika on the ridge.

²⁰⁶ Förening.se, *registrering hos kommunen* (Registering with the municipality), retrieved 15 May 2012 <<http://www.forening.se/bilda-och-verka-i-forening/registrering-hos-kommunen/>>.

²⁰⁷ Email: RE: Stadsdelsförvaltningens förslag til beslut om Stora Mossens Backe 2011-06-10

²⁰⁸ Nils and Annika on the ridge.

²⁰⁹ SMV, *Stadsbyggnadskontorets dokument* (Documents from the City Construction Office, retrieved 2012-05-12 <<http://www.storamossen.info/sbkdok.php>>; SMV, *Andra dokument* (Other documents), retrieved 2012-05-12 <<http://www.storamossen.info/andradok.php>>; SMV, *Länkar* (Links), retrieved 2012-05-12, <<http://www.storamossen.info/lankar.php>>.

issues that appear particularly promising, arguments which are then added to SMV's collective arsenal.²¹⁰

Yuri on the ridge who appears to be at least the impromptu head of the environment committee gave a good insight into the more promising aspect of SMV's approach. Well-connected and well-spoken he emphasised the importance of getting professional advice (in his case having a distinguished biologist for lunch) as well as connecting with other NGO's who might have an interest in the situation or be able to provide help. He himself showed confidence that as long as SMV could keep up their work they would be able to stop the developments entirely.

I: Sounds ambitious, do you think you'll be able to pull it through?

Yuri: ... I'm not sure but we'll make sure to push in that direction because that's where it'll take off. Because it's not just about not in my backyard anymore, and we're not interested in that at all, this is bigger, it's about the entire area...^{LXXVII}

Joakim on the ridge who is in charge of the traffic committee seems slightly less optimistic, noting among other things the lukewarm reception that his and others work on the traffic issues had been received by the city. According to him the developments are cyclical, suggestions for housing having been put forward at several different times before only to be beaten back by locals and temporarily abandoned. No particular traces of this can be found in the material but it is entirely possible that they are filed under a different code than the current developments.

Advantages

An element that works in favour of the committee method adopted by SMV is that its members wield considerable social power that helps them bring their arguments forward. Education levels are generally high among the members interviewed and all but one known members of SMV lives on the ridge which in itself implies significant economic resources. While there are no particular limitations on membership, informants with insight in the matter could not recollect more than one member living in Eldhund, one of them appearing slightly befuddled by the question.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Nils and Annika on the ridge.

²¹¹ Ibid.

One particular case of contacts being used is known, both through several informants and through public documents. One particular gentleman, Emil on the ridge, is apparently well connected in local politics, helping several informants as well as the organisation to stay on top of events.²¹² The same Emil seems to have been instrumental in securing a private meeting between Alexei on the ridge and the speaker of Bromma SDN, which eventually resulted in the speaker and the conservative coalition in SDN pushing for the developments on the western ridge to be moved further away from the detached houses, towards the underground tracks.²¹³

The ability to engage with their political counterparts as equals has also provided some help in reforming the objectives of the organisation into something more similar to a popular movement with a broad member base, which is seen as more proper in political circles.²¹⁴ The decision to participate at the 2011 Christmas market to collect more signatures was apparently part of this response. Moreover, SMV has since put a greater effort into widening its arguments to include the entirety of Bromma garden city, framing the planned developments in Stora Mossen as part of a greater densification process and calling on the City and the public to take a more holistic perspective vis-à-vis these developments. Yuri for one even hopes to make Bromma garden city a National Interest (Swe. riksintresse) which would make further development exceedingly difficult.

Another way in which SMV manages to bring their issue closer to people beyond the ridge is to put the spotlight on the role of the developer, NCC. At the public consultation meeting with SBK, the members became aware of the habit to let developers foot the administrative costs and even wages of the bureaucrats involved in planning process, something which put their impartiality in question. Martha, Jean and Alexei on the ridge:

... that the actual planning of new housing in Stockholm is not – quite opposite to what most of us probably believe – made by civil servants... Instead... the planning is made by the real-estate developers... propelled by profit courting the City and “*pitching*” their ideas... the City appears to lack sufficient control

²¹² Per on the ridge: Email: RE: Stadsdelsförvaltningens förslag til beslut om Stora Mossens Backe, 2011-06-10.

²¹³ R: 2007-39534-141.

²¹⁴ Nils and Annika on the ridge, as well as both Joakim and Alexei of the same.

mechanisms... to critically disseminate the ideas and suggestions of the real-estate developers.^{215LXXVIII}



If it's NCC that pays for the plan then maybe we shouldn't be surprised? But can't you make penthouse-style flats and roof terraces to the west. Afternoon and evening sun ought to command a better price than a sweltering southern angle. Moreover the poor neighbours will have more privacy from people looking down on them in their own houses.^{216LXXIX}



In the talk at the information meet it became clear that it is the real-estate developers rather than the city construction office that takes the initiative to decide where houses should be built. Of course the developers chose Bromma where real-estate prices are high... We were surprised to learn that all [civil servants] attending the information meet were paid/financed by NCC.^{217LXXX}

This in turn led to a new narrative entering the arsenal of SMV, namely the profit made by NCC and the idea that the relevant authorities have been compromised by their accepting money from them.²¹⁸ SMV manages to turn the argument of economic power around and away from themselves, framing the collaboration between developers and city authorities as an example of economic oppression similar to the one concerning the working class in Baltimore²¹⁹, casting the developer NCC as a profiteer and the City Council as a pushover, unable to stand up to the power of the capital.

In several accounts the profiteering of NCC is pointed out, for instance by Alexei on the ridge:

Construction costs for a flat of the type planned is estimated at SEK 25000 per square metre which means a maximum SEK 2 million for an average flat of 80 metres squared, but the selling price for owner occupied flats come in at approximately SEK 4 to 5 million per unit. If one *cautiously* assumes a net profit

²¹⁵ C: 2007-39534-94.

²¹⁶ Email, *Synpunkter på förslag för Ulvsunda 1:1 Stora Mossens Backe S-Dp 2007-39534-54*, 2011-06-18.

²¹⁷ C: 2007-39534-77.

²¹⁸ C: 2007-39534-77.

²¹⁹ Harvey, pp. 138-154.

of SEK 2.5 million per flat we reach a dizzying SEK 300 million profit for the whole project of 129 flats.^{220LXXXI}

This argumentation connects with the objective of taking other developments in Bromma into account, creating a narrative in which ruthless market powers divide and conquer the hapless garden city.

While this is evocative enough it is uncertain whether or not the argument regarding the collaboration between NCC and the City will fly any further than the ones concerning traffic. To have developers pay the bills is apparently quite common²²¹ and it is uncertain to what extent public servants would feel bound by obligations towards the developers more than the fact that the arrangement already exists. One can for instance compare it with the contract between the city and the developer, which at least for a layman appears to put the power firmly in the hand of the city.²²²

Disadvantages

With the significant social capital amassed and the flexibility shown by SMV thus far the only real perceivable weakness inherent to the organisation is the fact that many if not most of its members participate out of personal interest, with an ideological conviction on city planning being added on afterwards, something which serves to undermine their standing in a political discourse that at least ostensibly is dominated by the desire and need to serve the public good. While the personal contacts between SMV and the political parties of Bromma SDN has helped the organisation to change its jargon many informants still express dismay at their elected (never specified but implied to be conservative) representatives for failing to act against the developments. Annika and Nils on the ridge:

Annika: ... more than 90% of the City Council [supports development]...

Nils: Except for the green party [MP].

A: And perhaps some that go against the party line, but there is a very large majority not just for this [development] but for most others too.

N: I actually think, that even if the green party haven't won any votes they've won some sympathy here, since they've participated in meetings and discussed...

²²⁰ C: 2007-39534-84.

²²¹ Personal contacts architects G and V.

²²² P: 2007-39534-11.

A: Yes, they've come to our meetings to a greater extent, helped us with how to argue and such... a bit interesting really because around here, around 50% vote conservative [M] and another twenty liberal [FP] hehe..

N: There's a very stable conservative majority... in the district... perhaps that will rattle a bit...^{223LXXXII}

The same is more cheerfully pointed out by Woland of Eldhund., who quite apparently does not vote conservative:

Woland:... well they voted in the government that decided that they should build here, so they can turn to them. They can't blame any other government, so I think they should be grateful they build here, they've voted for that kind of policy...^{LXXXIII}

While it is doubtful if Woland have any more grasp of the city plan than other informants this is in fact true, considering the conservative input to the Promenade City plan. However there can hardly be said to have been any significant political debate about city planning and judging from the lukewarm opposition in SBN it is far from certain that a socialist-led City Council would offer any significantly different form of development.

However there is one difference. While almost all relevant authorities concur that the eastern ridge is suitable for development there is a split regarding the western with several implying that developing the western ridge would be ill advised, a fact which some informants along the western ridge but outside SMV concur with.

Should SBN decide to stop the plans on the western ridge it is entirely possible that SMV would lose several members and considerable momentum. The possibility of a split is downplayed by some informants but confirmed by others, particularly those who are more open about their personal interests. Joakim on the ridge:

Joakim: ...we can fight for our own area. You can't lift it too high or you'd lose out on particular examples, particular people...

²²³ Amusingly enough, Swedish conservatives actually refer to themselves as bourgeois [borgelig], though not in the Marxist sense.

I: You sound a bit like a local interest group and, probably not the right word, a mass movement all at once?

J: We are a local interest group... we work for the garden city, and even smaller, more local before that... go too high and it's just all about numbers...

...

I: But with this kind of... alternative [compromises] solutions... isn't there a risk that you put a wedge into the organisation?

J: It's already been like that, that there has been tries and we'll have to see, but... we've raised the bar by looking at the entire garden city and then it becomes tougher... but of course if the housing committee decided to build over here... but not so much on that side, that'd be a wedge... but I mean our opinions don't fade just if they don't build here or there, it doesn't matter, we don't want any development and we're agreed on that... of course there would be somebody who said that's enough now... but I don't think so... Then again I have no idea if it will be us driving this forward in two years time or not, I don't know, perhaps someone else is... [if] there are new ideas, then you should hand over...

I: So the group remains but its members might change?

J: You never know... how a group like this develops...^{LXXXIV}

Yuri on the ridge contrasts in the other direction:

Y: No, there's no risk of that [split] because we're not talking about two different areas in Stora Mossen, this is about the garden city idea...

I: So, by elevating the issue..?

Y: We're going to lift the issue and we will lift it even higher because I believe this is of National Interest. And if we can have it declared a National Interest not even Stockholm City can decide what can be built in the area or not, then it will be on a national level and it'll be the County Administrative Board who decides...^{LXXXV}

Widening the scope in order to resist the developments on a representational level as Yuri advocates may of course help SMV remain intact, but unless the sentiment is shared by other members it will obviously remain an element of risk.

