



# A Seamless City

– Female Textile Workers in the  
Urban Fabric of Malmö

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*Sömlös stad? En undersökning av textilarbeterskorna i Malmös stadsväv*

Sara Saleh

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

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# Abstract

This thesis examines how the historical presence of female textile industry workers can be envisaged in the urban landscape of Malmö. With the background of Malmö's urban history and transformation from an industrial town to a "City of Knowledge", and an autoethnographic method based on a framework of Critical Normativity, two case studies are performed. The first one is on the stockings factory Malmö Strumpfabrik AB and the second on the chocolate factory Marabouparken in Sundbyberg.

Women have played a major role in building the city of Malmö, but it remains coded in masculine terms. The city is dominated by the large-scale structures surrounding the docks, the extensive roads connecting these workplaces to the suburbs and thus the workers' residences, as well as a grey industrial landscape that lies just around the bend from most of the residential areas in the city. At first glance Malmö is not a city characterised by the presence of a female workforce. Taking part of the heritage of their historical presence in the environments where they operated is a challenge today, as these have effectively been hidden by commerce and large parking lots. Nonetheless, the role women played in building the fortune that was necessary for the city to become what it is today, cannot be overemphasized. Urban planning for the self-proclaimed "City of Knowledge" ought to affirm this.

This paper seeks to envisage the potential of Malmö Strumpfabrik AB and the possibility of making the history of the female textile workers present in the urban fabric of the city today. The narrative and history of Strumpan and Marabou, the materiality of their present and historical conditions, and my own walking through this, figuratively and factually, exposes a potential in recognising the history of the female textile workers of Malmö through integrating Malmö Strumpfabrik AB in the present urban fabric. Using a corresponding and prestigious site of a female dominated industrial workplace enables an envisaging of how Malmö can materialise this significant history of its textile legacy.

The autoethnographic method and the framework of critical normativity open an array of potentials for understanding how the vernacular landscape manifests in the lives of the inhabitants. Further research into how critical normativity can be utilised in envisaging the heterogenic urban landscape of Malmö is necessary, both from a historical and contemporary perspective.



# Table of Contents

Introduction	<a href="#">Background: Urban Space and the industry..... 9</a> <a href="#">Female Textile Workers in Malmö ..... 9</a> <a href="#">Urban Planning and Female Labour..... 9</a> <a href="#">Malmö: From an Industrial Town to the City of Knowledge..... 10</a> <a href="#">Aim and Research Question ..... 13</a> <a href="#">Method and Material ..... 13</a> <a href="#">Disposition ..... 13</a> <a href="#">Autoethnographic Theory ..... 16</a> <a href="#">Framework for Critical Normativity ..... 17</a> <a href="#">Scope and Limitations ..... 19</a>
Part I	<a href="#">The Textile Industry in Malmö. Case Study: Strumpan ..... 21</a> <a href="#">Summary of Findings ..... 23</a>
Part II	<a href="#">An Autoethnographic Study of Strumpan ..... 25</a> <a href="#">Summary of Findings ..... 46</a>
Part III	<a href="#">Work and Recreation. Historical Review of Marabouparken. 47</a> <a href="#">Summary of Findings ..... 52</a>
Part IV	<a href="#">Autoethnographic Analysis: Marabou..... 55</a> <a href="#">Summary of Findings ..... 84</a>
Envisaging a Seamless City	<a href="#">The Setting..... 85</a> <a href="#">Weaving the Threads..... 86</a> <a href="#">History in Place ..... 86</a> <a href="#">Place and Female Labour ..... 86</a> <a href="#">Site Encounters ..... 88</a> <a href="#">Drawing and Photography..... 90</a> <a href="#">Implications..... 91</a> <a href="#">Limitations, Practice and Further Research ..... 92</a> <a href="#">Concluding Remarks ..... 95</a> <a href="#">References..... 96</a>



# Introduction

## Background: Urban Space and the Industry

### Female Textile Workers in Malmö

Women have played a major role in building the city of Malmö, but it remains coded in masculine terms. The city is dominated by the large-scale structures surrounding the docks, the extensive roads connecting these workplaces to the suburbs and thus the workers' residences, as well as a grey industrial landscape that lies just around the bend from most residential areas in the city. At first glance Malmö is not a city characterised by the presence of a female workforce. Taking part of the heritage of their historical presence in the environments in which they operated, is a challenge today. These have been effectively hidden by commerce and large parking lots. Nonetheless, the role women played in building the fortune that was necessary for the city to become what it is today, cannot be overemphasised. Therefore, urban planning for the self-proclaimed "City of Knowledge" (Vall 2007; Sernhede et al. 2006; Möllerström 2011) ought to affirm this.

### Urban Planning and Female Labour

In the chapter "A Woman's Place" from *Geography Matters* (1984), Linda McDowell and Doreen Massey present a case of how the development of the British society during the nineteenth century changed the relationship between capitalist modes of production and gender roles. This relationship was explored within a wide range of fields, including agriculture, the textile industry, as well as coalfields.

In the chapter "Industrial Restructuring Versus the Cities", Richard A. Meegan discusses the consequences of the decline in manufacturing in cities (Meegan 1994). According to Meegan, the dominating discourse in current research is far too concerned with spatial effects (Meegan 1994). The consequence of this is that even the causes of the decline are defined in spatial terms (Meegan 1994).

Rather than a one-sided focus on urban planning and the character of the individuals inhabiting this urbanity, Meegan states that a clearer view of cause and effect can be found if the consequences on the local scale are understood in relation to questions of national and international economics (Meegan 1994).

In the book "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work" (1980), Dolores Hayden presents a radical notion of how architecture and urban planning have thus far implied and been based on a division of labour that

constrains women within the home (Hayden 1980). This, she argues, has not created nearly as much debate as how the capitalist economy has shaped the very core of the American city, or how the dependency on the automobile and land division has been defining for urban planning (Hayden 1980). The cities have made great use of the female workforce but failed to provide decent living conditions for them. An example of this is the lack of transportation possibilities in a male dominated, automobile dependent society. Or even more so in the housing structures of the suburban sprawl, almost solely created to suit the nuclear family and a household economy catered for by the male salary (Hayden 1980).

## **Malmö: From an Industrial Town to the City of Knowledge**

### ***The Greatness and Fall of Malmö***

Malmö lost its position as a central trading city within the Danish Kingdom when the city was incorporated into Sweden in 1658, resulting in a relative decline during the 18th century (Vall 2007). During the early 19th century, only 5% of the Swedish population lived in cities (Vall 2007). This changed drastically in the coming decades (Vall 2007).

Despite the relative decline during the 18th century, Malmö had become the third largest port town in Sweden and a centre for international trade by 1850 (Vall 2007). This position was further strengthened during the 19th century after the construction of a new port (Vall 2007). Kockums Mekaniska Verkstad (Kockums Mechanical Industry), founded in 1840, was important for Malmö's early industrial economy (Vall 2007). In 1860, Malmö had twenty thousand inhabitants (Vall 2007).

Around the turn of the century, Malmö, along with Norrköping, became Sweden's leading industrial city (Sernhede et al. 2006). It was primarily companies of prefabricated leather and textile goods that formed the basis for this development: Malmö Skofabrik (Malmö Shoe Factory), Malmö Läderfabrik (Malmö Leather Factory), Malmö Mekaniska Tricotfabrik (MMT, Malmö Mechanical Tricot Factory) and Manufakturaktiebolaget (MAB, Malmö Manufacturing Incorporated) (Sernhede et al. 2006).

Apart from the dominating leather and textile industry, the city was also home to a smaller food industry, metal and engineering, as well as the main repair industry for Sweden's railroads (Sernhede et al. 2006). In 1910, Malmö was responsible for over ten thousand jobs in 326 factories (Vall 2007).

Like Gothenburg's business model, Malmö was based on large-scale industries and domestic production, characterised by large scale manufacturing, poorly developed technology, unskilled labour and assembly lines (Sernhede et al. 2006). The economic crisis of the 1970's hit this industrial profile hard, and the city was not able to implement the necessary restructuring measures to counter the consequences (Sernhede et al. 2006).

The crisis deepened in the early 1990's in virtually every industry, after which more than 25% of jobs disappeared (Sernhede et al. 2006). By 1993, over 16% of the population was registered as unemployed (Sernhede et al. 2006).

### *New Possibilities in the Post-War Period*

Malmö was characterised as a city with a predominant male working-class culture, but this image was challenged after 1945 (Vall 2007). During the “golden years”, Malmö experienced rapid growth, with a population increase from 150,000 in 1940 to almost 230,000 in 1960 (Vall 2007). It was during this period that Malmö established itself as one of Sweden’s most culturally and ethnically diverse cities (Vall 2007). New and increasing job opportunities for women was one of the most decisive social and economic development trends during the post-war period (Vall 2007). In Malmö, heavy industries were associated with a deeply masculine culture (Vall 2007).

### *In the Wake of Deindustrialization*

Just over a decade after the economic crisis of the 1970’s, Malmö was hit hard by factory closures (Möllerström 2011). In addition, rising unemployment rates and increased refugee quotas led to large budget deficits (Möllerström 2011). Recession, unemployment and pessimism characterised not only people’s attitudes towards Malmö during the 1990’s, but also the urban environment (Sernhede et al. 2006). The city was left with what Sernhede and others called “bomb holes” or “craters”: undeveloped plots of land that littered the city, traces of which still exist today (Sernhede et al. 2006, p. 36).

In the wake of deindustrialisation, each city’s municipal administration pursued a plethora of strategies to diminish the growing stigma surrounding urban and industrial decline, with a focus on enhancing the portrayal of their city in national media (Vall 2007). The municipal administration in Malmö encouraged and subsidised the marketing of what has come to be known as the “cultural sector” (Vall 2007, p. 23). The aim was to keep pace with other post-industrial Western European cities, by challenging the stigma and redefining the city identity (Vall 2007).

### *Vision 2000*

In 1995, the politicians on the municipal board began an extensive production of a new objective and ideal for the city, known as “Vision 2000” (Möllerström 2011, p. 18). The austerity that was pushed through after the crisis of the 1990’s gave rise to political and ideological conflicts that the politicians wanted to avoid. They did this by labelling the vision as an “apolitical” venture, something to be implemented by public servants and not politically affiliated board members (Möllerström 2011, p. 18).

A strong wind of change characterised Malmö in the early 2000’s. This is evident in the architecture, plans for building new city entrances, an emerging student life and a slight economic and cultural growth (Sernhede et al. 2006). This is most discernible in the establishment of Malmö University, the Öresund bridge and the famous housing fair Bo01, collectively constituting the emergence of Malmö as “The City of Knowledge” (Möllerström 2011, p. 18). With this turnaround, the municipality began devoting considerable effort into attracting technological companies to further their reach into international markets (Sernhede et al. 2006).

### *Storytelling*

Vall argues that transitioning from an industrial to a post-industrial society requires an approach to renewal that strengthens the distinctive qualities and attractiveness of urban culture, thereby attracting tourists and investments (2007). Malmö itself, now led by Ilmar Reepalu, aimed to create a consensus in the internal organisation through a process

known as “storytelling”: a popular strategy that organisations implement to strengthen or reshape a culture by conveying specific values (Möllerström 2011, p. 25).

Malmö municipality began using “storytelling” to narrate the past and to formulate a future that the organisation desired (Möllerström 2011). According to Möllerström, the story can serve several parallel functions: it defines goals and ideals, motivates employees, and extends to a global audience and other stakeholders (2011). According to Sernhede et al. (2006), these strategies are a means of encouraging the city’s financial position and divert from previous purposes of the city: management and fair distribution of a territory’s resources. Instead, the city is seen as an engine of growth; “a place where political possibilities are created for those who wish to invest capital, start construction projects, or build skyscrapers” (Sernhede et al. 2006, p. 37).

According to Sernhede et al. (2006), the urban space is aestheticised in various ways to create a brand of the city. Examples include the renewal of the inner city, investing in a landmark, or redeveloping former industrial and port areas to promote tourism (Sernhede et al. 2006).

### *The City and its Inhabitants*

The identity crisis of Malmö was triggered by the city’s economic collapse which in turn sparked the extensive transformation and re-profiling (Möllerström 2011). Crises are an opportunity to formulate new practices and visions for the future. In the case of Malmö, the end of the industrial city marked the beginning of the design towards becoming The City of Knowledge (Möllerström 2011). The vision of the City of Knowledge goes beyond the local context of Malmö and is rather characterised by the late modern and entrepreneurial discourses that shape the urban transformations of today (Möllerström 2011).

The image of the ideal Malmö resident and of how the city should be designed is created in what Möllerström calls “the creativity discourse” (Möllerström 2011, pp. 114-115). This permeates everything from managerial documents to marketing material, promoting consumption of all that the city has to offer. In the long run, this will attract a certain type of inhabitant that has the financial means to contribute to the (ideally) increasing prosperity of the city and its citizens (Möllerström 2011). It will also reshape urban space to mediate “an attractive atmosphere that spurs innovation” (Möllerström 2011, pp.114-115).

The materialisation and branding of the City of Knowledge is expressed through the previously built, refurbished and newly built urban environment; the physical components are arranged in a specific way to direct the inhabitants’ perceptions and interpretations (Möllerström 2011). This rationale does not only characterise the design of the urban space. Möllerström argues that the residents of Malmö are expected to undergo the same rational transformation as the material urban spaces they inhabit, induced by the same global urban planning discourse rather than Malmö’s specific conditions, and thereby “(become) a cosmopolitan” (Möllerström 2011, p.211).