VII. Endnotes

This thesis has been about the creation of space through social action. How ideas and everyday practices are conditioned and created in unison with physical space and how these things go on to change each other in a never-ending cycle of reinvention.

It all began more than a hundred years past with injustice and the striving to overcome it. Out of the hardships and inequality of 19th century industrial society, the demand for fairness and justice rose among socialists and liberals alike. Answers were sought on how to ease human suffering or at the very least foil a violent revolution and the reactions were many, the one of Ebenezer Howard merely being one of the more sophisticated ones.

Howard is now remembered for his garden city, but it was originally only a cog in what was planned to be the social city, a utopian form of city life where the inequality and dearth could slowly but surely be built away through communal ownership and action, affording a good and healthy living to all.

Despite its sophistication and provisions for a gradual change Howard's representation of space was and probably still is too detached from its contemporary representational space, and the idea of communalist living free from government intervention was soon squashed.

What eventually came to Sweden was not so much a garden city as an idea for better city planning, creating a good city for the working man under the paternalistic gaze of the City authorities. The garden city moniker was only reattached by a group of marketers, providing the area with a good sales pitch, similar to today's Sea Cities or Channel Cities.²²⁴

However, neither Howard's garden city in Letchworth nor its Swedish counterpart in Enskede and Bromma could outlast the harsh realities of early 20th century economy, which through steadily rising real-estate prices made impossible the construction of the good city for the common people.

By moving away from tenement buildings and small houses fit for a workers income the physical space of the Bromma garden city changed, a change that brought in new people with new representations of space. Together these two movements changed the representational space of Bromma, changing the conditions for the future creation of space.

After a mere twenty years, around the same time that most of the houses in Stora Mossen were built, the Swedish garden city had been purged of offending tenements and become the

²²⁴ A particularly clever though probably untrue anecdote tells of a newly constructed neighbourhood in an unnamed town, cleverly named the Channel City, where the centrepiece channels failed to hold water. After a brief bout of panic the planners allegedly decided to fill the channels with stones painted blue instead, arguing that it at least *looked* like water.

present garden city, the “quiet and peaceful oasis of the middle-class”, a moniker that eventually was accepted by the City itself. Begrudgingly at first but later taken for granted. What new developments were added were surrounded by a screen of greenery to prevent the mixing of classes, a lesson well learnt and later quietly applied in the creation of new suburban developments, eventually becoming part of the representations of space governing the “typical” Swedish suburb. Birds of a feather flocking together becoming unofficial policy. The present garden city now perpetuated itself, its form of housing coupled with its fortunate location vis-à-vis the city proper limiting the economic diversity of its residents, with age and practice turning it into a representation of space in its own right.

Like all other people however, no matter their income or standing, the space of everyday life is rarely labelled and categorised. It is merely life, life as it should be or at the very least as it is. Reflection on life itself only rarely appearing without any outside input.

For Stora Mossen, or at least the part of it covered for the purpose of this thesis, this all changed with the appearance of the development plans, old ideas being dusted off and drummed up to oppose outside forces espousing a representation of space alien to the life practiced in the area and now nibbling away at its borders.

Being only partially organised, the picture of the resistance against the planned developments in Stora Mossen is assembled from a disparate collection of views and opinions voiced by individual informants. Together, they created three different images of resistance, each associated with a different corner of the triangle that creates social space.

The one true representation of space existing in the area is that of the present garden city, a reification of the ideas of garden city life that replaced the tenets of the Swedish garden city sometime between the 1920's and 40's. Presented as the image of the one true garden city, the present garden city is revered as a unique heritage of the foresight on Howard and Unwin, a heritage that is too valuable and fragile to allow any new developments in the area.

While most if not all of the informants in the area are aware of the term garden city only a minority have any clear picture, reified or not, of what it entails. Instead these informants create their image of their neighbourhood through representational space, gathering bits and pieces of ideology intersected with spatial practices. The pieces of ideology is sometimes associated with the present garden city but most commonly tend toward a broader discourse connected with the ideas surrounding the villa city, another form of suburban development contemporary to the garden city. This assemblage forms a kind of proto-representation of space based on aesthetics, presenting the free-standing, low rise detached houses interspersed

with greenery areas which form the dominant form of housing in Stora Mossen as the main characteristic of the garden city. This representation or view coincides to a great extent with the image of the present garden city, both in terms of core tenets and in its objective to preserve the area as it is.

Though not theoretically part of what makes Stora Mossen what it is, the practical concerns of everyday life form perhaps the most common grievance among the informants protesting the planned developments. The daily commute of adults tie the otherwise mostly unrelated households of the area together on Stora Mossens Backe thoroughfare at roughly the same time each morning, providing one of the most unifying experiences in the area. Together with the equally daily games of children on the western ridge between the detached houses and the underground tracks, the daily commute is as opposed to the arguments concerning aesthetics and historicity firmly rooted in spatial practice, touching on but rarely propagating any specific ideological arguments.

While this category provide arguments that are firmly rooted in practice and thus more salient than those based in either of the two previous categories, the limited time-frame of communion on the thoroughfare appears to skewer the popular view it. Moving almost exclusively on the thoroughfare during rush hour appears to create the widespread belief that the area is regularly hit by congestion, a situation which has not appeared at all during observations.

While the arguments concerning Stora Mossen can for the greater part be summed up in these three categories they are almost entirely self-reflective, created more as an image of self towards an unnamed and un-quantified world surrounding it than as an intricate part of the metropolitan area of Stockholm. Given that Stora Mossen in its very essence is a part of this greater world it is also critical to measure how the arguments created to further its preservation match up to the demands placed on all areas and inhabitants of this metropolitan area.

Considering the great strains placed on the city by a rapidly expanding population, the desirable yet sparsely populated and economically segregated area of Stora Mossen compares poorly, casting doubt on the justification for the area to be exempt from the densification programme currently pursued by the City authorities. While arguments concerning commuter parking as well as the play areas on the ridge could be considered particular enough to warrant some exemptions or relief, hardly any other complaints survives that far.

Suggestions for compromises that would allow Stora Mossen to maintain its distinct aesthetic profile associated with detached houses fares badly, providing only subjective improvements to residents while causing objective problems for any new inhabitants living in the planned developments. Some isolated accounts even suggests that new inhabitants be subjected to restrictions or that developments be moved to other residential areas, allowing residents to be spared any inconvenience while letting others suffer from it.

Space – the final frontier

What should hopefully be clear at this the end of the thesis is not only the fluid nature of social space or the difficulty in formulating an effective resistance against unwanted developments but how spaces shape and limits our perceptions of everyday life.

Considering some of the views expressed by informants, it would appear that the economical and ethnical segregation of Stora Mossen does make it more difficult for some to relate the world beyond the ridges.

This in itself is not actually so much a matter of physical space as it is of cultural space. Most of the informants are well read and many are equally well travelled, having lived for extended periods in places such as Great Britain, the United States, France and Singapore. Many of them also mention their experiences abroad as critical to their criticism of the planned developments, their glimpses into life abroad offering new perspectives on Stockholm as a city. However, with the growth of a globalised culture it is perfectly possible to shift between continents and maintain the same lifestyle as one did at home. Particularly when travelling professionally it actually takes more of an effort to break free of one's class background than to remain in it as one becomes part of a cosmopolitan elite by default. Stephan beyond the ridge, himself apparently well-travelled, illustrates the problem in these two sentences from his complaint:

I've been in cities – almost all of them in developing countries – where 100% of all land is used for housing and traffic. Whole cities like ghettos – machines for living is far too positive a term! It is sad and inhumane.

...

Most people plan their housing for a lifetime. One tries to get the best thing possible based on ones resources and values...^{225LXXXVI}

²²⁵ C: 2007-39534-83.

To plan one's life according to the resources available and strive for a long-term solution is simple if one has the resources to do such a thing in the first place. But if you are stuck in a low-wage job, arrive in the country with only the clothes on your back or simply happen to be single mum the choice stands between the living machine and nothing at all. Even people well paid have to move between rented flats rather than buy their own if they lack the necessary savings to make a first down payment.

If owning a house or flat of one's own is deemed to be a god-given right and anything less is regarded as either unfortunate or downright inhuman, what views are then held about the people living in them?

Esteemed sociologist Pierre Bourdieu elaborates on taste as marker of class in his seminal work "Distinction" (2010)²²⁶, showing how symbols such as art, music and literature become synonymous with proper class identity, and that taste and aesthetics becomes not just a subjective point of view but an extension of social standing. While this is certainly the case in Stora Mossen, particularly compared to those born and bred in the "concrete jungle", reducing detached housing as such to a simple class marker is not sensible. For while the detached house is on the one hand intimately tied to a bourgeois utopia and spread to the masses by the similarly bourgeois City administrators as a way to pacify and "educate" a potentially revolutionary working class through ownership, the very same working class largely adored their houses and were intensely keen on achieving one for themselves. When the drive to build garden cities keeled over it was replaced by the "own-home movement" (Swe. *egnahemsrörelsen*) where workers came together to build their own detached houses in order to bring down costs. The sentiment largely remains today and can be readily identified in several of the accounts from Eldhund tenants, several of who voice contempt of the upper class identity of those above the ridge but still insist on the villas being untouched rather than arguing to preserve their own access to the ridges. The detached house is a symbol common to many below the ridge, regardless of class, a fact that helps justify the argument of those above the ridge in the conflict of Stora Mossen.

The issue however is not about the preference for detached housing, or the propriety of it, but the delusion that it can be readily achieved by all, or even maintained in an increasingly populous city without infringing on the rights of others.

²²⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge, London, 2010.

Futures

Will the planned developments change Stora Mossen? The most likely answer is no, at least among informants. Considering the probable asking price for the planned flats, the likelihood of social change or a greater amount of integration is negligible. The potential for a dramatic change in the character of the area is pretty low as well as the developments are outspokenly justified as being forming a borderline between Stora Mossen and the area around Ulvsunda, though some of the informants living next to the ridge would beg to differ.

On the other hand, walking only a street beyond Hedgehog Road and Badger Road the informants indifferent to the developments immediately became more plentiful. Leonid on the ridge regards the distance between her house and the developments to be too great to be significant, even though it would definitively be within earshot during the construction phase:

Leonid: I'm neutral on this, there are both pros and cons

I: Such as?