### *Public Space and the Narrative of the City*

The city's public spaces, with their buildings, streets and squares, carry stories about the struggles that have taken place there. The stories include the city's urban history, collective memories, its politics and economics (Sernhede et al 2006). The monolithic story about the city risks concealing the narratives that have shaped the urban space, creating a disparity between the inhabitants' experience of the city and its official image (Sernhede et al 2006).

## Aim and Research Question

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the knowledge base on the role female textile workers have played in the urban development of Malmö and to suggest how the city can better recognise this historical experience. This requires both research through written sources and design practice in terms of spatial analysis, in order to suggest ways to envisage this role.

The research question is as follows:

How can the historical presence of the female textile industry workers be envisaged in the urban landscape of Malmö?

## Method and Material

### Disposition

This paper is divided into several parts. The material for each of these is either collected through a method of a literature study, an autoethnographic analysis, or both. The different parts are described below, followed by a further description of the literature applied and the methods used.

### *Introduction.*

Like most Europe's industrial cities, especially those largely dependent on the shipyard industry, Malmö has experienced a thorough transformation from the manufacturing city it was during most of the twentieth century, to the post-industrial city it is today. The urban structuring and associated recreation of the female dominated workplace of the textile industry is presented through an industrial historical lens to narrate the genderification of the city. Thereby, the stockings factory is placed in a context of its wider societal and historical premises and tied to the developments of its location in Malmö.

In order to understand the role that female textile industry workers have played in the industrial and post-industrial planning of the city of Malmö, the first part of the method was mainly composed of a literature study in urban history, focusing on the change from the former industrial city to the so-called City of Knowledge – or “kunskapsstad” – of today. The most important texts that have been used here are:

Natasha Vall: *Cities in Decline? A Comparative History of Malmö and Newcastle*,  
Inne och ute i Malmö – Studier av urbana förändringsprocesser by editors Ebba Lisberg Jensen and Pernilla Ouis,  
Storstadens omvandlingar – Postindustrialism, globalisering och migration, Göteborg

och Malmö, edited by Ove Sernhede and Thomas Johansson ,  
För några kvinnor tycks aldrig ha bott i Malmö – om synlighet, erkännande och genus  
i berättelser om Malmö, by Irene Andersson, and  
Malmö's omvandling – Från arbetarstad till kunskapsstad, by Veselinka Möllerström

This is complemented with a summary of notable papers on urban planning and female labour, to place the female workers of Malmö in a wider context. These are:

Doreen Massey and Richard A. Meegan on Industrial Restructuring versus the Cities,  
Uneven Development: Social Change and Spatial Divisions of Labour by Doreen  
Massey, and  
Dolores Hayden on What Would a Non-sexist City Be Like? Speculations on housing,  
urban design and human work.

### *Part I: The Textile industry in Malmö. Case Study: Strumpan*

In order to identify the role of female industrial workers in Malmö's urban planning, a historical account was made of both the textile industry in Malmö and the factory of Strumpfabriken AB.

A literature review of primarily secondary sources on the history of the textile industry in Malmö was performed, with a specific focus on the history of Malmö Strumpfabrik AB. The main source here was a study by Tony Arnér for Malmö Museums.

### *Part II: An Autoethnographic Study of Strumpan*

The autoethnographic analysis focused on the area surrounding the former factory building of Malmö Strumpfabrik AB is performed. This case study deepens the understanding of the spatial context of this central place in the textile industry of Malmö. Several points surrounding the building are chosen based on the author's experience of the area and on perspectives deemed interesting for an integrated understanding of the place.

The chosen case study is of the textile factory Strumpfabriken, rather than another or several of the other factories in the city. One could perhaps argue that it would have been more relevant to choose one of the factories in the old city, which from a historical viewpoint, could have been more interesting as the surrounding environments are to a larger extent preserved. In the end, Strumpan was chosen because the environment in which it is situated is intriguing, especially its grand scale and slightly unpleasant character. In addition, Strumpfabriken was one of the largest factories in Malmö, employing a vast number of workers and was in operation during a large part of the twentieth century. This makes it historically significant in terms of the urban development of Malmö, but also serves as an important point in the city for many of its inhabitants today. The contrast in Strumpfabrikens historical significance and its present physical circumstances create a collision that is necessary to untangle, or, at least, document.

At each chosen point, four sketches are made in the cardinal directions. Each being time-limited and at least one of the four cardinal perspectives include a part, or the entirety, of the factory. The purpose is, aside from collecting autoethnographical data, to create a representation of the space that makes up Strumpan and its surroundings. A representation of the spatiality of the landscape can also be obtained by working in plan or through sections, but

the priority is in making an autoethnographic analysis based on Kajsa Lawaczeck Körner's method. She collects her data by actively participating in the landscape, keeping notes of thoughts and impressions as they arise. The perspective sketching used in this method constitute a counterpart to this, in a way that a section or a plan cannot do, as they are to a greater extent dependent on retroactive editing of the material. The sketch is timed to two minutes in each of the cardinal directions, in order to limit the amount of detail collected. This will in turn limit the workload and facilitate a retrospective reading of the sketches. The sketches are made on A5-paper with a black ink pen.

### ***Part III: Work and Recreation. Marabouparken. Historical Review of the Chocolate Factory.***

An example of how the surrounding environment of the workplace can be developed to provide workers with a resting place of a more sustainable character can be found in Marabou Park – Marabouparken – in Sundbyberg, outside of Stockholm. It is one of the earliest examples of how modernist ideals of healthy environments entered the workplace. Even though the factory is not in use today, the park has been preserved. This part is made up of a literature study of the history of Marabouparken.

Together with the following autoethnographic study (part IV), the historical study of Marabouparken offers a perspective on how and to what extent a workplace, with its associated recreational possibilities, can create a distinguished spatial as well as societal presence in a city.

It is a dramatically different workplace in terms of its production and promotion of the exterior landscape, as well as its status in the historical development in a nationwide context. By looking at Strumpan, through the lens of Marabouparken, the research question on envisaging the historical presence of the female textile workers in Malmö can be answered in a more convergent manner.

Another female dominated textile factory, for instance one of many located in the city of Norrköping, well-known for its textile industry, would have been a good candidate for approaching Strumpan. The status of Marabouparken in a landscape architectural context, as well as in industrial and business history, is evident in the magnitude of literature and other material available about the company. This was a reason for including Marabou.

Another is that the two workplaces share similar circumstances. The size of their workforce and dominating gender of the employees are such factors. Forced migration because of war and persecution by the Nazis, altered the ethnic diversity of the workforce of Strumpan (see Arnér 2004; Vall 2007). In the east, unemployment and poverty in Finland resulted in an emigration westward, to a prosperous Sweden struggling to meet a growing demand for labour (Maingourd 2016). This in turn affected the ethnic diversity of Marabou. Marabou and Strumpan also share common grounds in that they took influence from trends in Europe and the US and were successful in their marketing strategies (see Arnér 2004; Throne-Holst 1978).

These conjoined factors facilitate in deducing the landscape architectural presence and potential of Strumpan despite the limited amount of information available about the immediate exterior landscape of the stockings factory.

#### *Part IV: An Autoethnographic Study of Marabouparken*

An autoethnographic analysis (see Körner 2016) is performed on Marabouparken in order to gain an understanding of the physical circumstances and spatial structure of the park. This part is made up of photographs taken in the cardinal directions at several points that are deemed interesting in Marabouparken. These are complemented retrospectively with a summary of the experiences at each point, as opposed to every view in that point, as is the case with the autoethnographic analysis of Strumpan.

#### *Final part: Envisaging a Seamless City*

The discussion and analysis tie together the results of the different parts to the theoretical foundation in the introduction. This part sees a potential in applying critical normativity in urban design in order to cater for the needs in a heterogeneous city like Malmö. The term “envisaging”, is a verb, defined as

“to contemplate; visualise”, “to conceive of as a possibility in the future; foresee”, and in archaic terms, to confront or “to look in the face of; face” (Collins English Dictionary 2021). This part explores the possibilities of creating a greater historical presence of the female textile industry workers in Malmö and suggests ways to realise these.

## Theory

### Autoethnography

According to Heewon Chang, professor in education and anthropology at Eastern University, Pennsylvania, and author of several books on autoethnography, the method of autoethnography is a variation of contemporary self-narratives that are used within the humanities and social sciences (Chang, 2008). Autoethnography stems from anthropology, but compared to other self-narrative methods, it is not solely a narrative as it also incorporates cultural analysis and interpretation (Chang 2008). Autoethnography is qualitative in its nature, using self-narration as material for further analysis of society (Chang 2008).

Chang further discusses how all of anthropology is concerned with the self and that the development of autoethnography in fact isn't new. What characterises autoethnography is the “intentional self-reflexivity” (Chang 2008, p. 45). Despite a widespread interest in self-ethnography, there is an equally prevalent critique of it (Chang 2008). In fact, Chang refers to the fierceness of the division between the autoethnography advocates and their opponents as a “tug of war” (Chang 2008, p. 45).

Chang exemplifies this through the critique from an adversary who describes self-reflexivity as being a “postmodern obsession” that hinders progress in the field (Salzman 2002, p.45, see Chang 2008). The reason for this, according to the adversary, is that data collection and analysis ought to be systematic and possible to replicate by other researchers, thereby making it objective and truly scientific. Self-reflexivity does not allow this and thereby it hinders progress in the field of anthropology (Salzman 2002 see Chang 2008).

Some advocates of autoethnography understand culture as something that takes place within the individual or in the individual's interaction with the world and others. As the individual is the smallest unit of a culture, self-reflexive research becomes a necessary means of investigating a culture (Chang 2008).

The dispute surrounding autoethnography is not limited to that of its validity as a method (Chang 2008). The degree of subjectivity is also contested, where some researchers call for a strict framework, with several conditions that a researcher must meet in order to be of any relevance (Chang 2008). For another group of researchers, the opposite to objectivity is proposed; the autoethnographic method requires an expressive and engaging narration with a greater degree of subjectivity (Chang 2008).

The term autoethnography has referred to different methods by different researchers (Chang 2008). The prefix "auto" has referred to the subjects studied, the participants, likeminded researchers or to those the researcher has been able to identify themselves with (Chang 2008). Today, the greatest controversy is on the "auto-" referring to the researcher's self (Chang 2008). However, which weight this prefix is given vis à vis the other elements in the term; "-ethno- and "-graphy", determines the type of autoethnography used (Ellis & Bochner 2000 see Chang 2008). "Auto-" refers to the (researcher) self, "-ethno-" to culture and "-graphy" to the research process. Together, these elements form a triad of three axes which offer a vast number of differing combinations, and thus variations in the final research method used (Ellis & Bochner 2000 see Chang 2008).

## Framework: Critical Normativity

In her dissertation *Walking Along, Wandering Off and Going Astray* (2016) at the Department of Architecture and Built Environment, in The Faculty of Engineering of Lund, Kajsa Lawaczek Körner develops an approach and method to study vernacular architecture from her own subjective perspective, as a pedestrian and researcher (Körner 2016). The method combines autoethnographic practice with queer feminist and feminist theory and consists of three parts (Körner 2016). The first is an exploratory investigation of the urban landscape, which she calls *Going Astray*. The second is a data collection technique of diary notes of her material experience of the landscape, referred to as *A Walk Diary*, that also includes deviations in the form of memories of experiences of the materiality of other landscapes. The third is the theoretical framework, *Critical Normativity* (Körner 2016).

The dissertation is based on the notion that urban planning is not a neutral act (Körner 2016). Körner writes:

"Planning and design of space is a way to control the usage of it. This is always conducted from a certain position - a position of institutionalized regulations and personal opinions, expressing norms. (...) This way norms will affect the process of design and planning as well as be expressed through the organization of space" (Körner 2016, p.17).

Our experiences of, and movement within, the urban and architectural spaces are not uniform (Körner 2016). They are influenced by the intentions of the architects and planners, often encouraging inhabitants to act according to certain norms and other times encouraging the pedestrians' independent interpretations (Körner 2016). The urban space is always also subject to a negotiation by the pedestrian, choosing to follow norms or contradict them

(Körner 2016). The multitude of ways in which inhabitants relate to these norms, conventions and occasionally impositions in the vernacular landscape is a possibility for the planner and architect. A possibility to develop a more comprehensive approach to planning (Körner 2016).

The theoretical foundation of the method combines critical theories from the following three scholars: Sara Ahmed, researcher in cultural and race studies, Judith Butler, researcher in gender theory and philosophy, and Donna Haraway, science and technology researcher (Körner 2016). Besides these three scholars, Körner has used a myriad of researchers associated with, or in some way touching on, the intersection between space production and critical theory (Körner 2016).

The following papers by above named scholars offer Körner a foundation for the critical terminology she relates to in her thesis:

“Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective” (1988) and “Simians, cyborgs, and women: the reinvention of nature” (1991), by Donna Haraway.

Sara Ahmed’s “Queer phenomenology: orientations, objects, others” (2006), “Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory” (1988), “Undoing Gender” (2004), “Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of “sex”” (2011), and lastly, by Judith Butler: “Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics” (2009).

Körner (2016) applies Haraway’s critical theory of Situated Knowledges and Partial Perspectives in her critical normativity and walking approach, by acknowledging the possibility of having several perspectives at once. Körner combines this with the theory by Ahmed on Situatedness, which refers to how place is never neutral but always defined by our positioning and movement through space (Ahmed 2006).

Through Haraway’s theory of Situated Knowledges (1988 see Körner 2016), the subjective position is neither unobjective nor relativistic in character. Haraway covers one perspective or many, sometimes contradictory, but neither implies that everything is relative nor that materialistic conditions do not exist (Haraway 1988 see Körner 2016). What she suggests is quite the contrary. Situated knowledges mean that the researcher, pedestrian or inhabitant is responsible for their own perspectives. In fact, Haraway holds the privileged with their one-sided, all-encompassing perspective responsible (Haraway 1988 see Körner 2016). Applied to walking, Körner writes:

“(By) addressing the heterogeneity of walk preferences and desires—acknowledging deviations and contradictions instead of erasing them—existing conventions and methods for design of urban space, that rather seek consensus in pedestrians as a grouped category, are implicitly addressed. (...) Pedestrians not responding to these ideas and needs risk being made invisible, excluded or even considered as undesired.” (Körner 2016, p. 20).