L: Well, there's really a lot of traffic down there so building a few tenements or owner occupied blocks of flats... that wouldn't bother anyone... I can't think of any way it would disturb, and then there'd be housing for people to live in, and the communications here are great, eh. So in this sense I see only advantages to more housing here, it's great. Then of course there are disadvantages, particularly to those with their gardens adjacent, they probably think it's horrible... and then, living close to a construction site... I can't say I look forward to that... but apart from those living close and the construction time...^{LXXXVII}

Even to others more nearby the possibility of the ridges being built on simply does not concern them, leaving place both for ideological convictions of the necessity of densification and the confidence that their own sphere of living would remain undisturbed. Gunnar on the ridge followed by Martin on the ridge, who is the only one who does not only accept development but actually encourages them:

Gunnar: ... in that case [even more developments closer to his own lot] I would apply for a construction permit and put up a two metre high wall around the whole garden and accept that my villa has become a town house...^{LXXXVIII}

Φ

Martin: I say build. People have to live somewhere in Stockholm and I think that this attitude when everyone thinks we should build in Stockholm but just not where I live... of course it's a pity if it gets crowded and so on but you still have to be a part of development. I won't suffer the same that the people across the street might, perhaps some houses will be visible above [the treeline], perhaps it can shield us some from the noise of the road.... I'm not overjoyed they will build here but I accept that is how it will be...

...

...either we accept that we have to build upwards in Stockholm today or it'll be the problem of future generations... there are reactionaries [bakåsträvare] who don't want to build high houses due to the profile of the city, but I don't think it will be destroyed if you have high-rises... I'd like it if we don't turn the entire city into a museum, which I meanly think those who refuse higher developments... want to...^{LXXXIX}

Perhaps the best way of ending this study and the speculation of the results of the impact of the planned developments in Stora Mossen is to take one final look back.

During the end of the fieldwork process it had become apparent that the planned developments were not the only densification projects in the immediate area. Just a few years earlier, similar protests had been raised regarding the developments adjacent to the sports centre as well as on the border to Abrahamsberg, protests of which only memories were now left. In the interview with Dmitri and Elena on the ridge I finally got the opportunity to use this as a question, an interview in which wife and husband had some differences in their respective views on the developments:

Elena: Four storeys? Peh!

Dmitri: Yeah well, the ones over here won't harm anyone really, these ones, perhaps these but...

E: No, we don't want to see it through... we don't want to see four storeys of flats here.

I: But, the houses in Abrahamsberg, aren't they around four storeys, three or four?

D: Mhmm...

E: But they were already here when we bought the house...^{XC}

VIII. Bibliography - sources

- Boken om detaljplan och områdesbestämmelser 2002 års revidering.*, TPB, Enskede, 2008.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge, London, 2010.
- Carlsson, Per, *Den förnyade villastaden: stadsgestaltning med förhinder : om mål och medel vid förnyelse av äldre villa och fritidshusområden*, Tekniska högsk., Diss. Stockholm : Tekn. högsk., Stockholm, 1998.
- Deland, Mats, *The social city: middle-way approaches to housing and suburban governmentality in southern Stockholm 1900-1945*, Institute of Urban History (Stads- och kommunhistoriska institutet), Diss. Stockholm : Univ., 2001, Stockholm, 2001.
- Donnelly, K.J., 'A Ramble Through the margins of the Cityscape: the postmodern as the return of nature' in Dear, Michael J. & Flusty, Steven (eds.), *The spaces of postmodernity: readings in human geography*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002, pp. 423-430.
- Duranton, Gilles & Turner, Matthew, *The Fundamental Law of Road Congestion: Evidence from US cities*, Working Paper 370, Department of Economics, University of Toronto, 2009.
- Fishman, Robert, *Bourgeois utopias: the rise and fall of suburbia*, Basic Books, New York, 1987.
- Grant, Jill, *Planning the good community: new urbanism in theory and practice*, Routledge, London, 2006.
- Gurney, Craig, "'We've Got Friends Who Live in Council Houses": Power and Resistance in Home Ownership' in Hearn, Jeff & Roseneil, Sasha (eds.), *Consuming cultures: power and resistance*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1999, pp. 42-68.
- Hall, Peter, *Cities of tomorrow: an intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1988.
- Harvey, David, *Spaces of hope*, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 2000.
- Johansson, Ingemar, *Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria: markpolitik, planering och byggande under sju sekler*, Gidlund in cooperation with Byggnadsnämnden, Stockholm, 1987.
- Keith, Michael & Pile, Steve (red.), *Geographies of resistance*, Routledge, London, 1997.
- Lefebvre, Henri, 'The Production of Space' in Dear, Michael J. & Flusty, Steven (eds.), *The spaces of postmodernity: readings in human geography*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002, pp. 131-141.
- Litman, Todd, *Generated Traffic and Induced Travel: Implications for transport planning*, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, 2011.
- Pyatok, Michael, 'The narrow base of the new urbanist', Planners Network, 2002, retrieved 16 May 2012, <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/2002_152_spring/pyatok.htm>.
- Reimers, Christian & Reimers, Gerd, *Hus och människor i Bromma: från Nockeby till Alvik*, Vinghästen, Bromma, 1994.

Wirtén, Per, *Där jag kommer från: kriget mot förorten*, Bonnier, Stockholm, 2010.

Policy documents and currently enacted plans

Promenadstaden (The Promenade City), översiktsplan för Stockholm antagen av kommunalfullmäktige 15 mars 2010.

Master plan, retrieved 15 May 2012

<http://www.stockholm.se/PageFiles/267645/52638_Slutrapport_lowNY.pdf>

Map, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<http://www.stockholm.se/PageFiles/267645/Plankarta_webbplatsen_12.pdf>

Stadsbyggnadskontoret (City Construction Office).

Plan och byggtjänsten, gällande plan: 195, 219, 374, 1636, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<<http://insynsbk.stockholm.se/Byggochplantjansten/GallandePlan/>>

Stockholms Byggnadsordning 1997-06-30, del 1, 3, retrieved 15 may 2012,

<<http://www.sbk.stockholm.se/op/BYO.HTM>>

Statistics and surveys

Skatteverket (National Tax Agency).

Värdeområde och riktvärdeskartor: småhus 2007-2012; 2012-2014 . Värdeområde 0180006, 0180023, retrieved 13 March 2012,

<<http://www.skatteverket.se/4.18e1b10334ebe8bc80002123.html>>

SCB, *Statistiska Centralbyrån (Statistics Sweden)*.

Definitioner, retrieved 22 May 2012,

<http://www.scb.se/Pages/List____261536.aspx>

Fortsatt stor ökning av befolkning i tätort, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<http://www.scb.se/Pages/PressRelease____317009.aspx>

Taxerad förvärvsinkomst 2010, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<http://www.scb.se/Pages/TableAndChart____303797.aspx>

USK, *Stockholms Stads Utrednings- och Statistikkontor (Stockholm City Survey and Statistics Office)*.

Folkmängdens förändringar 2010, population changes, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<<http://www.uskab.se/images/stories/excel/b204-filer/sheet001.htm>>

Areal och befolkningstäthet i stadsdelsområden, SDN-delar och stadsdelar 2008-12-31, Area and population density by City district, retrieved 15 May 2012,

<<http://www.usk.stockholm.se/arsbok/b039.htm>>

Online sources

Booli real-estate search engine. <http://www.booli.se/>

Stora Mossen: Stockholm, retrieved 1 May 2012,
<<http://www.booli.se/salda/stora+mossen/74934/>>

Förening.se (Association.se). <http://www.forening.se/>

Registrering hos kommunen, retrieved 15 May 2012,
<<http://www.forening.se/bilda-och-verka-i-forening/registrering-hos-kommunen/>>

New Urbanism, retrieved 16 May 2012, <<http://www.newurbanism.org/>>

Nyköpingsguiden (Nyköping guide). <http://www.nykopingsguiden.se/>

Bo i Nyköping, retrieved 30 March 2012,
<<http://www.nykopingsguiden.se/Boinykoping/Jamfor/>>

SL, AB Storstockholms Lokaltrafik (Greater Stockholm Local Transportation Co.). <http://sl.se/>

Travel planner destinations: Stora Mossen – Centralstationen, Stora Mossen – Alvik, Stora Mossen – Brommaplan

Plankarta: Tvärbana norr Kistagrenen, retrieved 22 April 2012,
<<http://www2.sl.se/templates/Page.aspx?id=15094>>

SMV, Stora Mossens Vänner (Friends of Stora Mossen). <http://www.storamossen.info/>

Andra dokument, retrieved 12 May 2012,
<<http://www.storamossen.info/andradok.php>>

Länkar, retrieved 12 May 2012,
<<http://www.storamossen.info/lankar.php>>

Om Stora Mossen, retrieved 26 March 2012,
<<http://www.storamossen.info/omstoramaossen.php>>

Stadsbyggnadskontorets dokument, retrieved 12 May 2012,
<<http://www.storamossen.info/sbkdok.php>>

The internet classic's archive. <http://classics.mit.edu/index.html>

Confucius analects, part 3, retrieved 15 May 2012,
<<http://classics.mit.edu/Confucius/analects.3.3.html>>

Volvo cars. <http://www.volvocars.com/>

Average prices, Volvo V50 Classic, retrieved 15 May 2012,
<http://www.volvocars.com/se/footer/Documents/Volvo-priser_2012_5.pdf>

Västerleds Trädgårstadsförening (Västerled Garden City Association). <http://www.vasterleds.se/>

Byggplaner i Trädgårdsstaden Bromma, retrieved 15 March 2012,
<<http://www.vasterleds.se/byggplaner-i-bromma/>>

Media

Dagens Nyheter, STHLM (Daily News, STHLM).

Ritzén, Jessica, 'Stockholms Chinatown finns på Östermalm', Dagens Nyheter, May 11 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5

Tottmar, Mia, 'Bromma har inte råd att hålla efter sina gröna ytor', Dagens Nyheter, March 24 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5

Tottmar, Mia, 'Bostadsrätterna på väg att ta över stan', Dagens Nyheter, 25 April 2012, STHLM, pp. 4-5.

Dagens Nyheter online edition.

Sundström, Anders, 'Höghusen i Värtan krympte', Dagens Nyheter online edition, 19 March 2012, retrieved 15 May 2012
<<http://www.dn.se/sthlm/hoghusen-i-vartan-krympte>>

Mitt i Västerort (In the middle of the Western Suburbs, local weekly).

Sjölund, Johan, 'Här kommer monsterköerna: månadskiftet en av årets värsta trafiktoppar' (Here come the monster queues: end of the month one of the worst annual traffic peaks), Mitt i Bromma, 23 August 2011, p. 4

SR, Sveriges Radio (Swedish Public Radio).

Wikström, Per, Dyrare lån för dem som saknar kontantinsats, July 9 2010, retrieved 15 May 2012
<<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikel=3843411>>

Welander, Åsa, Bara Hovås platsar i inkomsttoppen, 9 May 2011, retrieved 13 March 2012
<<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=104&artikel=4492399>>

Others

Stockholms stads bostadsförmedling (May 2012). Tänk nytt. Brochure

SBK archives, dnr. 2007-39534

Minutes (M:)

2007-39534-2 256714

2007-39534-8 1301498

2007-39534-3 Tjänsteutlåtande,
startpromemoria 1279771

2007-39534-18 2017788

Plan material (P:)

2007-39534-4
Bullerutredning_075105-1rev1.pdf
262782

2007-39534-11 20100506155423.pdf
1630869

2007-39534-14 Planbeskrivning
2187974

2007-39534-17 Tjänsteutlåtande,
ställningstagande inför samråd
1990252

2007-39534-33 0739534 plankarta.pdf
2194001

Consultations (R:)

2007-39534-46 YTTRANDE 2227704

2007-39534-67 305-
79211_SSBF_Yttrande
Dp_Stockholm_Stora mossens
backe_del av
Ulvsunda_1_1_110617.pdf 2243420

2007-39534-112 REMISSVAR 2247090

2007-39534-141 REMISSVAR 2247427

2007-39534-142 YTTRANDE 2248486

2007-39534-156
20110628104106856.pdf 2255586

2007-39534-160 SAMRADS YTTRANDE
2333946

Complaints (C:)

2007-39534-40 Planfrågan Stora
Mossen.doc 2220159,

2007-39534-44 SYNPUNKTER 2226701

2007-39534-49 SYNPUNKTER 2231548

2007-39534-50 SYNPUNKTER 2231549

2007-39534-56 Stora Mossen.docx
2234515

2007-39534-59 SYNPUNKTER 2235558

2007-39534-62 SYNPUNKTER 2236203

2007-39534-71 Synpunkter på S-Dp
2010-11956-54.doc 2243750;

2007-39534-72 Samråd
synpunkter.pdf 2243640

2007-39534-73 2007-39534-54 Stora
Mossens backe.pdf 2243645

2007-39534-74 Synpunkter på S-Dp
2010-11956-54_Björknert
Caracciolo.docx 2243924

2007-39534-75 Synpunkter gällande
exploatering av Stora mossens backe
och området nedanför
Hermelinstigen.docx 2243979

2007-39534-77 Synpunkter på S-Dp
2007-39534-54.doc 2243981

2007-39534-78 Fam Mortensen brev
Stadsbyggnadskontoret Juni 2011 19
juni (2010).docm 2243783

2007-39534-79 Byggnads protest.docx
2243983

2007-39534-82
Stadsbyggnadskontoret Stockholm
Samrådsinlaga.pdf 2243915

2007-39534-83 Västerled o St
Mossens backe.doc 2244073

2007-39534-84 SBK 2011-06-19 -
Bengt.pdf 2244271

2007-39534-87
2011_06_19_Byggnation Stora
Mossens Backe_Pär_Tyberg_A.pdf
2244533

2007-39534-88 Synpunkter på Stora
Mossens backe.doc 2244902

2007-39534-94 [Untitled].pdf 2245578

2007-39534-94 [Untitled].pdf 2245579

2007-39534-96 2007-39534-54
Synpunkter.docx 2246547

2007-39534-99 Samråd detaljplan
Hellberg G42.docx 2246552

2007-39534-103 SAMRADSYTTRANDE
2247081

2007-39534-105 SAMRADSYTTRANDE
2247083

2007-39534-110 SAMRADSYTTRANDE
2247088

2007-39534-120 SYNPUNKTER
2247097

2007-39534-122 SYNPUNKTER
2247099

2007-39534-129 SAMRADSYTTRANDE
2247106

2007-39534-130 SYNPUNKTER
2247107

2007-39534-133 SAMRADSYTTRANDE
2247109

2007-39534-135 SYNPUNKTER
2247111

2007-39534-137 PROTEST 2247112

2007-39534-139 Stockholms
Stadsbyggnadskontor.doc 2246904

2007-39534-144 Svar till SBK efter
samrådReimers.pdf 2252560

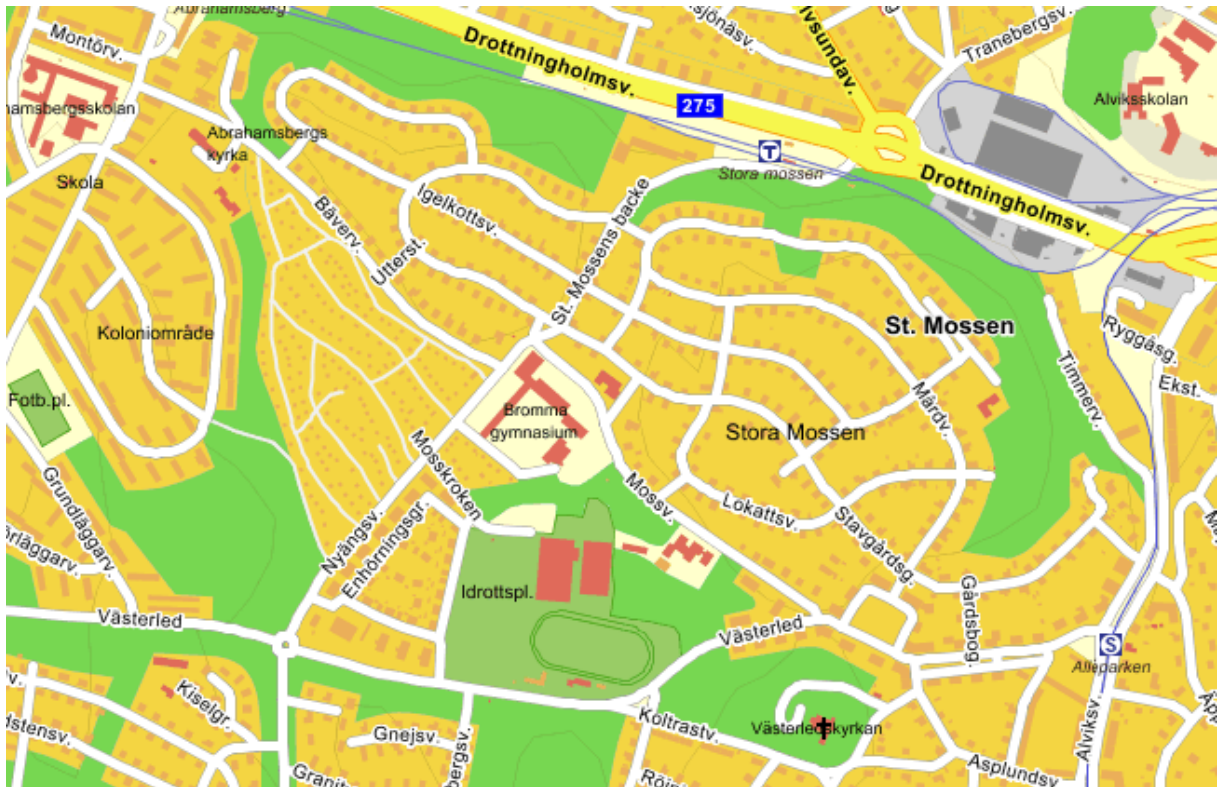
Email: *RE: Stadsdelsförvaltningens
förslag til beslut om Stora Mossens
Backe*, 2011-06-10

Email, *Synpunkter på förslag för
Ulvsunda 1:1 Stora Mossens Backe S-
Dp 2007-39534-54*, 2011-06-18

Email, *Synpunkter om pågående plan*,
2011-06-19

Email, *Beställning av objekt:
Kontaktformulär*, 2011-06-28

IX. Images



Img.1, Contemporary map of Stora Mossen and its surroundings.



Img.2, Eldhund and an underground train seen from the other side of Drottningholm road.



Img.3, Stora Mossens Backe on a Monday morning after the rush. To the left in the picture lies the eastern ridge and to the right the far end of Eldhund with the day care centre on the ground floor.



Img.4, The stairs on the eastern ridge.



Img.5, A makeshift playhouse on the plateau on the western ridge.



Img.6, "Save the garden city!" Notice posted by Stora Mossens Vänner on Ermine Path.



Img.7, The blocks next to the sports centre, finished in the early 2000's and built mostly in the lamellar style. These residences were not part of the study.



Img.8, The plan as it appeared in the 2009 memorandum, with the planned developments in black.

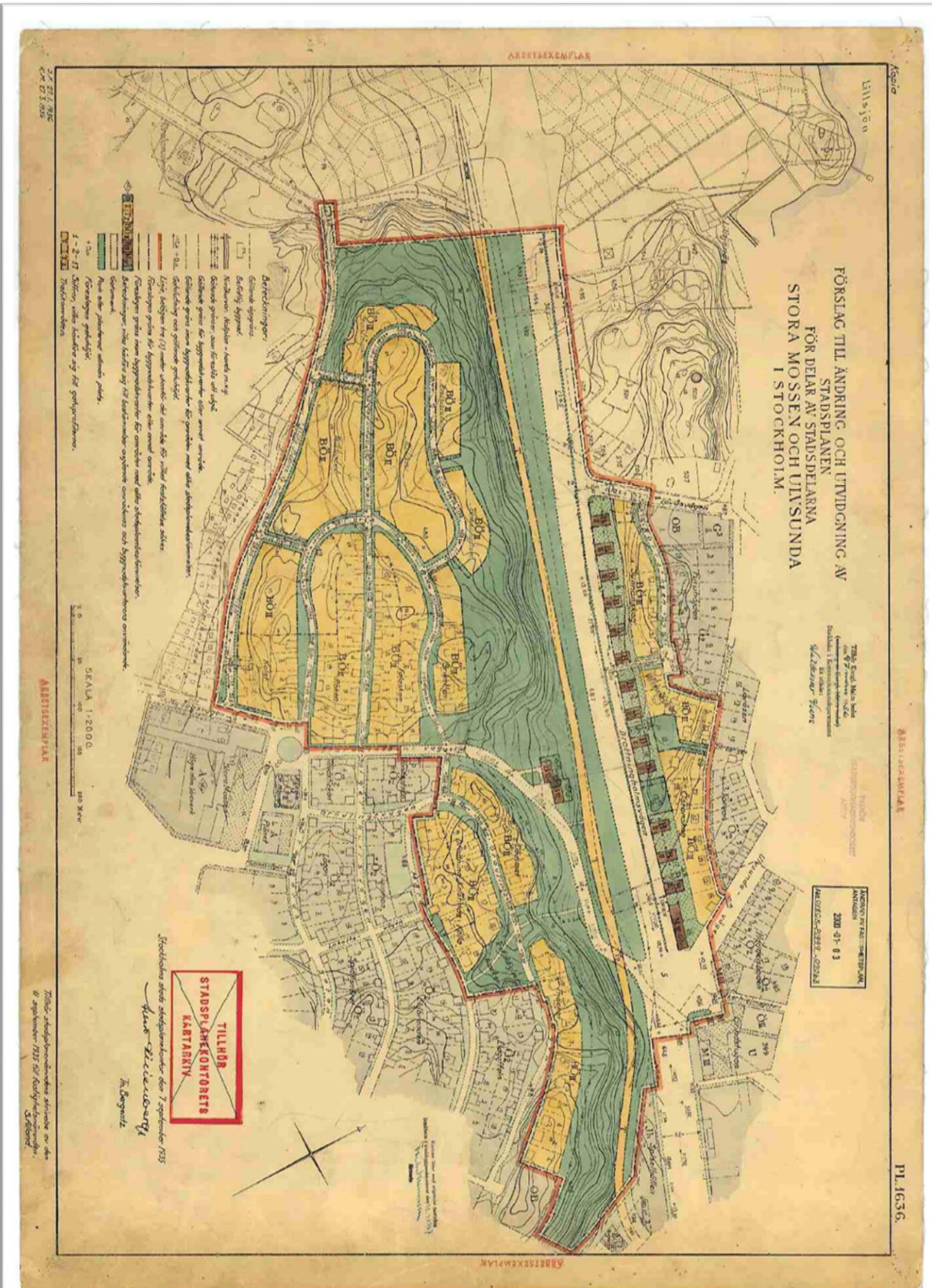
Colours have been edited for clarity.