There is a discrepancy between the architectural reading of physical space and gender theorists’ understanding of both the physical and social space. The former lack awareness of the social effects of the physical space, and the latter lack awareness of the architectural space

(Körner 2016). It is in this void Körner places the objective of her dissertation (2016), and with these tools I approach the vernacular landscape of the industrial urban history.

## Scope and Limitations

The use of an autoethnographic method means that a substantial amount of data is left out. Furthermore, other aspects that might not have been a priority if utilising another method for data collection, are here essential. This is part of the essence of the autoethnographic method; it disputes the modern scientific notion of objectivity. Claiming that a study is neutral risks decreasing its credibility, according to the critique that has been fundamental in developing this method (Chang 2008). On the other hand, the presence of the author is palpable, not least through their decision on the locations from where they sketch. Using a grid system defined in advance would eliminate this bias to some extent.

The auto-ethnographic concept and method is relevant in this paper as it sheds light on how a so-called neutral perspective in urban planning can have effects which can be deviant from an original purpose of inclusion. Using autoethnography enables an examining of how urban planning has disregarded, actively or inadvertently, the role of women in the city. In the case of the framework for critical normativity, this potential connects to its foundation on a queer/ feminist critique of how the outcome depends on which perspectives are taken into consideration, and which ones are overlooked.

By analysing Strumpan and Marabouparken using this method, the status of the personal experience of the site of Strumpan and of Marabou can be increased. Hence urban planning can expand beyond the drawing table, through autoethnography, into the lives of the people it aims to include.

This thesis will not take into consideration the preservation of the environments that made up and surrounded the workplaces of the textile industry workers. The historical perspective is focused on, and limited to, that of the development of the urban planning of Malmö. A conservationist perspective is hence not relevant.

There are several cities and towns in Sweden that have been essential for the Swedish textile industry. These smaller towns have witnessed a large impact by the textile industry on the cityscapes. For this reason, they would be important for a study on how Malmö could incorporate such a perspective in its urban planning. Due to the scope of this paper, there will not be such a possibility.

There are also several projects in Canadian cities where a public discussion on the role of the textile industry has been accommodated. This common experience, that in Canada has been further developed, would be of utmost interest in this paper. Gaining experience and inspiration from examples of how architecture and planning have been developed elsewhere is a common method in landscape architecture. However, due to the scope of this paper, this will not be prioritised.

The historical development of the physical surroundings of Strumpan is not something that will be detailed in this paper. Instead, such a direction could increase the risk for the surroundings of this factory to be understood in a museal or nostalgic manner, which would be in direct opposition to exposing the historical and present value of the place. In addition, the space outside of Malmö Strumpfabrik seemed to have a limited position in the lives of the workers. There is little, if any, mention of the outskirts of the factory. This notion is strengthened by the fact that the factory sublet a vacation residence in another part of Skåne, for workers and their families (Arnér 2004). This partly took care of the need for a recreational environment nearby. In the case of Marabouparken, a well-known icon within landscape architecture, the factory's surrounding environment was the priority (Maingourd 2016).



# **Part I: The Textile Industry in Malmö.**

## **Case study: Strumpan**

### **Malmö – a Textile Town**

Malmö Strumpfabrik AB has been an important workplace and one of the largest and most long-lived textile factories during the city's industrialisation process (Vall 2007). The first textile factory in Malmö was established in 1800. By 1855, Malmö's leading shareholder had collaborated to form Malmö's first textile group, Sweden's first shareholder company, Manufakturaktiebolaget (MAB) (Vall 2007). In 1910, this company had as many as 700 employees (Vall 2007). The textile group almost matched Kockums in labour market dominance but differed from the shipbuilding industry in that the female employees constituted an absolute majority (Vall 2007). In 1910, women made up 47% of the city's industrial labour force (Vall 2007).

### **History of the Stockings Factory, Malmö Strumpfabrik AB**

#### **The Creation of Strumpan**

One of the largest textile industries in Malmö was Malmö Strumpfabrik AB. The stocking factory, Strumpan, was started in 1926 by the wholesaler Kurt Levin but was then called Nordiska Strömpefabriken and was initially based in Copenhagen (Arnér 2004). The reason for the move to Sweden was poor profit margins on the Danish side of the strait, as a result of increased costs due to changing customs regulations on imported silk (Arnér 2004).

From the beginning, Malmö Strumpfabrik was run in a small-scale fashion with 7 employees and was located on the premises of Storgatan 20c in central Malmö (Arnér 2004). In 1928, Strumpfabriken acquired competitor AB Silkesindustri and in the spring of 1929 moved to Trelleborgsvägen, with circular knitting machines and the cotton machines accompanying the acquisition (Arnér 2004). Strumpan then remained on Trelleborgsvägen until it was shut, more than half a century later.

During the 1930s, the factory underwent a great expansion. The premises were rebuilt and expanded to accommodate for new machines and people to meet the demands of the growing market (Arnér 2004). Over the course of twelve years the company expanded, employing a workforce of 70 persons in 1927 to an impressive 845 workers as the 40's were approaching (Arnér 2004).

Early on, Malmö Strumpfabrik AB drew influence from the fashion trends of the great cities of Europe, thereby fortifying its role in the clothing market in the region. The French Haute Couture performances also made an impression on Swedish fashion, especially through the marketing strategy of the manufacturers in ritualising the seasons (Arnér 2004). They used seasonal collections to focus on the new clothing range and make the old one out of date. As a result, Strumpan applied specific rules for launching, marketing and sales (Arnér 2004). This way, AB Malmö Strumpfabrik was very successful in its marketing strategy and continued to grow.

## A Time of Crisis

Raw materials and machinery for the stocking factory were a major concern during the Second World War and, as a rule of thumb, everything was imported from the warring or occupied countries (Arnér 2004). For Malmö Strumpfabrik, the period after the Second World War was characterised by rationalisation and production efficiency measures (Arnér 2004).

The union's plea for state support was rejected by the prime minister at the time, social democrat Tage Erlander, on the grounds that Sweden would now channel its resources into building ships (Vall 2007). Two of the largest textile companies of Malmö, Manufakturaktiebolaget, MAB, and Yllefabriks Aktiebolag (MYA), had been merged in the middle of the century, but in 1957 the company was closed, and 700 employees lost their jobs (Vall 2007).

As in the rest of the country, many textile factories in Malmö had to shut their doors during this time that came to be called the textile crisis (Vall 2007). It took another few decades before Strumpan had to capitulate.

State ownership of Malmö Strumpfabrik ceased in 1986 when stakeholders from the Eisner Executive Board bought the company from Statsföretag AB, or Procordia AB, which it became known as in 1984 (Arnér 2004). Extensive conflicts between the new management and the trade union ensued (Arnér 2004). After the union chairman was dismissed in September 1987, the employees initiated a wild cat strike by immediately halting the work in protest (Arnér 2004). A large portion of staff were threatened with a lawsuit for unlawful combat action and not long thereafter the workforce was reduced to about 150 people. In order to avoid further conflicts with the trade union and to reduce labour costs, the company was split into a production company and a sales company (Arnér 2004). This meant that the company was able to outsource the operations division to Östersund in the north of Sweden, and Finland, as well as to subcontractors in other countries, without risking damage to the brand (Arnér 2004).

On Friday, February 24, 1992, the last of the staff clocked-out for a final time, and Malmö Strumpfabrik was ultimately closed as one of the last major industries in Malmö (Arnér 2004). In this declining industrial climate, local politicians and image makers in Malmö Municipality identified an opportunity to redefine the status of the city as a regional centre (Vall 2007).

## Summary of Findings

AB Malmö Strumpfabrik was the most long-lived textile factory of the city.

Thereby, it reflects the developments of the 20th century in relation to Malmö. From the interwar period, through the Second World War and to the expansion of the global economy in the post war period.

Strumpan employed a majority of women, although male workers were also part of the workforce.

The port industry has been the prevailing industry in the narrative of the city as shaped by the municipal office. This was also the line of the Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, who saw a future in the shipyard but not textiles, and channelled state support accordingly.

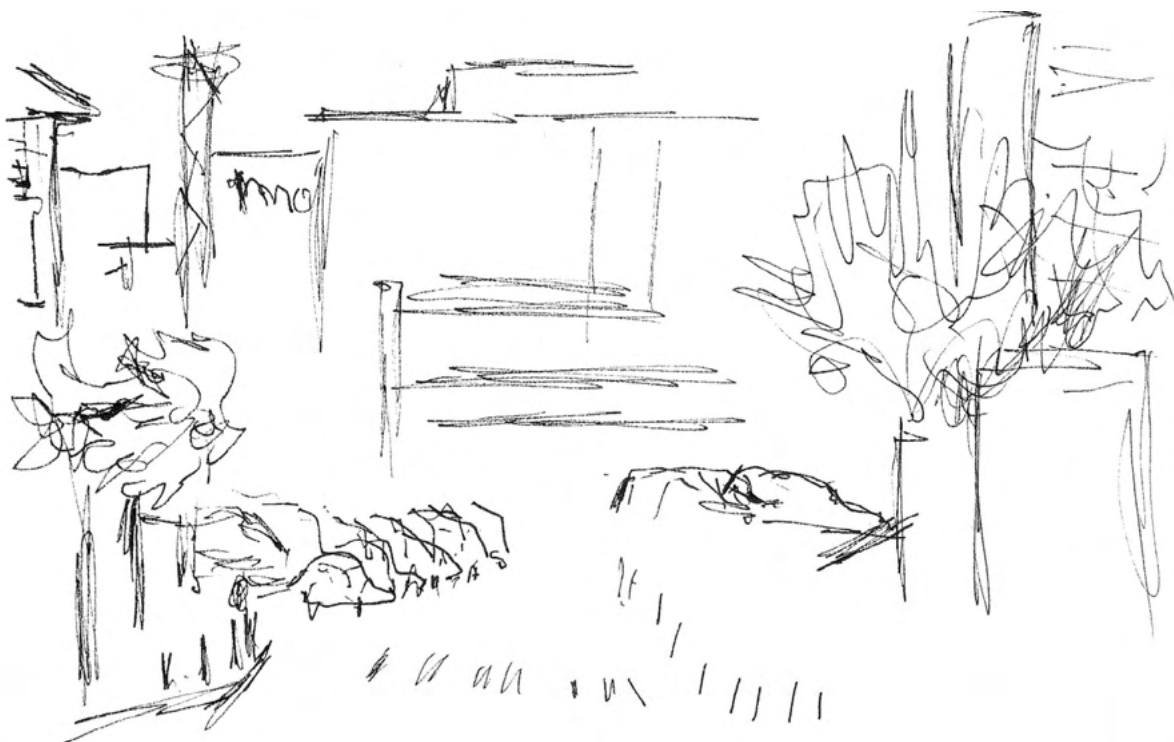
Strumpan was subject to various political and economic conflicts, including one that led to a massive wild cat strike. To mitigate a risk of future confrontations, the company restructured and relocated sections of its factory.

The factory barely survived the worst effects of the textile crisis and shut down for good in 1992, thereby ending a formative chapter in the urban history of Malmö.



## Part II: An Autoethnographic Study of Strumpan





*N: Parking lots. Rows with ten or so, separated by gravel covered planting beds and scattered trees. A vast space. Empty and desolate, had it not been for the trees' low standing crowns embellishing the asphalt and the detached automobiles with their brisk, leafy presence. To the left stands the old premises of Strumpan. The bricks red leaning brownish red turns yellowish brown in the sun when swallowed by the grey.*

*W: Vegetation also present in this view, in the shape of trees no more than two or two and a half meter high. In the foreground a zebra crossing is detected, something that was missing, and in my experience missed, in the eastward view. Pedestrians moving along Fosievägen can safely cross the car parking area. Straight ahead Strumpan can be seen. The bank Nordea used to occupy these offices but has now moved to those that can be glimpsed in the right side of the figure. To the left of Strumpan the shopping mall Mobilia can be detected, and to the utmost left is the building in which Elgiganten and Jysk reside. In the lower right-hand corner, low bars stand crooked. Whether this is because of subsidence in the paving or traffic collisions is unclear. In the centre of the figure: completely occupied parking lots.*