Img.10, Houses on the eastern ridge as proposed in the 2010 statement and 2011 plan. Five storeys total with the bottom floor reserved for commercial purposes.



Img.11, Houses on the western ridge as shown in the 2010 statement and 2011 plan. Six storeys total with an underground garage underneath the road with room for one car per flat.



Img.12, Revised plan for parts of Stora Mossen 1936. Apart from the dark houses north of Drottningholm road and in the space currently occupied by Eldhund all lots are for single houses.

X. Transcripts

^I Original Swedish: *Dessa första radhus var verkligen både enkla och billiga, men de var inte desto mindre mycket svårsålda. De uppväckte en storm av protester från de "riktiga" villaägarna, som såg dem som en skamfläck i det annars så trivsamma Äppelviken. Bygget skulle, menade man i en protestskrivelse, "omintetgöra Äppelvikens ursprungliga karaktär av en medelklassens lugna och fridfulla oas samt glest befolkade trädgårdsstad". Det var en framstående socialdemokrat, stadsfullmäktiges ordförande Fredrik Ström, som bröt motståndet när han bosatte sig i ett av de nybyggda radhusen så här skrev han 1942: "Ur denna trädgårdsstäders utveckling till ett familjernas och barnens paradiset hämtar stenstaden sin kraft och hälsa, arbetets puls blir stark och kärleken till hembygden och fosterlandet växer. Lusten att försvara rike och frihet är levande. Kärlek till natur och skönhet ogrumlad". Visst har han rätt, fast han uttrycker sig lite lyriskt uppskruvat. Vad vi däremot har svårt att förstå är orsaken till stormen, när vi idag promenerar förbi de charmfulla och välvårdade radhusen med sina blommande täppor, nära till kommunikationer och med egna grönområden precis utanför farstubron.*

^{II} Original Swedish: Stora Mossens backe ligger i gränslandet mellan villabebyggelsen i väster och det mer urbana rummet vid Ulvsundaplan. Stadsbyggnadsnämnden vill se ytterligare anpassning och i det vidare arbetet måste de stadsmässiga kvaliteterna särskilt beaktas, belysas och betonas.

^{III} Original Swedish: *Genom att bebygga den lilla kvarvarande skogen skapar man inte urbanitet. Snarare är det enda man lyckas åstadkomma genom att göra denna förtätning, att förstöra befintliga kvalitéer i Trädgårdsstaden. Som en boende skriver: "Trädgårdsstäderna var ju ett uttryck för nytänkande som präglade stadsplaneringen i funktionalismens genombrott – ljus, öppna ytor och grönska för barn och vuxna skapar just funktionella bostadsområden – i kontrast med den täta stadsutvecklingen under tidigare år. Stora Mossen är ett levande exempel på detta och de tankar som präglade utvecklingen av stadsdelen då har (kanske mer än någonsin) ännu bärkraft. Den planerade exploateringen raserar detta."*

^{IV} Original Swedish: I de centrala delarna av staden och i områden som Kista är markvärdena i regel höga. Det möjliggör byggandet av den täta och attraktiva staden, även om utvecklingen samtidigt är förenad med stora kostnader.

^V Original Swedish: En utveckling av mångsidigt innehåll i tyngdpunkter riskerar att försämra tillgången på service i omgivande stadsdelar, där utbudet ibland är bristfälligt redan idag

^{VI} Original Swedish: Områdets karaktär kommer att påtagligt påverkas och ingreppen i naturmiljön blir stora. Det finns risk för att den planerade nybebyggelsen kommer att dominera över villabebyggelsen... den planerade bebyggelsen kommer att medföra en alltför stor exploatering. En betydligt lägre exploatering i glesare liggande stadsvillor kan museet se som en möjlighet utan att områdets karaktär förvanskas

^{VII} Original Swedish Rådet anser att den östra delen av planområdet kan bebyggas. Den tillkommande bebyggelsen måste dock lämna ett tydligt respektavstånd till villorna men måste också sänkas i höjd... Vad gäller den västra delen av området anser dock rådet att ingreppet i miljön är alltför stor för att kunna accepteras. Det här är ett välutnyttjat rekreativområde med stor betydelse för områdets grönstruktur

^{VIII} Original Swedish: Ytterligare hänsyn ska tas till synpunkter från Grävlingssvägen angående husens höjd och övrig påverkan. När exploateringen därefter utökas västerut tas inte motsvarande hänsyn till boende på Hermelinstigen och Igelkottsvägen i det att husen 8, 9 och 10 placeras uppe på berghällarna

^{IX} Original Swedish: Trädgårdsstaden är en hundraårig kulturmiljö. Befintlig stadsplan är skapad utifrån en bärande idé som är ännu äldre. Tanken med trädgårdsstaden, hämtad från England och Tyskland i början av förra seklet, var just att byggnader och tomter skulle forma en omväxlande organisk miljö i *förening* med omgivande natur och parkmark. Att parkmark nu hotas är inte bara allvarligt, det är oacceptabelt.

^XOriginal Swedish: Den gröna ytan i och kring Stora Mossens backe var en del av den bärande idén med Trädgårdsstadstanken. Istället för att som i den urbana staden låta hus och gator skilja kvarter från kvarter i räta vinklar, lät man de nyanlagda gatorna och vägarna slingra sig fram och följa den naturliga topografin. Tomter och trädgårdar skapade omväxlande och organiska miljöer.

^{XI} Original Swedish: Den gröna ytan i och kring Stora Mossens Backe är en del av den bärande idén med Trädgårdsstadstanken.

”Bostadsbebyggelsen i söder består av villor som ursprungligen planerades under 1910-talet och framåt. I Stockholms byggnadsordning från 1997 ingår planområdet i ett område som betecknas trädgårdsstad. Området är av särskild betydelse för Stockholms gröna karaktär där bebyggelse, topografi och vegetation samspelar på ett karaktäristiskt sätt.”

Detta är det samspele som den nu planerade bebyggelsen skulle omintetgöra

^{XII} Original Swedish: Området som berörs är ett kulturhistoriskt arv och ingår som en del i en Trädgårdsstad. Att placera 5-6 våningshus med garage som planerat kommer definitivt förstöra detta områdes karaktär för all framtid. Befintliga boendemässiga förhållanden kommer att försämrats och unika grönområden förstöras

^{XIII} Original Swedish: Uppförandet av nya flerfamiljsbostäder strider mot den rådande arkitekturen och tanken bakom uppförandet av trädgårdsstaden. Delar av Stora Mossen är idag Q-märkt. Vi som bor här har problem att få bygglov för minsta förändring på våra hus. Det förefaller märkligt att man plötsligt välkomnar en massiv omdaning av området

^{XIV} Original Swedish: De flesta som har bosatt sig i Bromma har charmats av Trädgårdsstadens unika hundraåriga kulturmiljö byggd på en befintligt stadsplan där byggnaderna formar en omväxlande miljö tillsammans med omgivande natur och parkmark. Nu hotas detta unika område, dit många forskare och stadsplanerare reser för att hämta kunskap och inspiration...

^{XV} Original Swedish: ’Samhällsreformatorn Ebenezer Howard ... ville förändra samhället med stadsplaneringen som verktyg. Till Letchworth sökte sig konstnärer, idealister och intellektuella, men den väckte inte någon större entusiasm hos medelklassen. Experimentet fick aldrig något folkligt fäste. Däremot banade Letchworth vägen för Hampstead, som i sin tur blev en viktig förebild för det nya seklets stadsplanering.

En annan inspiratör var den österrikiske arkitekten Camillo Sitte. Han vände sig mot den moderna stenstadens enformighet och förfulning...

Trädgårdsstaden i Bromma hänger samman med båda dessa idéer.... Lägre friliggande villor samspelade med högre radhuslängor – som till exempel de »engelska« radhusen vid Alléparken. Nästan inga Brommavillor är exakt lika, men alla bär fram en gemensam idé, som ett tema med variationer’

^{XVI} Original Swedish: Husen uppfördes i trä i ett plan med inredd vind och källare. Hus och gator anpassades mjukt till terrängen med bevarade stamträd. De mest kuperade naturpartierna har lämnats obebyggda, antingen som skogsbryn eller naturparker.

Den klassiska trädgårdsstaden. I stadsdelar som Gamla Enskede, Äppelviken och Smedslätten byggdes under 1910- och 1920-talen den klassiska trädgårdsstaden med större och mer individuella hus efter förebild i den klassiska svenska småstaden. Staden medverkade aktivt med både typritningar och husens placering. På plan mark utgör häckar och alléträd starkt sammanbindande länkar i gaturummet. På kuperad mark präglas istället gaturummet av stödmurar i sten samt höga fritt växande stamträd

^{XVII} Original Swedish: Stadsbyggnadskontoret har ju själva beskrivit Stora Mossen som en kulturhistorisk värdefull miljö där det är viktigt att området ska bevara sin karaktör (sic) och att varje förändring ska göras med varsamhet. Den plan som nu föreligger med dessa 6-vånings betongkolosser i detta **lilla parkområde** är ju helt främmande i den här miljön och strider helt mot den beskrivning som SBK har gjort

^{xviii} Original Swedish: I begreppet trädgårdsstad ryms blandad bebyggelse, ofta bestående av lägre flerbostadshus i central lägen med radhus och småhus i utkanten av området. Förslagen bebyggelse ansluter till befintliga flerbostadshus i kvarteret Eldhunden...”

^{xix} Original Swedish: Exploateringen av inte endast Stora Mossens backe och Hermelinstigen utan även flera andra projekt som planeras i Västerled gör våld på den stadsplanering som genomfördes i samband med utbyggnaden av området under trettioalet och förstör det trädgårdsstadstänkande som präglade stadsplaneringen. Det kulturarv som vi fått förstörs och betydande kulturvärden går till spillo

^{xx} Original Swedish: Dessa områden planerades och bebyggdes under 1910-, 20-, 30- och 40-talen vid en tid när svensk stadsplanering var globalt ledande och med rätta ett föredöme för hela världen. Miljön är världsunik och det borde vara höjt över all diskussion, att den skall värnas och vårdas

^{xxi} Original Swedish: De bärande argumenten mot exploatering har Stadsbyggnadskontoret själva formulerat i en broschyr till de boende i Stora Mossen (1995).
... Stora Mossen är i Stockholms översiktsplan redovisad som en värdefull kulturmiljö. Den innebär enligt plan- och bygglagen att förändringar av gator och byggnader skall utföras med stor hänsyn till helhetsmiljön och kulturvärdena. Det är viktigt att området bevarar sin karaktär. Byggnadernas exteriör är väsentliga för miljön och helhetsintrycket. Förändringar skall göras med varsamhet

^{xxii} Original Swedish: Detta är jag emot för att det går emot en förnuftig stadsplanering att använda grönområden för förtätningen för att det förstör en del av trädgårdsstadstanken som var formande och typisk för uppbyggnaden av Västerled

^{xxiii} Original Swedish: Trädgårdsstaden är unik i sin utformning. Den skapades för att människor skulle bo med ljus och luft, grönska och bostäder i en harmonisk helhet. Nu vill ekonomiska intressen slå sönder en fungerande boendemiljö. Det är kortsiktigt och ogenomtänkt

^{xxiv} Transcript: M: jaa, jag är ju ingen expert på trädgårdsstaden men... som jag har uppfattat det så handlar det om en öppen trädgårdslösning, ehm, och att husen är byggda emot varandra, det ska va en, hmm... det ska vara öppet emellan, och tanken med det var väl också, hmm, vad jag tror i allafall var tanken med trädgårdsstaden var att det var små tomter, eeh, och just att det skulle vara en sammanhållen miljö, förhållandevis små tomter men det skulle vara öppet, man skulle se emellan och kunna umgås på det sättet... det finns säkert mer men det är så jag uppfattat det...

^{xxv} Transcript: V: eeh, jag känner till det, jag har hört talas om det, men det är väl att man byggt området här så att det ska finnas mycket grönt och skog då, och gräs och... jag hoppas det inte blir som city liksom, bara asfalt och betong överallt...

^{xxvi} Transcript: I: trädgårdsstaden är det många som talar om, är det bekant?

P: Jadå och det är väl kolonilotter och det som har varit här och som är runt omkring här, mycket olika allmänningar...

I: hade det något att göra med att ni bosatte er här?

P: jamen det är klart, dels, förutom att Bromma är den här äldre stilen, rätt mycket parker rätt öppet och eh... en trevlig villastadsidyll kan man väl kalla den...

I: är det någon speciell skillnad mellan en trädgårdsstad och en villastad?

P: Ingen aning du, det tror jag inte för det här med trädgård har nog att göra med... det här gamla, vad heter det, kolonilotterna som är här borta ...

^{xxvii} Transcript: K: Trädgårdsstad, ja det är ju det vi bor i...

I: Vad är trädgårdsstaden?

K: Ja det är ett område där det bara är villor i stort sett... och det nya det skulle vara, ja det skulle inte vara trädgårdsstad... det skall väl försöka likna lite stad... stad-stad då haha!... ja jag vet inte, trädgårdsstad, om det är någons skillnad mot en villastad, hehe, det vet jag faktiskt inte riktigt...

^{xxviii} Transcripts: M: ...Emil Norlander som kuriosa bara, han var gammal revyartist [som byggde huset]... därför är huset lite speciellt med pelare... och det är ju så lite pompa, lite storhetsvansinne, men det gör det lite roligt också...

^{xxix} Transcript: V: ...Bromma är ett väldigt charmigt område, kanske förutom denna gatan för husen ser lite tråkiga ut just här...det här är fyrtiotalshus, dom ser ju snarare trista ut...

I: Så om ni fått välja hade det varit ett av de nationalromantiska husen som...

V: Vi stod och valde mellan ett sånt då, men vi ville ha praktiskt och det var faktiskt närheten också till tunnelbanan som avgjorde mycket...

^{xxx} Original Swedish: **Hur kan detta vara möjligt att ni kan få slå upp ett sexvåningshus 7-10 från en tomtgräns! Borde det inte finnas några riktlinjer som ni måste förhålla er till?**

^{xxxi} Original Swedish: Jag blir rent allmänt bedrövad när jag år ut och år in kan konstatera att ytterligare någon grön oas i Bromma exploaterats. För en lekman blir man ofta chockad över hur även mindre grönområden bebyggs på ett sätt som man helt enkelt inte tror är möjligt. Det är alltifrån småplättar som fungerar som lekrområden för barn och uppfattas som "naturliga" i den allmänna (sic) miljöbilden till större stråk där flerbostadshus plötsligt uppförs mitt bland villorna... Den lilla, skira skärm av träd som idag finns i backen fungerar idag som både bullerbarriär och populärt promenadstråk. Den är dessutom vacker att se på, både från Drottningholmsvägen och för de som bor eller promenerar i området (vilket är många, eftersom T-banan också ligger i backen)

^{xxxii} Original Swedish: Runt Stora Mossens Back har vi fantastiska skogspartier som är viktiga både för den fysiska och psykiska hälsan! Bygg inte bort Stockholms skönhet!! Stockholm är berömt utomlands för sin grönskande prakt – förstör inte detta rykte! I skogsområdena finns värdefulla träd, växter och framför allt djur...

^{xxxiii} Original Swedish: Grönområdena runt Västerled består av mycket gammal skog. Modernt skogsbruk har inte bedrivits i området det senaste seklet och därför är särskilt förekomsten av gamla tallar (äldre än 200 år) stor... Tillgången på döende och gamla lövträd gör att det finns **gott om insekter**, en del ovanliga... Dessa "urskogsartade" grönområden i en stadsmiljö är ovanliga idag och bör på grund av sin stora **biologiska mångfald** bevaras... Då försvinner också en av de naturliga bryggorna till andra gröna lungor i området...

^{xxxiv} Original Swedish: Den redan kaotiska trafiksit. och dåliga luften (höga partikelhalter) kommer att kraftigt försämras (traf. fr. hus 6-10 kommer att bilda en stillastående, avgasosande kö utanför mitt sovrumsfönster)... De få "lungor" som fortf. finns i omr. måste bevaras! Trädens förmåga att rensa luften är oslagbar!

^{xxxv} Original Swedish: Drottningholmsvägen vid Ulvsundaplan är en av Stockholm mest trafikerade gator med dålig luft med höga partikelhalter – en dålig boendemiljö. De nya husen skulle också ge en minskad utvädring av partiklar mellan hus och väg, dvs. försämra en redan dålig luftkvalitet. Att bygga i skogen innebär också en nedtagning av träd vilka i sig förbättrar dagens luftkvalitet (och sänker ljudnivån) från trafiken på Drottningholmsvägen. Ett fullvuxet träd som huggs ner måste ersättas av tusen (!) nyplanterade träd för att få samma miljöeffekt. Det tar minst 50 år för ett nyplanterat träd att uppnå samma miljöeffekt som ett fullvuxet träd. Bygg inte bort vår gröna lunga – både vi och kommande generationer behöver den.

^{xxxvi} Original Swedish: Min åsikt är att trafiksituationen i området idag är **katastrofal**. Det är inte ovanligt att det är långa stillastående köer på Nyängsvägen och i Stora Mossens backe samt anslutande gator.

^{xxxvii} Original Swedish: Med den trafiksituation som finns idag, kan vi inte lämna vårt område (ovanför Stora Mossens Backe) förrrens rusningstrafiken lagt sig. Det tar 30 – 45 min att med bil åka 300 meter ner för Stora Mossens Backe. Hur har ni tänkt hantera detta?

^{xxxviii} Original Swedish: NN är beroende av bil i jobbet och det tar lite drygt 15 minuter att ta sig 250 meter för att ta sig ned till Drottningholmsvägen. Anledningen till detta är att de trafikljus som finns vid Drottningholmsvägen växlar så snabbt att endast 4-6 bilar kan komma ut vid varje tillfälle det blir gönt [sic] ljus.

^{xxxix} Original Swedish: Vi har bott på Grävlingvägen sedan 2004 och under de år som gått sedan vi flyttade in har trafiksituationen i området blivit allt mer kaotisk... Samtliga dessa utfarter är hårt belastade och i Stora Mossens Backe är det i stort sett varje morgon och ofta även eftermiddag kö ända upp till Bromma Gymnasium. Detta gör att vi ibland knappt kan komma ut från Grävlingvägen ens för att åka åt motsatt håll mot Ålsten.

^{xl} Original Swedish: Den nu hundraåriga tanken med trädgårdsstaden var och är att byggnader och tomter ska forma en omväxlande miljö med omgivande natur och parkmark. Att den parkmarken nu hotas är både allvarligt och oacceptabelt. Måste ALLA gröna ytor bebyggas?

^{xli} Original Swedish: **Jag motsätter mig förslaget till nybyggnation runt Stora Mossens backe med 10 flerfamiljshus av följande skäl. Vid ett eventuellt beslut om byggnation kommer jag att överklaga detta. Skälen är följande. Trafiksituationen är redan nu kaotisk**

^{xlii} Original Swedish: De få gröna områden som finns kvar måste bevaras... varje träd bör bevaras för människors välbefinnande. Små oaser i trafikkaoset. Ta inte bort dessa möjligheter och skapa en osund boendemiljö

^{xliii} Original Swedish: Vi är en förskola utan egen inhägnad gård. Varje dag, året om, går vi till vår skog... Detta kan ha mycket allvarliga konsekvenser för vår förskola... Att driva förskola är ingen lukrativ verksamhet... Vi kan till och med, i värsta fall, tvingas till konkurs.

^{xliv} Transcript: M:... jag tycker det är fel att förtäta en stad på det sättet man gör, man tar bort alla de gröna lungorna som är populära, man rationaliserar bort saker liksom ytor som kanske vid första anblick är en liten skog men jag tycker att... du ska behålla de är kilarna, ta hela områden någonstans och bygg höghus då, gör något nytt som hammarby sjöstad liksom, ja det är ju inte så högt men något helt nytt nån annan stans va... förstöra befintlig miljö, jag menar ingen har väl kommit på att bebygga humlegården, det kan man ju göra också, det är bara att bebygga... de gröna kilarna är viktiga...