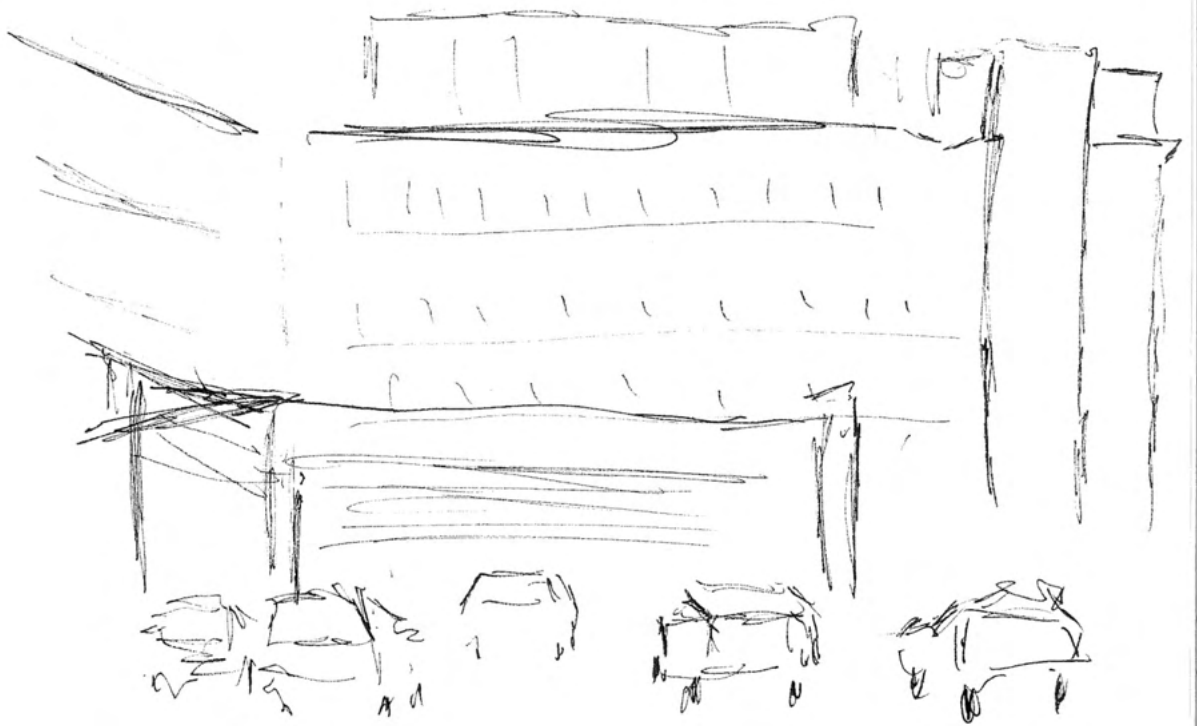
*E: Four building entities with various added structures in a hasty commercial manner spread out in the background followed by a sea of parking lots, kept at bay by the street Fosievägen running horizontally through the middle of the sketch. On the other side of it stands a traffic sign, located in the middle of the image. To the left of the image, a light grey butt-jointed pavement meets the low-lying volume of a bush, with a lamp post towering ten or so meters. The commercial estate of Jysk or Elgiganten occupies the lower right, and a pedestrian crossing is nowhere to be seen. This is clearly the back and despite the pavement, it does not come across as something built for pedestrians. Rather, the pavement comes across as an unclear detail not quite connected to the surroundings.*

*S: The windy air of Malmö. Reminiscent of the Öresund strait, even in this concrete jungle, but with a savour of fumes and not sea salt. Green and blue flags of the appliance store wave in the wind and behind them stands a bedding store, Jysk, separated by a garbage container in an enclosure. To the right stands a small yet vigorous tree, an island in the hardscape. To the left the longitudinal parking of Fosievägen, and beyond it even more parking lots. Behind the store a high-rise can be discerned, and to the left lies the industrial power plant of Heleneholm, a hallmark for the residential area of Fosie.*









N: Old Strumpan, straight from the front. It is a very beautiful building, large and stately. Five storeys high and more than fifty meters wide, in an L-shaped plan. Here, the L's orientation and enclosure creates a south-southeast direction. Standing in the parking lot, in the middle of a lane, makes it difficult to imagine how the space can be used. Averting cars feels important, but in retrospect, this building structure is completely untapped in its potential. What is a parking lot now could very well be a park, an oasis, in the otherwise extensive, paved site. The building is beautiful, latticed windows are reminiscent of its past as a factory. It is not difficult to imagine hard-working women, listening to the radio to keep the mood up. Despite the toil and the harsh conditions, on the rise in their struggle for economic independence. The location of the bank branch, the appliance store Elgiganten, and the car park carry a strong irony in this context, as financial resources, technology, and cars serve men to a greater extent.

W: There are large distances that the sketch's object focus misses a bit. To the west is Trelleborgsvägen, an underpinning bolt in Malmö's road network that further north turns into Nobelvägen. It connects everything south of Malmö with the north and is for the most part a rather inhospitable place. There is no doubt that the car is a priority in this street space. In the foreground of the sketch, and in front of the street, many cars are parked. On the opposite side lies the shopping mall Mobilia. To the left the old part and to the right a new, rebuilt part, which in addition to a parking garage also incorporates the department store Åhléns. It may seem sufficient with a parking garage and four or five fairly large parking lots in the open air, but since this is Malmö's most profitable shopping centre, it is not enough. Further south is yet another and serves as a kind of entrance to Malmö from the south.



*E: Nice brick house with Elgiganten and Jysk to the north of it. The windows are blocked with a gray screen, it is unclear from here what material it is made of. It creates a rather gloomy atmosphere, enhanced by the cheerful clear blue and lime green signage of the white goods trade. There are some slender trees in the parking lot, in raised plant beds with cobblestones. This makes the parking area more comfortable, and in a part of Malmö that is both very rugged and low-lying. Each plant bed is one less flooded basement. I do not remember what the square in the middle of the sketch should represent. Maybe it was a smaller trailer?*

*S: Here the car park continues for a while, but beyond it are two residential buildings. One with three storeys of red brick, and one with five floors of yellow-beige brick, east of the red. Between the residential buildings and this car park is another car park, this one for the residents, and a separator consisting of mixed shrubbery and trees of different sizes. This is also a pleasant place, and vegetation as a separator works very well here. In the foreground stand parked cars.*







N: Trelleborgsvägen, three-lanes in this part. Most large trees in a grassy flowerbed frame the road from the east. A tree from the middle refuge can be seen on the far left of the picture. In this flower bed, the grass grows tall and creates a nice setting, even if the road takes over. Farthest to the west, and to the left in the sketch, is Mobilia. Straight ahead, and in this sketch, a barely identifiable cloth in the middle, Dalaplan. This area is an important hub in the city, but also a kind of centre around which many of Malmö's industries in confectionery and their like were located. It is thus just behind Strumpan and could be an important hub today as well. The intersection Ystadsvägen - Trelleborgsgatan, which then turns into Nobelvägen to the north, is one of Malmö's most violently car-dominated intersections. It is basically not possible to get across. There is a controversial tunnel that takes the connoisseur across this car wreck, but for those who do not know the location, the opening is difficult to find. At the far right of the sketch is old Strumpan.

W: Mobilia's green-white-striped awnings are partly rolled up here but still leave their mark on the place. I do not know how long they have been part of the facade, but it is a view I have recognized for a long time. This too is a red brick house and in the sketch the facade is framed by two trees. In the middle refuge, the shapely tall grass, which breaks the rhythm that the tree line and the house facades create. It softens the experience. Just south of this point is a stop sign for yellow regional buses. In addition to this view, entrances to parking lots and parking garages characterise a large part of this roomy experience, and it feels very much like a backyard. For the passengers waiting for the bus, the monotony-abolishing effects of the grass create a kind of calm. At least the wait will be more pleasant.

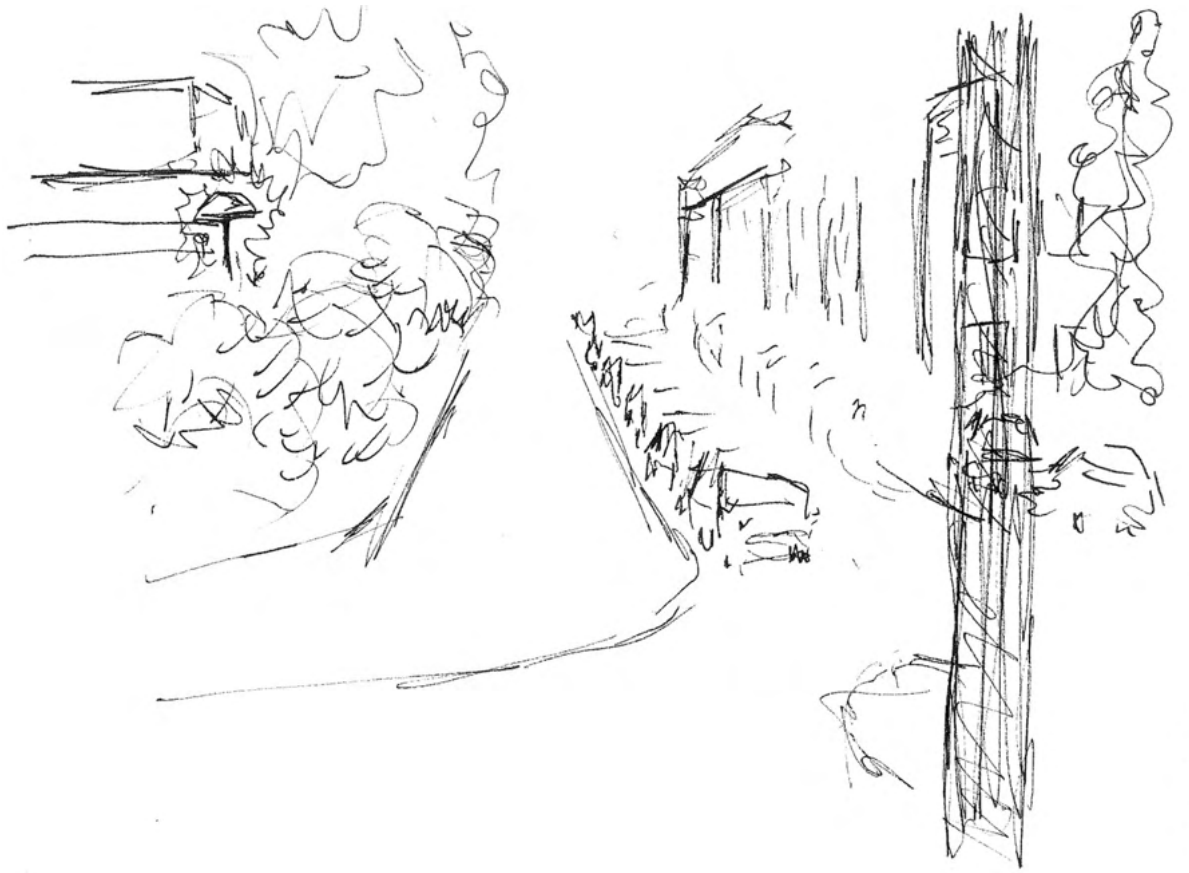


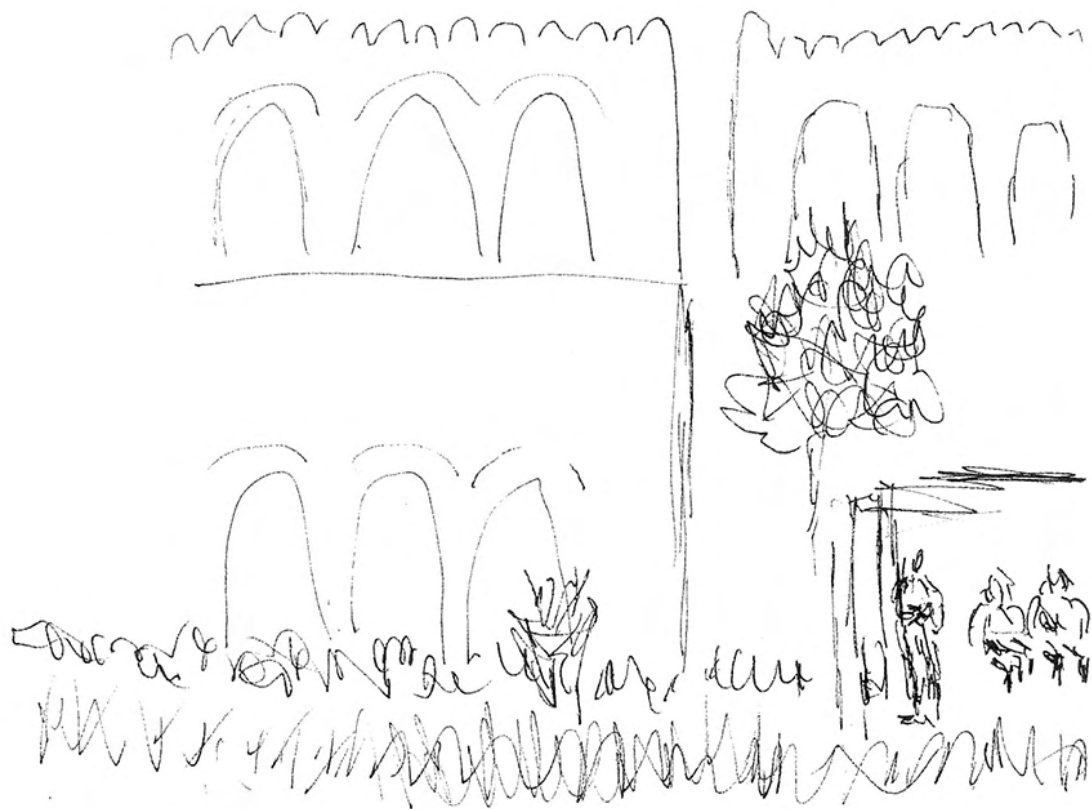
*E: The road in the picture is a cycle path that leads out to Finlandsgatan, part of the Helenholm area. Here there is more of an urban character, with a small, narrow street and mixed housing located near the street. Here too, parking is a significant component of the room. However, parked along the street, they do not take up the entire space but invite other forms of staying here, such as walking or cycling. A fairly free-growing, just over 1.5-meter-tall shrubbery separates the road from the commercial area. It is a cosy room, and the separation is quite efficient. Unfortunately, this reinforces the experience of the large parking area Strumpan has consumed as a “bomb hole in the city”.*

*S: Old trees on the left of the picture, surrounded by large bushes. Inside these, furthest to the east, grows a hedge that separates the residential area to the east of the hedge from Trelleborgsvägen. From here, the road looks lush and park-like with its rows of trees and free-growing shrubs. In addition, they obscure the terrible parking garage at the intersection Trelleborgsvägen – Stadiongatan, which today unfortunately serves as an entrance to Malmö from the south.*