^{xlv} Transcript: C: Det är också en sak vi frågade politikerna, vad är det för bostäder och vem kommer att ha råd att bo i dem? Om man nu säger... ja det är så många ungdomar som inte har någonstans att bo... jamen vad bra! ska de få bo här då sa jag, det är ju strålande heheh jaa, mmm... det här kommer förmodligen att vara svinigt dyra lägenheter också såklart...

...

I: ...hur borde man lösa det? speciellt med tanke på att inte alla har råd att bo på det sättet heller C: Nej, precis. Det där är ju inget sätt att lösa det, det är bara larvigt att säga det... billiga mindre lägenheter i stora lass... det här begreppet förtättnings som är så populärt, det här är sånt extremt exempel på det så det blir som ett skämt, jag antar att man vill bygga ut staden just... [staden] håller på att bli ett getto för folk med mycket pengar, det är en jättemärklig plats, Stockholms stad, och jag trycker väldigt mycket om Stockholm på många sätt men...

^{xlvi} Transcript: Y: ... men jag håller med, det behövs bostäder, men de måste byggas som förr, risken är annars att det blir som i USA. Om man har läst lokaliseringsteori så byggs ju en stad därför att det är en järnvägsknut eller att det är en hamn eller nånting sånt... sen så blir det mer folk som flyttar in och då byggs det lite mer runtomkring... men i Stockholm har man inte gjort så utan här har man byggt en stjärnstad, det är vi unika med i världen, att det fanns en city-kärna... sen har man byggt städer längs tunnelbanan... det leder till en väldigt mycket bättre stadsplanering och så bygger man fortfarande på sina ställen...

^{xlvii} Original Swedish: Det är fullt möjligt, att fortsätta att bygga och exploatera enligt de ideal vi hade under 1900-talets första hälft. Men att bygga nya förorter tar förstås tid, det kräver planering, långsiktighet och det kräver resurser

^{xlviii} Original Swedish: Var ska all trafik ta vägen? Lös trafikproblemen INNAN man bygger mer bostäder! Tacksam om dessa synpunkter beaktas

^{XLIX} Original Swedish: Mossens backe är idag en genomfartsväg för bilister från Mälaröarna som ej orkar stå i köer vid Brommaplan. Hur kommer trafik bli i framtiden när alla bostäder blir klara i Bromma när det redan idag är kaos. Vilket ansvar tar ni för vår hälsa som redan bor här, och tvingas stå ut med alla avgaser...

^L Original Swedish: **Om inte trafiksituationen kring Västerled kan lösas genom en förbättrad framkomlighet är det högst olämpligt att bygga fler bostäder i St Mossen med omnejd. Det säger sunt förnuft och det borde rimligtvis inte nonchaleras!**

^{LI} Original Swedish: Det är därför viktigt **att lösa trafiksituationen med infartsparkering och ökat trafiktryck först** innan någon som helst ytterligare exploatering sker.

^{LII} Original Swedish: Om man tar i anspråk de små grönytor som från början är den bärande tanken med trädgårdsstaden, försvinner karaktären som staden under mer än 80 år försökt att värna. Många små avsteg från arkitekturens grundtanke ger en grå och trist miljö såväl för nya som gamla invånare i stadsdelen. Vi förstår samtidigt att staden behöver förändras för att möta nya tider, men detta måste ske med varsamhet och eftertänksamhet...

^{LIII} Original Swedish: Vårt hus ligger bredvid stadens mark och om den ska exploateras är i slutändan ett politiskt beslut.

^{LIV} Original Swedish: Eftersom planen hanterar en av tre utfarter från området måste denna konsekvensutredning genomföras med alla påtänkta byggplaner i åtanke och inte enbart Stora Mossens backe. Utredningen bör även ställa trafikintensiteten i Stora Mossens Backe (3600 fordon) i relation till Drottningholmsvägens trafiksituation (71000 fordon)... kommer det inte vara lätt att öka utflödet av bilar från Stora Mossens Backe, eftersom det är en liten väg sett ur Drottningholmsvägens perspektiv

^{LV} Original Swedish: Vi protesterar och är emot bebyggelse av 10st!!! hyreshus vid Stora Mossens backe. Dessa gröna små lungor behövs verkligen få finnas kvar för miljön, luften, de boende i området och för barnen o personal på förskolan Hattstugan som använder dessa tämligen små gröna ytor dagligen för pedagogisk utveckling i form av lek och äventyr.

^{LVI} Original Swedish: Som ett litet bidrag från oss föreslås att Ängbyplans tunnelbanestation byggs ut med ännu en utgång, som leder till en store infartsparkering i norra delen av Judarnskogen, där sällan någon vistas utmed tunnelbanan.

^{LVII} Original Swedish: Frimärksplanering bör istället varsamt genomföras på "sämre" mark. T.ex. den outnyttjade och skräpiga tomten vid Abrahamsbergs T-banestation var (sic) en väl vald plats.

^{LVIII} Original Swedish: Varför inte satsa på snabbtåg på pendlingsavstånd, och då menar vi säkrare kommunikationer än dagens södra mälarbana. För att kunna göra detta krävs att Stockholm inte, genom en alltför långtgående förtätning, bygger fast sig i möjligheten att dra igenom snabbtåg till centrala delarna av Stockholm. Ett snabbtåg från Enköping skulle kunna tillryggalägga till Stockholm city på 20 minuter, samma tid det tar idag att åka kollektivt från Stora Mossen till centrum av Stockholm. Om Stadsbyggnadskontoret lyssnar för mycket på byggföretagens kortsiktiga lösningar, går politikerna fria från att behöva ta ställning till mer banbrytande framtida lösningar.

^{LIX} Transcript: L: ... jag gick i Bromma gymnasium när jag växte upp... det var en bra skola så jag sökte mig dit... och jag trivdes väl bra men kända att oh, så där snobbiga bromma, här skall jag aldrig nånsin bosätta mig... så för mig fanns det här området inte ens på kartan att jag skulle bo här, vi letade som sagt ut mot skärgården ut mot Vaxholm och Värmdö, men av någon anledning åkte vi igen här nån gång och då sa nn varför kollar vi inte på hus här?

...

L: ...men, en stor fördel med att bo här är att vardagen fungerar ju otroligt bra här eftersom det är så nära stan. Konsultlivet var ännu svårare ute på skärgårdsön... här tar det bara tjugo minuter att ta sig in till stan, bor man ute på ön så tar det ju en och en halv timme att ta sig in till stan och ska man sen vidare...

^{LX} Transcript: V: Vi bodde tidigare i Nacka men vi ville bo närmare stan, så att det är ju närmre till jobbet... och vi ville bo i villa, nära tunnelbanan men samtidigt, ja liksom i villaområde... med villa har man trädgård och solplats.

^{LXI} Transcript: A: jo, jag hade en större lägenhet i nn och ett barn som var på gång att flytta hemifrån, och då bytte jag min stora lägenhet till två mindre...

I: Var det så att du valde den här platsen eller var det en händelse?

A: Nej, nej. Jag hade bekanta som hade bekanta som ville flytta tillsammans och de hade varsin stor etta. Ok då fick de våran fyra så tog vi varsin etta...

^{LXII} Transcript: V: varför jag bor här? jag fick en lägenhet av hyresvärden, min första lägenhet var ju på nn härborta, sen fick jag den här lite större två år senare, så det var en ren slump, det var... min nn känner dom två som äger huset sen länge, hen har jobbat åt dom och på den vägen var det.

^{LXIII} Transcript: G: ...men rent principiellt så tycker jag att, jag har ingenting att invända mot att det byggs för som sagt, folk måste bo och då måste alla vara med och ta sitt ansvar för den utvecklingen. Om man vill ha... illusionen om en trädgårdsstad levande då finns ju en gigantisk glesbefolkad landsbygd, haha, så det är bara att heheheee... nej de får väl göra sina townhouse-lösningar

^{LXIV} Original Swedish: Områdets smala gator har blivit en infartsparkering för t-baneresenärer. Denna mycket problematiska situation förvärrades ytterligare när trängselskatten infördes i city. "infartsparkeringarna" blockerar alla smågator i området och struntar i många fall i de otillräckliga parkeringsbegränsningarna/reglerna. Effekterna är starkt ökad risk för olyckor på de trånga gatorna. Barn syns dåligt.... Renhållningen har svårt att ta sig fram. Brandkår/större lastbilar kan inte ta sig fram. Snöröjningen kan inte utföras ... gatusopningen fungerar inte

^{LXV} Original Swedish: ... boende i hela Bromma och Mälaröarna fyller kvarterens smala gator med parkerade bilar, till följd att framkomligheten minskar... Dessa lokalgator är inte byggda för en generation all bredare bilar (SUV), inte heller för en kombination av snörika vintrar och ökad bilism. ...

^{LXVI} Original Swedish: Vi är beroende av bil för att lämna vår son på förskola i Smedslätten. Att åka dit går snabbt och smidigt, men när vi ska tillbaka hamnar vi i den kö som går till Drottningholmsvägen...

^{LXVII} Original Swedish: De nya husen säljs in med "gröna argument". Närheten till t-banan är en av poängerna: "I Stora Mossen kan man bo utan bil". Återigen tom retorik. Om Stadsbyggnadskontoret vill bevara sin trovärdighet måste tillkommande flerbostadshus i Trädgårdsstaden byggas *utan* garage och parkeringsplatser. Ta hem de "gröna argumenten" fullt ut: "Välkommen hit – utan bil". Stora Mossen klarar inte av mer trafik.

^{LXVIII} Original Swedish: **Vi kräver att fastigheterna följer marknivån, befintlig arkitektur i området, höjden minskas med minst tre våningsplan, bredden och djupet på huskropparna minskas betydligt liksom balkongernas storlek, position och riktning. Dessa måste prövas utifrån befintliga fastigheters position, läge och utformning.**

^{LXIX} Original Swedish: Skulle planerna på byggnation fortskrida måste därför utformningen anpassas för en store harmoni med existerande bebyggelse, **framförallt bör höjden på husen minskas med minst två våningsplan. Högst fyra våningsplan inklusive suterräng bör tillåtas**

^{LXX} Original Swedish: Som sakägare anser jag att bostadshusen 6-10 inte alls bör uppföras. Jag överensstämmer med samtliga grannar. Naturområdet består av ett tunt jordlager vilket innebär att vid hårt slitage försvinner all låg vegetation. Detta medför också att alla träd, speciellt tallar dör av brist på näring o. vatten

^{LXXI} Original Swedish: Om nu mot förmodan denna del ska bebyggas måste husen flyttas närmare T-banespårerna. Skogen närmare T-banespårerna är mindre värdefull... På det sättet räddas stora delar av den värdefulla skogen till gagn för alla.