N: *It's difficult to write about this place in retrospect. A lot has changed here. To the right of the picture is the old Strumpfabriken, which up close has a fantastic texture and presence, with low windows and a participation in the street space, or at least a potential of doing so. To the north, Trelleborgsvägen is two-lanes, to the south three-lanes. In between, the refuge continues, tree-lined with tall grass. Straight ahead, west of the road, is a residential complex. Sidewalk to the right: street lighting, a billboard. To the left of the picture, the newest part of Mobilia is being built, where the majority consists of the grocery store Willys. The area is under construction when this sketch is made, as the crane in the left corner suggests. Today it is a large grey-white concrete block. Had this been a shopping area located outside the city, this new aesthetic would have suited well. In its current location however, it conceals and defeats the delicate details of the old buildings and the vegetation of the streetscape. Malmö is building shopping centres everywhere, and right here it might tell us something about the transition from an economy run on manufacturing to a commercial one.*

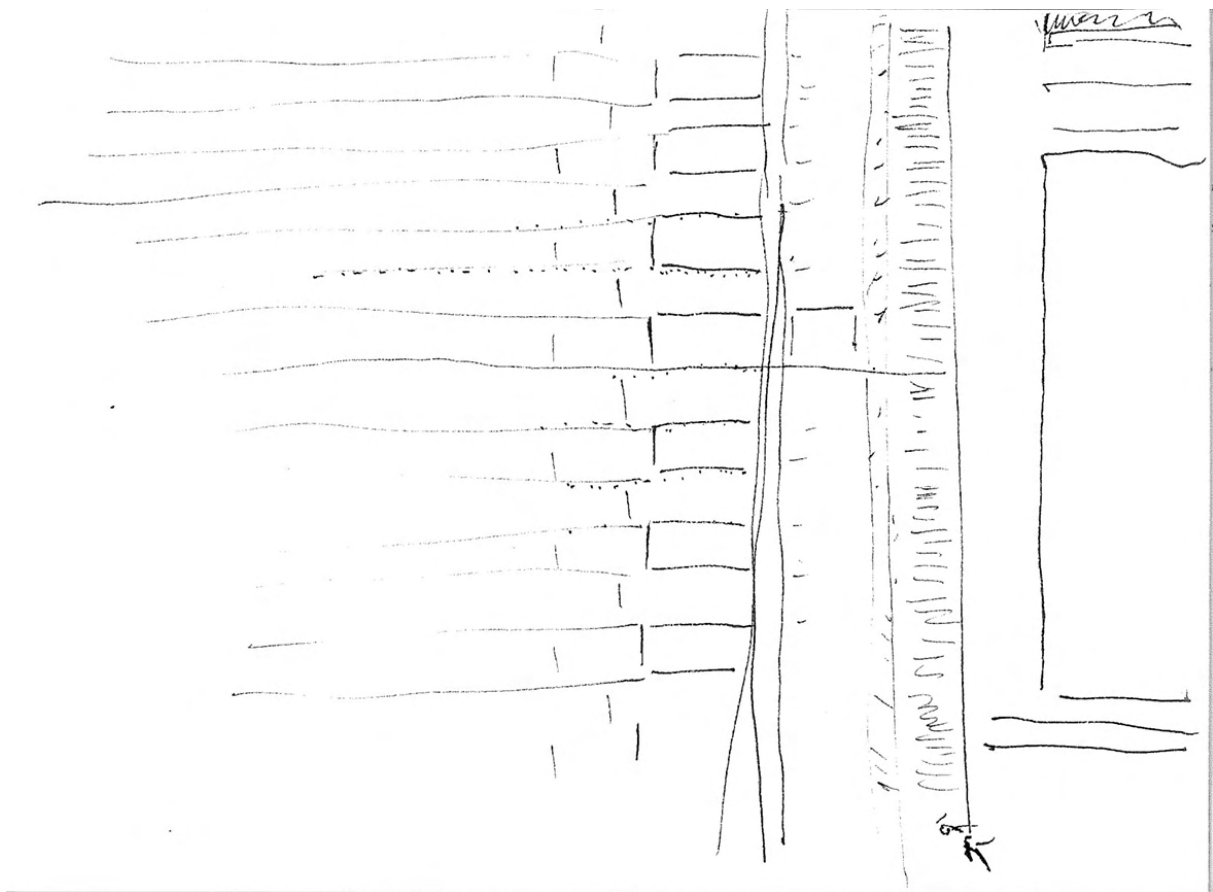
W: *Incredibly beautiful, arched windows, moulded in intricate patterns, shape this perspective of Manufakturaktiebolaget's old cotton weaving mill. A bus stop with two seated and one standing passenger to the right in the sketch. Behind the stop is a young tree, and to the left of it a small bush protruding from a perennial bed. In the foreground, the refuge grass that interprets the Malmö wind. This place is beautiful but is made insignificant when the inside is made up of a mall. It is a black hole, and nothing can exist just outside without being swallowed. It's a shame that travellers miss my point of view. On the other hand, I am separated from it by five road lanes and an infinite number of passing cars and the facade is not allowed to fully leave its mark on the room.*



*E: The western façade of Strumpan up close. Every other row has long bricks, every other short. The short ones are half as long and form a beautiful pattern when the long ones are shifted half a brick for each row, and the short ones are in line. The sketch is a simplification up close; it does not capture the rhythm of the brick. To the right of the picture: a window and the details of how it is blasted into the building. I would like to stand here for a long time and soak up the details, two minutes is not enough. How robust it stands, the building.*

*S: In my sketch, Trelleborgsvägen is three-lanes on this side, three cars are driving towards me and it looks like I caught the three lanes before the grass in the refuge. Today, this part is two-lanes. West of the sidewalk, one of the street lanes has had to give way to a cycling lane. This turns off at the previous sketch point. It is lampposts and large trees that form the graffiti in the middle of the sketch. At the far right, the part of the shopping centre can be seen with striped awnings. If the perspective sketch to the east is characterised by calm, this does the opposite. Here the speed is fast, windows on buildings to the right and left create a fast rhythm, the road is marked and with several lines to emphasise the lanes. The longitudinal line of the sidewalk stands out, direction forward. The vegetation does not create peace here, on the contrary, they block the chaos. This is a troubled place.*







*N: An apartment building, in yellow/ beige-coloured brick and with white-painted balconies in the middle of it spreads out in the background. A two-storey house with a red tile roof in front of this, and to the right of it a three-storey house, also with a roof in red tile and the house itself made of red brick. A red brick wall separates the parking area in the foreground from the houses, and in front of this grows a free-growing shrubbery that continues west of the parking lot. In the lower right-hand corner, a cut hedge forms a boundary between parking areas, and further to the right are two of a whole bunch of small trees that grow around the parking lot. The parking space indicated in the foreground of the sketch is incredibly large, and the house far away. It is almost completely unused in this weekday during working hours as is the timing of this study. The surface is paved and clearly divided to form a parking lot, and it is difficult to pick up elements other than parking and asphalt in this place, although I tried in this sketch.*

*W: To the left a light grey garbage house built of wooden planks, behind it an apartment complex. In between are some layers of vegetation and parking lots, with cut hedges, free-growing shrubbery and some trees. A streetlamp protrudes from the green. Beyond this is Trelleborgsvägen.*



E: The parking lots with the cut hedges and the young trees. I may have stuck to sketching a leafiness that does not exist to compensate for the emptiness of the place. It is completely dominated by asphalt and parking markings and is perceived to be very deserted. In the upper right corner of the sketch, there is a glimpse of a house - a vocational high school where, among others, the private school Hermods is located. This last stop before I finish the current round of sketching is almost melancholic - is this all there is of an environment that has gathered hundreds of Malmö women over the years in a transition from being a housewife to shaping themselves as independent, democratic individuals with economic power, who participated in the construction of the prosperity of this city?

S: Malmö Strumpfabrik AB's old premises from the north, a perspective I recognise from photographs from when Strumpan was in use. Five storeys high, windows in a grid format, symmetrical to the teeth and do not look a day older than in the pictures, at least not in terms of the main building. The staircase is seen to the right in my sketch. This is slightly more worn, and it is noticeable that the grey concrete has been around for a while, with some discoloration. At the bottom is the entrance to the building. Previously, there had been an entrance from Trelleborgsvägen as well, but this is now the main entrance. While the factory was in operation, the entrance for the workers was located on the eastern short side of the factory. Old photographs show a fence around the factory and a smaller building adjacent to it, where the women could clock in and out of their shifts. Here is the entrance of glass and is the only part of the building with windows that are not barred.







## Summary of Findings

The autoethnographic study creates a decelerated presence in an otherwise fast-paced landscape.

The diary notes describing the views in the cardinal points at each point are necessary to comprehend the experience of the site in retrospect, both for the reader and myself.

The sketches sometimes give an incorrect recount of the experience of the site, as alluring details are given greater weight. This includes those depicting the parking lot, where the scanty vegetation appears to be lush and leafy, as seen in the eastward directed sketch of the last point.

The environment surrounding Strumpan is fast-paced and dominated by automobile infrastructure.

There are elements in the landscape of compelling aesthetic character, including vegetation design of high quality, south of Strumpan, along the east side of Trelleborgsvägen.

The volume and material detail of the stockings factory, as well as of the old cotton factory building located across the street, MAB, which has been transformed into the shopping mall Mobilia, is experienced despite the traffic density of the landscape.

Nonetheless, the buildings carry potential for giving this area a strong and unique character.

The immediate area to the north, east and west of Strumpan, namely the parking lots and asphalt landscape in close proximity to Strumpan, dominate the experience of the site.

The circumstances of the above-described site circumscribe the pedestrians' feeling of security.

The redefined character of the site disconnects it from the significance Strumpan has had in the industrial history of Malmö.

## Part III: Work and Recreation. Marabouparken

### Historical Review of the Chocolate Factory

#### Start-up & Market

In the beginning of the last century, in the years prior to the First World War, the leading chocolate manufacturer in Norway; Freia, began exploring possibilities for extending their market outside of Norway (Throne-Holst 1978). Sweden was an export candidate but an expansion into the Swedish market in the form of an independently operating factory was deemed more profitable, providing opportunities for long term establishment, unhindered by tariffs and the differences in market conditions which would otherwise be the case (Throne-Holst 1978). The story of the chocolate factory AB Chokladfabriken Marabou therefore begins on the 16th of June 1916, when the executive chief of A/S Freia, Henning Throne-Holst established a Swedish branch (Svensson 2016).

Inspired by Freia, Marabou soon becomes a progressive workplace, prioritising its employees by taking a social responsibility (Svensson 2016). Creating an aesthetically pleasing working environment, health check-ups for the employees and summer camps for their children are all measures that were not seen as a cost, but as an investment (Svensson 2016). Marabouparken is constructed in this spirit and is distinguished by its beauty and recreational character (Svensson 2016).

#### The Park

A small garden was built near the building housing the staff canteen and locker rooms, which together with the nearby office building was constructed in the 1920's (Throne-Holst 1978). This humble predecessor to what later became the Marabou Park in all its grandeur, was already becoming a lunch break resort for staff, and was equipped with its first bronze sculpture, "Boy" by Anders Jönsson, as well as with incipient plans of an expansion (Throne-Holst 1978, p. 16-17). According to Johan Throne-Holst it was the staff's recreational usage of the park, that formed the basis for purchasing and transforming the neighbouring Sundbyberg Estate in 1943, when the opportunity arose (Throne-Holst 1978).

Despite a heavy workload, which at times was both dangerous and static, being employed at Marabou had its benefits (Maingourd 2016). The modern working environment, the access to the park and its many sculptures, and the staff care measures, extensive at the time, were part of a greater vision: how a good workplace could contribute to benevolence and kind-

ness among the staff, as well as enthusiasm in daily tasks (Maingourd 2016).

The park was designed to contain possibilities for activity and calm; a large lawn encouraged playing sports whilst paths connected places for sitting in the sun as well as protection from it (Andersson 2005). These paths connected different levels and spaces in the park. Andersson describes one of the more intriguing ones as the one that joins the pergola near the entrance with a luscious rhododendron bed of shade and opulence which leads to the vast openness of the grass lawn against a backdrop of tree relics from the Sundbyberg manor (Andersson 2005). Planting material was carefully selected in order to inspire the employees when choosing vegetation for their own private allotments (Andersson 2005).

The Marabou Park was subject to a range of changes during the years, creating the preservation of the Marabou Park complex (Pehrsson & Selder 2010). Pehrsson and Selder ask:

“The archives are full of documents (of) plans that were never considered or realised – so which is the real Marabouparken?” (Pehrsson & Selder 2010, p. 62).

According to Andersson, maintaining the “original characteristics and beauty of the park” (Andersson 2005, p. 27) has been possible despite additions and sometimes extensive modifications (Andersson 2005).

The amicable cooperation between lead landscape architect Sven Hermelin and Marabou AB took a turn when the son of Henning Throne Holst, Johan, took over his father’s position (Andersson 2005). According to Andersson, an initial conflict regarding the harsh employment conditions of the gardener, which Hermelin alluded to, and Johan Throne-Holst ignored, set the tone for the coming partnership (2005). When Throne-Holst demanded Hermelin redesign Marabouparken into a sea of red and yellow tulips as inspired by new advertising trends in the US, it would be the final nail in the coffin for further partnership (Andersson 2005).

Andersson discusses the value of the park as a cultural heritage, which they suggest should include maintenance levels in line with when it was built, as well as a conservation of the materials used, and an appreciation of the handicraft deployed in the gardening (Andersson 2005). According to Ann Fagerström-Tronde and Klaus Stritzke (2005) the role Marabouparken has played in Sweden’s industrial history cannot be overstated.

## Ideals

Johan Throne-Holst (1978) discusses the importance of complementing technological advancements with an improvement in the working environment as a measure to strengthen social relations in the working environment and fulfilling the overarching objective of:

“an environment and a form of social (interchange) marked by good-will and friendship, greater interest in the day’s tasks and the realisation that a job well done is in everyone’s interest.” (Throne-Holst 1978, pp. 41-43).

The purchasing of sculptures to decorate the park, stimulate the imagination and strengthen the employees’ pride and loyalty to the company, a step towards increasing productivity

(Pehrsson & Selder 2010). In the words of director Henning Throne-Holst:

“Art was acquired as a way of strengthening the spirit at the company” (Pehrsson & Selder 2010, p. 60).

The Cadbury Chocolate factory in Bourneville, England, served as an important inspiration for Sven Hermelin in designing the Marabou Park, with an important component being that of the role of the allotments and gardens in creating more cooperative employees (Grillner 2010):

“he who has his one piece of land to cultivate /.../ becomes a harmonious human being. Spending time with all which grows and sprouts in his garden captures his interest; he is often more distinguished in his local gardening association than in his workers’ union. He becomes a happy human being...” (Grillner 2010, p.71)

Photographs of the park in use, whether footage of actual visitors or of a more arranged character, performed by a hobby photographer or a professional, carry, as seen by Grillner, a similarity in style (Grillner 2010). Playing children and put-together women, gazing into a promising future, against a backdrop of the pavilion or sculptures in the park, create an image typical of the time in its unanimity (Grillner 2010):

“They exude a powerful “together”: the Saltsjöbaden spirit, equality and general welfare.” (Grillner 2010, p.73).

The author picks up this trail further on:

“Neither the Swedish consensus politics nor the perfectly designed landscape park has any room for difference or dissonance. Variation, certainly, but always as part of a cohesive harmonious comprehensive composition.” (Grillner 2010, p. 75).

## Tendencies in Architecture

Marabouparken is mostly known as a functionalist park, largely because of the grass lawn’s possibilities of functioning as a social space for activity, for resting, for playing and for exercising. Doing without that typical of the time: gravel paths that define the users’ movement in relation to nature (Pehrsson & Selder 2010).

According to Pehrsson and Selder, Hermelin did not want the park to have an artificial character but to be experienced as if it was a pre-existing landscape that he simply had exposed and emphasised the features of (2010).

Architects Sven Hermelin and Inger Wedborn, as well as Henning Throne-Holst, recognised that social wellbeing was greatly affected by art and nature, thereby reflecting the societal debates of the time on the alienation of industrial work (Pehrsson & Selder 2010). According to Pehrsson and Selder (2010) Marabouparken can be understood as a crystallisation of this discourse.

When Arthur von Schmalensee took over the role as architect for Marabouparken, he had become critical of functionalism. He saw deficits in the technical constructions, the materi-

als adaptability to heat, cold and connection to surrounding landscape. A perspective which began to impact the design of the buildings and landscape of Marabou (Kralli 2016).

Despite this uneasy perspective, Kralli describes how Schmalensee ends up drawing a building with an immediate functionalist character: the pavilion next to the children's paddling pool is, despite its traditional appearance, placed there in order to disguise the pool pump and visitor toilets. Hence making it as much a combination of functionalist ideals and traditional aesthetics as the rest of Marabouparken (Kralli 2016).

Kralli further describes the uniqueness of Marabouparken by referring to the words of previous professor at the Royal Art Academy, Johan Sjöström, as an exception in our art, architecture and industrial history, "developed with the goal of realising a dream of a different and better living in the industrial society of the future" (Kralli 2016, p. 60).

From the 1940's, Inger Wedborn ran the architecture office "Sven A Hermelin & Inger Wedborn Trädgårdsarkitekter" together with Hermelin. The office's influence on the Swedish landscape architecture in the post-war era cannot be emphasised enough (Kralli 2016, 63). They worked under the idea of socialising the art of landscaping, where parks would no longer be a haven for genteel promenades, but rather a social right of the inhabitants where people could play, talk, rest and socialise (Kralli 2016).

According to Torbjörn Andersson, Marabouparken sticks out amongst other famous parks in Sweden because it merges two different landscaping styles and discourses, houses a comprehensive collection of sculptures, and embodies the interaction of an industrialist and his "ambition to create a private pleasure garden, as wealthy families always have" (Andersson 2005, p. III), with novel ideals of social prosperity (Andersson 2005).

Andersson reflects over how the verge between the upper, small-scale part of the park, and the lower, airy and open section is as dramatic as the landscaping ideals they represent. Yet the stairs connecting them tie these spaces of different times and philosophies together (Andersson 2005). Arts and crafts, a style from the end of the 19th century in which craftsmanship and picturesque detailing in planting beds and built constructions is dominant, characterises the upper section (Andersson 2005). The lower section, in functional style, is built at a later stage, 1943-1945. It is simultaneously a representation of the concepts of functionalism, in movement, light and space as it is an architectural expression of necessary measures taken to mitigate the worst consequences of this stage of industrial development. These include tuberculosis and poor sanitary conditions, that were plaguing the urban inhabitants (Andersson 2005).

Sven Hermelin was greatly influenced by Hermann König's work *Garten-sozialismus* from 1919, where the author defined the essential elements in industrial parks as a kindergarten, with paddling pools and playgrounds for the children of the female workforce (Fagerström-Tronde & Stritzke 2005). Together with the existing park in the chocolate factory in Bourneville, these ideas came to form the basis for Hermelin's design of Marabouparken (Fagerström-Tronde & Stritzke 2005).

A discussion on the workers' leisure space was initiated once Henning Throne-Holst had read an essay by Sven A. Hermelin on the parks of the English chocolate factory Bourneville.

ille. This would impact the work and cooperation between Schmalensee and Hermelin in designing a factory and park that would cater to the workers' needs while maintaining a totality in form (Kralli 2016).

## Residence & Children's Colonies

Marabou catered to the interests of its employees in several ways apart from constructing the park. Housing was one such measure, where many workers were offered residence or beneficial loans for purchasing so-called "Egnahem" (Maingourd 2016).

"Egnahem" translates into "homes of one's own" and refers to the Swedish version of smallholdings and home-crofts that the state implemented at the turn of the last century (Edling 1998). It was a response to the structural problems in both the urban and the rural part of the country, resulting from the societal transformation at the time. In rural terms it meant, among other things, underemployment, poverty, emigration and urbanisation in the case of the workers, and dropping grain prices, increased agrarian workers' wage costs and a lack of workforce within large scale farming affecting land owners (Edling 1998). In the cities residential hardships, unemployment and social privation shaped the inhabitants' living conditions (Edling 1998). The premises of the Egnahem-program were simple; the state would endow able workers inexpensive and long-term loans to acquire smallholdings and build their own houses (Edling 1998). Although the other Scandinavian countries realised variations of this program, this arrangement was not unique for the Nordic region; rather, countries all over Europe implemented structural relief schemes in order to encourage small scale farming (Edling 1998).

Marabou acquired houses and apartments in close proximity to the factory, and coordinated the building of the so-called "Banana house", a multi-storey dwelling in the centre of Sundbyberg, in order to assist the employees in obtaining residence (Maingourd 2016, p. 36).

Other important efforts included health checks as a way of finding "the right worker for the right job" (Maingourd 2016, p. 31), and organising children's colonies during the summers for the employees' children (Maingourd 2016). Children's colonies were first launched at the end of the 18th century in order to mitigate the ill health of children in the cities and of those from impoverished conditions, and they quickly gained popularity until their peak in the 30's and 40's (Maingourd 2016). Fresh air and a change of environment became accessible to the children of the workers at Marabou too, who had access to their very own colony during the summers (Maingourd 2016).

## Regional and Global Conditions

The depopulation of the Swedish countryside escalated after the Second World War as the process of urbanisation intensified (Maingourd 2016).

Following the Winter War, an extensive unemployment rate and an acute housing situation pervaded in Finland, forcing a large portion of the population to emigrate to Sweden after 1940 (Maingourd 2016). Swedish factories absorbed this new, able workforce (Maingourd 2016). Sundbyberg saw a large increase in their population. The factories of the town, such as Ericsson, Sieverts and Marabou, saw a multiplication of their personnel (Maingourd 2016). Thus, the Marabou workforce came to have considerable Finnish descent, and a ma-

jority of the Finns were women, contributing to the workforce being a predominantly female one (Maingourd 2016).

In Folkhemmet's Sweden, ideals of an increased access to parks and nature, of fresh air and sunlight, and of leisure time and social use of public space were permeating architecture and urban planning (Pehrsson & Selder 2010). Stockholm's residential developments and Marabou were no exception (Pehrsson & Selder 2010). According to Pehrsson and Selder (2010), the core of this newfound outdoorness was not the individual tending of the private allotment. It was the right to leisure time and its disposal in parks and public spaces that made employers and politicians alike uneasy and therefore compelled to monitor it (Pehrsson & Selder 2010).

Although citizens had found their way to the outdoors via different means, for instance private allotments and leisure time in parks, everyone was not happy about this. Employers and politicians became increasingly anxious over the increase in public gatherings and saw this as a potential threat to the status quo.

The Marabou Park was bought by Sundbyberg municipality in 2006 (Sveriges vackraste park 2022). By that time the factories of Marabou had relocated to new premises in Upplands Väsby (Maingourd 2016). The park was awarded the title of Sweden's most beautiful park in 2008 (Sveriges vackraste park 2022).



## Summary of Findings

The extensive number of accounts on the history of Marabou, of which only a fraction have been covered in above review, places the park in the centre of a landscape architectural discourse.

Marabou is established in Sundbyberg in 1916, as a Swedish branch of the Norwegian chocolate manufacturer Freia.

Following Freia's example, Marabou would take social responsibility for its employees. This manifest in offering health check-ups, summer camps for the children of staff, and the creation of a recreational interior and exterior working environment.

Sven Hermelin, the architect of the park, was inspired by the English chocolate factory of Bourneville. Once he became executive, Henning Throne-Holst, came across a paper by Hermelin on this and initiated the creation of the park under Hermelin's lead.

The park has been subject to a variety of influences over the years, shaping Marabouparken into a mosaic of different ideas and tendencies in society. It ties together Arts and Crafts with functionalist expressions, exhibits an impressive collection of sculptures and presents a range of vegetation in order to inspire the employees in their own, private gardening.

Johan Throne-Holst was concerned about creating a workplace, which included a recreational space, that would inspire the workers to immerse themselves in their work and to maintain amicable relations with each other. The successor of Throne-Holst, Henning, valued these motives, but as a child of his time he became more engaged with new advertising ideals. This would partly be at the expense of the wellbeing of the employees, illustrated by his unwillingness to improve working conditions of his gardener. The extent of this can best be understood through the reaction of Hermelin, of leaving Marabouparken in protest.

Marabouparken saw its share of conflicts during the years, and the expression of the site reflects this. It was built and developed over the course of several decades, hence incorporating changing ideals and changing managers into the very design and materiality of it.



## Part IV: An Autoethnographic Study of Marabouparken



A



*Wandering around. I've been to Sundbyberg before, but I don't know these streets. It was raining when I arrived at Sundbyberg centre, having travelled the blue metro line northbound (towards Hjulsta). Now it has stopped, and the air feels cleaner, or it might just be the air in Sundbyberg compared to that of central Stockholm. Coming out here feels like visiting a small Swedish town and it is very calming.*

*I've seen many maps and photographs of this area, mostly historical ones, but also a few present ones. Still, I cannot find the park without the aid of my mobile phone and GPS. The entrance to this park of international, historical weight is quite inconspicuous, to say the least. And there's something about that which feels both humble and in line with the ideals that built it to begin with, of the vernacular and its possibilities.*

*I'm leaving my sketchpad for now and will photograph until the weather clears (it didn't and rained a few more times during the field study).*



B



*The contrast of being outside on the street and inside the park is startling.*

*The green lawn, contributing to carrying run-off and mitigating flooding of sewers, represents an important idea within modernism and specifically functionalism, where the function is aestheticised. The lawn's drainage is, as far as I know, not the reason these were constructed here at the time. The possibility of social interactions, of sports, of play, was the dominating objective. Nonetheless, it apparently functions as a water resource management-system today, because when I try crossing it my shoe tip gets soaked.*

*The arts and crafts character of Marabouparken, which was an important influence in the park's younger days, characterises this point, except for the lawn. Both small scale and many details attest to the craftsmanship. The pergola creates a cosy space from which I can look out toward the rest of this part of the park. Watch instead of being watched, had there been people here, employees at Marabou half a century ago, or others.*

C





*The orderly vegetation from the previous point, the neatly cut hedges and the clean lines has at this point been replaced by lush and excessive plants. Climbing, crawling, bulging and spreading themselves out over this part of the site. The benches, stair and wall barely compensate for the chaos with their calmness in design. But the rain has its benefits, having left the pavement saturated and deep grey, contributing to an increased sense of stillness.*

D



*This park carries a vividness in its variation. It isn't as large as I had expected, yet the types of landscapes incorporated, the number of different rooms and spaces make it quite the experience. In the east the view is, for the first time since I entered the park, quite gloomy. The bushes have yet to grow green, early spring as it is, and maybe there's something to learn about the unnecessary nature of always having all elements of garden design and landscape architecture attractive. And once that has been established, the visual texture of the sea of bushes, soft and vibrating, doesn't come off as bad anymore.*



E



*Until now the buildings have had rather discrete positions in relation to the park. At this point buildings can be glimpsed in all cardinal points. For being a rather small park, surrounded by buildings, it is rather impressive that vegetation design, paths, sculptures and sculpturing of the topographic levels to a large extent outdo the presence of the buildings. Buildings dominate quite a lot usually, but have been curbed here by the richness of the impressions.*