^{LXXII} Original Swedish: Ev. bostadsrättsinnehavare (75 familjer) boende i bostadshuset 6-10 kommer att se naturområdet söder mot Hermelinstigen som sin bakgård, vilket skulle medföra för stor förslitning av området och störande ljudnivåer med grillning, cykel- och moped-åkning m.m. ... Detta ni gör nu, är samma sak som gjordes i Amerika, att stjäla land från indianerna

^{LXXIII} Original Swedish: Vårt hus ligger bredvid stadens mark och om den ska exploateras är i slutändan ett politiskt beslut. **Men det är samtidigt inte acceptabelt att lägga fem-sexvåningshus ett fåtal meter från befintliga villatomter.** Även om växtligheten täcker en del under sommarmånaderna kommer vår trädgård att vara som en teaterscen inramad av balkonger Husen ligger inte längre bort än en vanlig villatomt! ... Lägre hus skulle avsevärt minska olägenheten av byggnationen

^{LXXIV} Original Swedish: För det första är avståndet från vår fastighet Dämnet 4 till angränsande fastighet (Huskropp 5) ca 8 meter, med hänsyn tagen till planerade balkonger. **Att ens fundera på flervåningshus som möter villabyggnation med 8 meters mellanrum är helt barockt!** Samtliga balkonger och lägenheter skulle ha **direkt insyn** - och skulle dessutom ser ner på - vår fastighet, på vår balkong och hela vår trädgård eftersom de ligger i samma nivå eller högre än vår fastighet. Vår fastighet vätter mot Stora Mossens backe. Det är som att bo och leva direkt på en öppen area – **en teaterscen.**

^{LXXV} Transcript: J: jag har försökt köpa tomten här bredvid så klart va, för att vi inte ska kunna få bebyggelse, för att kunna bara ha den, men... man måste ju få markanvisning för att göra det då och det... och det är ju rätt av staden att hålla i den då om den kan men om de nu inte hade något annat att göra med den...

I: Väntaväntavänta...nu hann jag inte med, du försökte köpa loss en bit av allmänning för att freda den?

J: Ja, ja , självklart bara låta den va som den är... och för att det har varit då och då diskussioner om vad man ska göra med den tomten... och då tänkte jag att jag kan ju köpa och aldrig göra något på den, bara för att ha den och veta att det är allmänning där ... det har varit flera grannar på andra sidan också som velat köpa tomten, och det är väl bra om man gör det men... de sa bara nej [på sbk].

^{LXXVI} Original Swedish: Tänk efter före. Stora Mossen får inte bli ett nytt Tensta, Botkyrka. Köp mark av Ekerö, där det finns enorma fält att bygga på utan att skövla träd... en del mark utmed tunnelbanan Ängbyplan – Åkeshov – Islandstorget

^{LXXVII} Transcript: I: Det låter ambitiöst, tror du att ni kan genomföra det?

Y:... jag vet inte men det är ditåt... vi ska se till att vi driver för det är då det lyfter, för det handlar ju inte längre om not in my backyard, och det är det vi är intresserade av, det är inte det, det här är större, det handlar om hela området...

^{LXXVIII} Original Swedish: ... att den faktiska planeringen av nya bostäder i Stockholm inte – tvärtom vad nog de flesta av oss tror – utgår från tjänstemän... I realiteten... utgår den faktiska planläggningen från byggbolagen... drivna av vinstintressen som uppvaktar staden och "säljer in" sina idéer... staden verkar sakna tillräckliga kontrollmekanismer... för att kritiskt granska byggbolagens idéer och förslag

^{LXXIX} Original Swedish: Om det är NCC som bekostar framtagande av detaljplanen kanske man inte ska bli så förvånad? Men går det inte att bygga våningar med vindskaraktär och takterrasser mot väster högst upp. Kvälls eftermiddagssol borde ge bättre pris än stekande söderläge. Dessutom får de stackars kringboende grannarna mindre insyn rakt uppifrån in i sina egna hus.

^{LXXX} Original Swedish: I samtalet på samrådet framkom att det är byggbolagen snarare än stadsbyggnadskontoret som tar initiativ till var det ska byggas. Självklart väljer byggföretagen då Bromma där bostadspriserna är höga... Vi blev förvånade när vi insåg att samtliga personer som var med på vårt samrådsmöte var avlönade/finansierade av NCC.

^{LXXXI} Original Swedish: Byggekostnaden för en lägenhet av här planerad typ ligger uppskattningsvis på 25,000 kr per kvadratmeter vilket betyder maximalt – 2 milj kr för en genomsnittlig lägenhet om 80 kvadratmeter, men försäljningspriset för bostadsrätterna – ligger runt 4 till 5 miljoner/st. Om man *försiktigtvis* antar en nettovinst

på 2.5 milj kr per lägenhet så hamnar vi på en svindlande nivå av 300 milj kr i vinst för hela projektet om 129 lägenheter

^{LXXXII} Transcript: A: ...över 90 procent tror jag av rösterna i fullmäktige...

N: Med undantag av miljöpartiet

A: Och kanske några enstaka som går emot partilinjen, men det är en väldigt stark majoritet för inte bara det här utan det mesta annat.

N: Det tror jag faktiskt, om de inte har vunnit röster så har de åtminstone vunnit lite sympatier här miljöpartiet, för de har varit med här när vi träffats och diskuterat...

A: ja de har kommit på våra möten i högre utsträckning, de har hjälpt oss med råd hur vi ska lägga upp argumentationen och hur vi ska... ja det är ju lite intressant för här är, femtio procent röstar väl på moderaterna som bor här och tjugo procent på folkpartiet hehe....

N: det är en oerhört stabil borgerlig majoritet här, eller dominant borgerlig majoritet... i valkretsen... men det kan möjligtvis skaka lite...

^{LXXXIII} Transcript W: ...men det är ju de som har röstat fram den här regeringen som har bestämt att det ska byggas här, så de får vända sig till dom, de kan inte skylla på någon annan regering, så jag tycker att de ska vara tacksamma att de bygger här, de har ju röstat på den politiken...

^{LXXXIV} Transcript: J... vi kan fajtas för vårt område men man kan inte lyfta för högt, sakna konkreta exempel och människor.

I: Det låter som ni är både en lokal intresseorganisation en, det här är förmodligen inte rätt ord men, en massrörelse?

J: Vi är en lokal intressegrupp... vi utgår från trädgårdsstaden, fast tidigare ännu mindre... på hög nivå är det siffrorna som gäller...

...

I: Men med såna här... ja alternativa lösningar... finns det inte risk för att man slår en kil in i gruppen?

J: det har redan varit så kan jag säga, att man försökt göra det och det kanske man gör det får vi se men jag... vi har lyft på nivån genom att titta på hela trädgårdsstaden och då är det svårare... men det är klart om du sen tänker såhär fastighetsnämnden fattar ett beslut som sa att ja vi kan tänka oss att bygga här... men inte så mycket på den här sidan som på den andra och det är ju en kil som man slår in... men jag menar vårt engagemang har ju inte minskat bara för att de inte bygger här eller där, det spelar ingen roll, jag vill inte ha något bygge här det är ju helt överens om... säkert är det nån som säger att nu får det va... men jag tror inte det.... sen om vi kommer att driva det här vidare om två år vet jag inte ... det finns nya idéer, då ska man lämna över...

I: så, gruppen består men de som finns i den ändras.

J: det vet man aldrig... hur en sån här grupp utvecklas...

^{LXXXV} Transcript: Y: Nej, det är ingen risk för det för att det här handlar inte om två olika områden i Stora Mossens backe, utan det här handlar om hela trädgårdsstadstanken...

I: Så genom att lyfta det..?

Y: vi kommer att lyfta det och vi kommer att lyfta det ännu mer därför jag tror till och med att det här är utav riksintresse, och om vi kan få det här till att vara ett riksintresse då kommer ju inte ens Stockholms stad att kunna få besluta om vad de kan bygga och inte bygga i det här området, utan då kommer det här upp på riksplplanet och då är det länsstyrelsen som beslutar...

^{LXXXVI} Original Swedish: Jag har varit i städer – nästan alla i u-länder – där 100% av all mark tagits i anspråk för bebyggelse och trafik. Hela städer som getton – boendemaskiner är ett alltför positivt ord! Det är sorgligt och inte människovärdigt. ... De flesta människor planerar sitt boende för en livstid. Man försöker, att få till det så bra som möjligt utifrån sina resurser och värderingar.

^{LXXXVII} Transcript: L: jag förhåller mig neutral, jag ser ju många fördelar och nackdelar.

I: såsom?

L: Nej men jag tycker alltså, det är ju väldigt trafikerat därnere och skulle man då bygga några hyreshus eller bostadsrätter... så skulle väl inte det störa på något sätt... jag ser inte alls hur det skulle störa, och så blir det bostäder för folk, det är otroligt bra kommunikationer, eh. Alltså på det viset ser jag bara en massa fördelar med att det byggs bostäder här, jättebra. Sen finns det givetvis nackdelar, i synnerhet för de som har angränsande tomter, de tycker säkert att det är förskräckligt... sen så, att bo nära en byggarbetsplats... det pågående arbetet kan jag ju inte säga att jag ser fram emot... men om man bortser från dom som bor intill och byggnationstiden så...

^{LXXXVIII} Transcript: G: ...då skulle jag söka bygglov och bygga en två meter hög mur runt hela tomten och acceptera att min villa blivit ett townhouse...

^{LXXXIX} Transcript M: Jag personligen tycker väl bygg. Nånstans i Stockholm måste ju folk bo och jag tycker den här inställningen att alla tycker att man ska bygga i Stockholm men inte just där jag bor... det är väl tråkigt om de bygger massa förträngningar och försämringar men jag tror nånstans att man måste ändå vara med i utvecklingen, jag kommer inte lida så mycket av det kanske som husen på andra sidan gatan. det som kommer hända eventuellt är att det är några hus som kommer sticka upp, det kanske blir lite bulleravskiljning från vägen, det är väl det enda... det är inte så att jag är överlycklig att de bygger här, men jag accepterar att så ska det vara...

...antingen accepterar man att börja bygga på höjden redan nu i Stockholm eller så blir det en framtida generations problem att bygga på höjden...det finns ju då de bakåtsträvare som inte vill att Stockholm ska bygga på höjden för att profilen för Stockholm... jag tror inte den förstörs av att man bygger lite på höjden också... jag skulle tycka det var kul med en stad som inte var ett museum vilket jag då elakt kan tycka att de som inte vill bygga på höjden... skall bevara hela stan...

^{XC} Transcript: E: Fyra våningar? Peh!

D: Jamen, de här här borta är det ju ingen som blir drabbad av dom egentligen, härborta, kanske här men...

E: Nej, men vi vill inte se det genom... vi vill inte se fyra våningar lägenheter här.

I: Men, husen i Abrahamsberg är väl cirka fyra våningar, tre fyra så.

D: Mmm

E: Men de var här när vi köpte huset, så det...