F



*The feeling of entering a theatre characterises this part of the site. In each photo, at each cardinal point, a subject emerges and takes centre stage. To the north, rhododendron bushes in layers, moss-covered stones and conifers stand side by side with two rounded benches. In the west, black coloured iron banisters invite me to take the path to the lower level of the park. In the east, a sculpture, surrounded by an audience of the red brick building and the yellow, and two rounded benches in the foreground. In the south, a relic of a tree, probably one that has been here since before Marabou purchased the real estate, protruding through the concrete and floors of the building underneath it, protected by a green coloured gate that also separates any eager visitors from the hole in the ground.*



G





*Long, straight path. In case I had forgotten this park was modernistic, I am reminded here. The photographs show that this isn't a problem, necessarily, because framing the walk is the openness of the lawn to the left, and a low, stone wall to the right, and every now and then a giant of a tree. This decreases the monotony as well as the feeling of exposure, and the rhythm created by the trees alters the length of the walk.*

H



*February trees frame this point. High reaching and sometimes very old, such as the oak in the westward photo. This giant must be another of the original trees that decorated the Sundbyberg Manor house and garden. This is not a relic but still growing strong.*



*The absence of people in the park becomes evident at this point. In previous points I had not expected the presence of people. The pleasantness of the landscape design has occupied the larger part of the impressions it has made on me. At this point, though, I realise that I have in fact been able to walk around and study the garden in an almost museum like manner. There is an absence of children playing in the playground, swinging and climbing. It's hard to imagine that families with children would feel encouraged to visit the park on a rainy weekday like this, so it isn't all that weird that I am the only visitor Marabouparken has today. Several areas in the park are closed off for renovations. There is a glimpse of this in the southward picture.*

*Returning to the playground, and the paddling pool that has been closed off. Marabouparken has been vital in how it has prioritised women and children in the design of the landscape. Almost a hundred years ago, children were given the opportunity to join their mothers after work to play here, when there were few other playgrounds around at the time. For the children this seems great. For the mothers, another aspect of their life tied to Marabou.*



J



*Something about the row of chairs is reminiscent of a party that hasn't been cleaned up completely, or of a seating structure in the factory where the workers weave (had it been Strumpan). In fact, there is something about their arrangement, forcing the visitor to walk in a thin, straight line in order not to touch either the bushes to the left or the row of chairs to the right, that comes across as controlling. Part of the philosophy behind the park design was the freedom of movement, crystallised in the lawn. Here, though, the movement is decimated.*

*The photo directed west, as well as the right one, also carry a desolate mood. The westward photo reminds me of the environment of a waiting room. Naturally, they imply rest too, but in combination with the eastward photo and the northward one, these benches express a Roy Andersson-esque character, deadpan and slightly abject.*

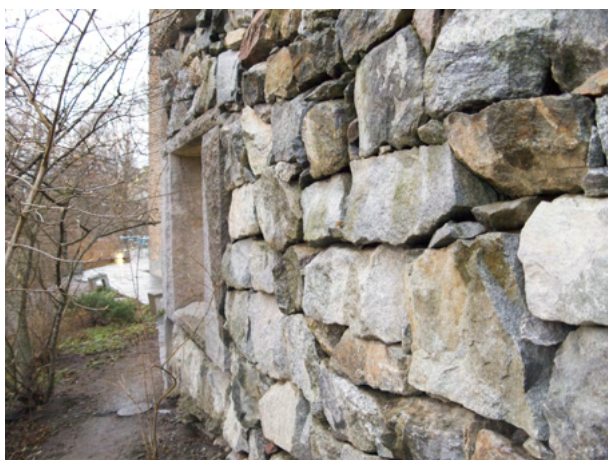
K





*Geometric shapes dominate this point. Circle, square, triangle, cylinder, cube, cuboid. All the pictures at this point have clear, simple shapes, combined with a fuzziness in texture of the vegetation or the materials shaping the geometric shapes and volumes. They complement each other and although this point feels more like the back of the park, and it probably is, it has a harmonious character.*

L



*Stone wall, close-up, reminds me of the close-up in the field study of Strumpan. Robust structures built of natural and cultural materials. Natural in the sense that they have taken geological ages to be formed, cultural because they are carved and constructed by people. I enjoy seeing the material from up close. Much of this walk has been an experience of sights, of views, but coming close to the material means engaging my other senses to a larger extent. I am also more prone to touch the nearly dry stone than the wet vegetation.*

*This point feels like a secret place. Marabouparken has a special character because the architects behind it and the gardeners and caretakers facilitating it have constructed and preserved the confluence between the open and closed volumes. At this point I am at the same time safe, hidden and have a view of the open volume of the lawn. Images from Marabou show how the female workers spend their breaks not on the lawn but where they are less under the immediate inspection of their bosses. This space is off the record, unofficial. Part of what creates this feeling is also the scale of it. The path is narrow, and the volume is limited in size. In contrast with the massiveness of the lawn and its exposure, this becomes intimate.*



M



*I'm relieved that this field study is coming to an end. Being here alone in this gloomy weather has given me a possibility to focus in a way I doubt I would have been able to do otherwise. But it is also chilly and getting dark, and although the rain has been kind, the moist has its effect on the overall temperature. I have only seen half of the park, the other half, or third, is closed off for construction work. I realise I might have to return once it has opened in its entirety, but for now I feel satisfied that I have more than enough material from my walking experience through this historical garden.*

N



*If there is something this last point suggests, it is that there are plenty more points to choose and photos to be taken in cardinal directions, than I have been able to do during these few hours. I am impressed by the complexity of the design, and, I must admit, slightly humbled by the fact that this was built for the workers of Marabou.*

## Summary of Findings

The complexity of the design creates a multitude of experiences in the landscape.

This creates a stillness in the landscape that allows the visitor a freedom in choosing pace. There are plenty of visual experiences to consume.

The closest experience of a traffic infrastructure is of the path separating the lower lawn from the precipice, mainly visible in the northward view, point G. The relative straightness of this path actuates the transport notion of the walk and enhances the walking speed.

Unexpected niches and bends stimulate curiosity and spur the imagination.

The discussions, conflicts and ideals in society interplay in the construction and management of Marabouparken.

These are crystallised in the twists and turns in the development of the site, and in the wide range of expressions it encompasses.

The photographs in the cardinal points give a clear idea of the design of the site.

The colouring, as opposed to having black and white photos, steals attention from the volumes, details and textures.

Rain adds to the recount and experience of the site through the photographs.

Rain reduces the ability to explore the site fully as a pedestrian, as does the construction work.

The extensive accounts of Marabouparken make an envisaging of the female workers historical presence more palpable during the on-site experience.



# Envisioning a Seamless City

## The Setting

The research question of this paper stems from an experienced absence of traces of the heritage of female industry workers in the urban landscape of Malmö. This absence is further asserted in the urban historical narrative of the city.

The aim of this thesis was to contribute to the knowledge base on the role female textile workers have played in the urban development of Malmö

And

to suggest how the city can better recognise this historical experience.

The research question is as follows:

How can the historical presence of the female textile industry workers be envisaged in the urban landscape of Malmö?

Under “Background: Urban Space and the Industry”, the industrial and urban history context of the workers role in the city is presented. “Female textile workers in Malmö” summed up the dominant position that female textile workers have had in the city. This was followed by a short overview of three scholarly theories on urban planning in relation to female labourers. Through an urban history review, the overarching changes in the process from industrial city to a post-industrial one, were presented in the section “Malmö: from an industrial town to the City of Knowledge”, whilst also shedding light on how greater global and regional contexts impact local ones.

With this foundation, the method was introduced. Autoethnography with an application, in part, of Kajsa Lawaczeck Körners walkability approach in relation to critical normativity are the main components of this.

To understand if this method also carries a practical potential in expanding the urban narrative and the image of the city, and specifically if the female textile industry workers can be incorporated into the narrative and urban landscape of Malmö, two case studies were realised. Two sites that are simultaneously alike and each other’s opposites; the stockings factory Strumpan in Malmö and the chocolate factory Marabou in Sundbyberg, were studied.

# Weaving the Threads

## History in Place

The results of the historical reviews of the chocolate factory and the stockings factory show how the two factories have had different positions in the cities of their location. Marabou was to a much greater extent than Strumpan, incorporated into the society it was located in. The role of Marabouparken in this was crucial, as was the influence of the director on maintaining good relations to the city's municipal office. There was not as much of a hype around the factory of Strumpan. The products of the factory were sought after. Still, a successful product marketing strategy did not amplify the factory itself, nor its workers, in the city. In comparing the figures from the spatial analyses, the initial impression of the sites was challenged. In the beginning it seemed as though Strumpan would, without a doubt, be overshadowed by the splendour of Marabou.

This is confirmed both in the historical reviews of the factories, as well as in the reputation of the two sites on a local and national scale. The number of sources describing, analysing, discussing and marketing Marabouparken today are greater than those discussing Strumpan. In this paper sources on Marabou mount to 8, whilst only a single source covers Malmö Strumpfabrik AB. An immediate explanation to the abundance of sources available on Marabou could be that Marabou was awarded the title as Sweden's most beautiful park in 2008 (Sveriges Vackraste Park 2022). Another is that it is one of the most prominent examples of functionalist architecture, as described by several, if not all, of the authors discussing the park (see, among others, Maingourd 2016; Kralli 2016; Grillner 2010; Andersson 2005).

A complete assessment of the amount and quality of information available about the two factory sites requires a systematic, historiographical analysis. Although this paper is not an inventory into available sources, a scan of accessible literature shows an abundance of that on Marabou, and a scarcity of material on Strumpan. The lack of available sources on Strumpan could be explained by the absence of a site to gather around, spatially as well as marketing-wise. Marabou, as explained by Throne Holst junior (1978) saw a great value in creating a park that answered to the needs of the personnel and fulfilled the cultural requirements of the age. This was closely intertwined with a marketing of its endeavours in the park, illustrated through the many sculptures that were purchased and inaugurated for the sake of the personnel and the inhabitants of Sundbyberg. Creating a presence at the site, through landscape interventions as well as engaging with the locals and the personnel, can explain why Marabou and not Strumpan is substantially manifested in literature and in the narrative of the city.

One important difference between the two factories is that Strumpan receded during its final decades, whilst Marabou is still operational today but at a different site. A success story, rather than a defeat, could potentially be easier to sustain by previous employees and a company. Marabou can still benefit from having its former factory site in the limelight.

## Place and Female Labour

Can the local circumstances be explained solely locally? The scholars in the beginning answer in negative. The links to greater societal dynamics, at a regional, national and international scale, need to be identified. As described under Urban Planning and Female Labour in the

background section, Meegan (1994) is critical to reducing women's position in industrial towns as primarily a consequence of spatiality. According to him there is a tendency amongst scholars to seek explanations precisely in this field.

In the case of Malmö, the history of the city tells of how women have played an essential role in the industrial development and economic growth. An immediate effect has been employment and salary for women. This means an increase in their participation in society, rather than remaining isolated in the home. This implies that women's status is not an immediate result of the spatial conditions.

The position of female industry workers in Malmö is evidently an interplay between national and international economic dynamics. But it is not only an effect of this. Although the economic crisis of the seventies, and later of the nineties, greatly impacted the prospect of the industry they worked in, it cannot explain the position of female workers in the understanding of the industry. The tale of the harbour and its workers survived the municipal's reconstruction of the urban narrative, despite suffering comparable national and international dynamics. The textile industry did not.

The position of female textile labourers in Sweden's industrialisation, in parts of the country, has been equal to that of the male workers. Simultaneously, the female dominated textile industry in Malmö was disregarded in favour of the docks regarding state subsidies, despite facing similar economic challenges.

Whether or not there has been a state funding of the textile industries in other parts of the country, or a deliberate articulation of the female labourer's contribution in a state-wide context, is not examined in this paper. Malmö's restricted disclosure of the city's own female workforce could suggest that the capacity of industry working women at a national scale has not been communicated to any greater extent either.

The constrained possibilities for women in obtaining equal conditions to male workers is fortified through urban planning, according to Hayden (1980). Her research deals with American conditions. These share similarities with Swedish ones in terms of how the automobile was intertwined with the modernist urban development, but there are important differences. Although Strumpan was located outside of the city centre at the time of the factory's establishment, on the street Trelleborgsvägen, the distance to the residential areas is not comparable to the urban structure of Los Angeles and the peripheral suburban housing which Hayden refers to. The dependency on husbands and fathers for their access to automobiles was not a factor to the same extent, in the much smaller town of Malmö. This meant that the female textile workers of Malmö could move freely in the city and with a greater independence.

The town of Sundbyberg was developed around the industrial sites of Marabou and a few other factories. Therefore the urban structure did not contribute to an isolation and dependency of the female labourers.

The urban spatial circumstances of Sundbyberg might explain the extensive role that the female labourers of Marabou have had in the city, as the factory was the *raison d'être* of the municipality. The spatial interlacing of Strumpan into the city as Malmö grew is not reflected

in the municipal or media coverage of the factory, thereby suggesting that women's position in the city cannot, in this case, be explained (solely) by spatial circumstances. Strumpan endorses the position of the scholars accounted for in the background section "Urban Planning and Female Labour".

## Site Encounters

The autoethnographic data collection differed in terms of tools utilised, although drawing sketches in the cardinal directions had been the intention for both sites. Because of a change in circumstances beyond my control: rain, drawing sketches was replaced with taking photographs with a system camera and my phone at the site of Marabouparken. Other than that, the structure of cardinal directions was maintained. Diary entries describing my experience of the sites in relation to the figures were written in the first few days following the visits, so as to write while my experience was still vivid.

A difference between the field study of Strumpan and that of Marabou is the ratio between figures (photos or sketches) and diary notes. In the autoethnographic study of Strumpan, the ratio was 1:1, whilst Marabou had a 4:1 ratio. At the site of Strumpan, each sketch, in every cardinal direction and at each point had a corresponding diary entry. At the Marabou site, each point had a diary note covering the entirety of the visual perspectives from the four cardinal points. That is, my experience of each data collection point was integrated to a whole, rather than separated into cardinal directions.

A factor that increased this integrated experience was the view of the park. In the spatial analysis of Strumpan, the building was the focal point, and the points from which the sketches were made related to the factory building throughout the analysis. In Marabou, the lower lawn occupied the focal point. The edges of the site were clear.

In terms of architectural volume, Marabou is an inversion of Strumpan. It bears the shape of a concave container, a hollow surrounded by slants, stairs, and buildings. Strumpan, on the other hand, is convex. The centre of this formation is the factory, but the concave volume is rather the experience of an island of inaccessible structures. These are made up of the parking lots, department stores, unclear pedestrian routes, and flags and logos manifesting the commercial character of the area, and hence defining the activity visitors to the site ought to be engaged in.

In this spatial experience, Marabou and Strumpan share certain unexpected similarities. The functionalist lawn that ties together the park makes a visual experience of the entirety of the park possible, but it does not allow an immediate physical involvement. In the rain, the muddy lawn is as inaccessible as the island of Strumpan.

Strumpan is difficult to experience in its entirety. At first glance, Marabou seemed to contain a greater variation of visual and spatial experiences, with its richness in vegetation, its topography, its stairs, corners, and hidden pathways. The accessibility created by the visual experience, sometimes seeing the high rises east of the park through the rhododendron jungle, as in point D, or glimpsing an archaic tree beyond a delicately designed decline, as in point E, has another effect. The details differ as I move along in the landscape, but the presence of the lawn and the experience of the volume dominate throughout the walk in Marabou. This creates a notion of predictability and hence security.

Strumpan, on the other hand, does not present an all-encompassing view. The landscape and the site can only be comprehended by moving through the site. This makes it unpredictable and through this, walking becomes a tool in discovering the landscape. The accessibility of Marabou, although not necessarily in all weathers or during restorations and reconstructions, is revealed in the thorough planning of how a pedestrian can move in the space. This doesn't apply to the lawn though, which is precisely designed, in functionalist fashion, to invite employees and visitors alike, to move freely.

The lack of such a clarity at the site of Strumpan gives me a form of forced agency as a pedestrian. I am bound to decide my own route. Making these micro choices of pathway is uncomfortable when the options aren't clearly appealing. As with Marabou, part of the site is exempt from this.

In the site of Strumpan the exception is the landscape around the road Trelleborgsvägen, to the east of the factory. This too can be said to be of functionalist character; the automobile planning of the city was one of the more pervasive expressions of modernism in general, with functionalism in the forefront.

The sketches and their associated diary entries have a greater depth in the case of Strumpan than in Marabou. Making small decisions about directions on how to walk when the route isn't obvious makes my role as a pedestrian more assertive. It does this at the expense of my comfort. In the vernacular landscape there needs to be a combination of treaded, designed routes, and untreaded ones that invite the pedestrian to explore the landscape themselves.

In my role as a landscape master's student investigating my experience of the landscape, the site of Strumpan, however unattractive as compared to Marabou, is intriguing.

In my role as a Malmö native, my long-term connections to the materiality of the site, as well as to its non-material dimensions, is more complex and therefore also richer. This is partly reflected in the diary entries of Strumpan, compared to those of Marabou. My experience of the landscape as a Malmö native is more delicate because it is an environment that I am familiar with. At the same time, I am impressed when confronted with the Marabou Park. It doesn't look like much from the outside, but once inside it stirs the imagination.

These preconditions make a comparison between Strumpan and Marabou complicated. I am not neutral or objective in my approach to the two landscapes, even though I attempt to be. Through the framework of critical normativity, as developed by Körner (2016), my premises are accounted for, making me less susceptible to a bias.

A perspective that I find interesting when comparing the two field studies is Heewon Chang's description of the conflict between the proclaimers of subjectivity versus objectivity (Chang 2008), as described in the method section. I attempted to strictly define the autoethnographic method and implement it with utmost austerity in the first stages of the study. In doing so, I joined the team of anthropologists affiliated with qualitative methods and autoethnography, but of a rather strict character. I did this in an effort to compensate for a sense of bias and lack of objectivity.

In relation to the autoethnographic data collections under part I and part III, understanding the conditions for the different outcomes can be more useful than viewing a process that isn't meticulously performed as a deterioration in objectivity.

## Drawing and Photography

An aspect that is essential when comparing the two field studies is the differences and limitations in the methods and tools themselves. Sketching and photographing, limiting the number of points or deciding where to stop based on how intriguing the environment is, leads to different outcomes.

At Strumpan, choosing to sketch meant that I had the possibility of choosing which details and building structures to include. Even though I attempted to approach every view from every cardinal direction of every point with a neutral gaze, I nonetheless chose to emphasise certain aspects at the expense of others. With Marabou, my approach was made more neutral through using automatic settings in the camera for aperture and shutter speed, while maintaining a constant ISO of 200; I thereby outsourced the decision-making to the camera.

Drawing sketches demanded a greater attentivity from me because of the time limitation. This meant that I needed to stay focused during the entirety of the two minutes I had given myself in each cardinal direction. With Marabou and photographing, a time limit was never set. A reason for this is that the time limit with Strumpan was meant to keep the detailing comparable between the different sketches. Because I gave up the plan of drawing sketches at Marabou, in effect of the rain, I also left the time limitation. I did not see a purpose for it as I assumed that the process of photographing would be straightforward and uniform.

One consequence of a lack of a structure in time was that I only became systematic in my photographing towards the end of the field study. Well through the first third of the visit I was focused on catching the impressions of the park with the camera, making sure that I didn't miss important structures, that the overall disposition of the photograph was pleasing and that the photographs of the four cardinal points summarised my experience of that point. This extensive planning and adjusting in the beginning was replaced with a successively more methodical photographing during the rest of the visit. The reason for this was merely practical: I would not get around the entire park before the fall of darkness if I continued in this pace.

My regard to detail is in average comparable in drawing sketches and photographing, but the difference in the latter is more dramatic. Although barely visible, the photographs in points A to G are more deliberate than those following. This can be discerned in that the earlier photographs have more of a landscape-oriented, deadpan aesthetic, with a neutrality in gaze, as well as a vertical balance defined by a centred horizon. The remaining photographs show less of this tendency. The camera is not level in as many photographs and in a few photographs the views in certain cardinal points are abandoned in order to focus on an object. Overall, the systematism that was first obtained towards the end of the Marabou study, through a hastier and less disposition-oriented photographing, appears, to a large extent, to be analogous throughout the data collection at the site.

Another important difference between the two data collection tools of sketching and photographing, is that the latter was subject to editing. The sketches were not retouched, other than minor changes in contrast, for the sake of readability. The photographs were too dark, so the main editing was in the form of increasing the brightness. A few other changes were also made, of saturation and temperature. With the Marabou study, multiple photographs were taken in every cardinal direction of every point, as compared to a single sketch drawn in every cardinal perspective at Strumpan. This was followed by a selection process, thereby further increasing bias.

The interventions described above could make the resulting images quite difficult to compare between the two field studies. Because the motive of the field study of Strumpan and of Marabou was to gather an understanding of the spatiality of their surrounding landscape, this was achieved independently of any modifications, due to the complement of the diary notes. The experience on site is not completely represented through the images, but it is doubtful that a greater representation of this experience could have been achieved with raw, unedited images.

What it does imply though, is that with an autoethnographic data collection method, the more parameters are kept constant, the less the amount of material is lost in noise. In this case, in the shape of retouching, sketching and photography styles, time spent at every point in the site as well as in selecting and editing the material afterwards, and finally in interpreting the material in retrospect. With noise I mean that a greater systematisation in the data collection can give room to the nuances and differences of the collected data, rather than hinder the reader through a variety of visual expressions.

## Implications

One of the greater benefits of this method is that it allows for a critique and re-reading of the urban landscape, making it accessible beyond the “intentions of architects and planners” (Körner 2016). It also enables a multitude of interpretations and decisions by the pedestrians and premieres a heterogeneity rather than a consensus in how inhabitants relate to the city.

The method made possible a connection to the urban history and specifically that of the female labourers’ role in the urbanity of Malmö. That role is one that has been put aside because of a political strategy developed to mitigate the worst effects of the demise of the industry, as described by Möllerström (2011) and Sernhede et al (2006) in the section on Malmö’s transformation. What is implied by the above-mentioned authors, is that this transformation to the City of Knowledge was implemented despite an awareness of possible risks. One of the benefits, seen through the perspective of the municipal office, was the attempt at creating a momentum in the amalgamated, homogenous story of the city (Sernhede et al. 2006). This, in turn, would help attract external investors and aid in restoring the economy, as described by Sernhede et al (2006).

Autoethnography, and Haraway’s notion of the privilege of partial perspectives (Haraway 1988 see Körner 2016) as applied by Körner (2016), sheds light on the conforming of the multitude of perspectives of the inhabitants into one united, but not inclusive, prospect.

Through an autoethnographic data collection, my own, subjective experience of the landscape is encouraged, which in part strengthens my position as a pedestrian, and my agency in choosing to follow norms or challenge them, the latter as presented by Körner (2016). In effect, the autoethnographic process bears theoretical potential to address the shortcomings of a single, predominant narrative.

The term “envisaging” allows a broader understanding of the results, of the seamless city. It does not necessarily imply creating a visual representation of how the seamless city ought to look like, nor presenting a manifest of Malmö’s urban future. “Envisaging” holds a proposal as well as an imagining, and here it sheds the light on the seams of the city, inviting their potential disintegration.

## Limitations, Design Practice and Further Research

This thesis did not have a defined hypothesis. Rather, it was of a more exploratory character. This opens for a greater array of possible answers, thereby leading to questions that were not expected or even relevant at first. One such question has been the comparison between Strumpan and Marabou; how the architectural volumes, built and planted, movement and preconditions, as well as my own situatedness (Ahmed 2006), create design possibilities.

The disadvantage of not having a hypothesis has been the greater array of possible answers. Even though a method, in fact several methods, had been set, sites for field studies defined and relevant theoretical areas identified, the explorative character of this paper meant that relevant theory grew as the autoethnographic data collection opened new doors.

Due to the scope of this paper, creating a design suggestion has not been possible. It would, however, be of value if the analyses and conclusions could be tested. This is not the least because such a design process requires making decisions, big and small, concerning the physical milieu, which thereby grounds a theoretical analysis in a site-specific landscape practice.

At an earlier stage in the paper, though, an inventory was made for a potential suggestion that would connect parks and pocket parks within a radius of Strumpan that is accessible by foot on a daily basis. This would, hypothetically, weave together the theoretical framework of the experienced architectural landscape, and the industrial history, with the vernacular landscape surrounding the site of Malmö Strumpfabrik today, using the experience of the Marabou Park. Green passages connecting pockets of rest and play could through this balance an absence of such a recreational site during the factory’s operative time. It was evident that the initial intention of producing a design proposal was not feasible within the scope of the paper.

As a study of the vernacular architectural landscape, the effect of this historical space on inhabitants would be of interest. This could be both of inhabitants relating to the landscape of Strumpan today, and those that lived near or worked at the site when it was operative. Through the autoethnographic analysis, I partly resolve the question of how inhabitants today experience the place; I have thoroughly studied my own experience.



Originally, the historical study of the stockings factory included carrying out an inventory into photographic material of Strumpan and the environment surrounding the factory. Southern Sweden's largest museum, the state-owned Malmö Museer, cooperates in a vast photographic database of Swedish museums, Carlotta. In contact with their superintendent of photography, Lina Ålenius, I came over the museum's material of Strumpan. Unlike that of many other Swedish textile factories, including several in Malmö, the material over Strumpan was far from what I had expected in terms of both quality and quantity. The photographs were mainly portraits of directors, a few group photographs of directors with a dozen female employees, advertisements of the stockings and photographs of stockings from the factory.

Thus there was neither a possibility of tracing a historical usage of the environment surrounding Strumpan, nor of grasping the site at the time the factory was operational. It was not until the end of this project that it became evident that the city archive, Malmö Stadsarkiv, preserve most of this material and that it is publicly accessible, despite hinders in the form of broken links and login requirements to other sites. For future research, an inventory into photographic material at the City Archive could be of use in comprehending the vernacular landscape and in designing a landscape proposal.

One limitation that could have been mitigated was that of including the employees' direct experience of the landscape. This would provide a depth to the study and an integration of the academic form with the lived reality of people. In the beginning of this project, I took contact with a former employee of and trade union active at Strumpan. My ambition was to carry out a semi-structured interview with her. Due to a change in priorities in the paper, this aspect was not given room. The experience of the former employees of this historical landscape can be an interesting thread to follow up on within an urban historical context.

Female workers have operated textile industries in many cities in Sweden. The town of Norrköping has given the historical heritage a greater role in the cityscape, whilst Borås, another textile dense town, accommodates a prominent textile faculty within its university. For further research a comparison of the urban landscape of these cities, in relation to the industrial sites, can be useful. These can also work as inspiration in integrating the textile history into present-day Malmö.

The implications of the urban landscape on the day-to-day experience of a heterogeneity of people that inhabit it, requires further research. An autoethnographic framework as the one used can be developed by integrating other users of the landscape, although there are other methods that could be useful if the objective is to collect data from a multitude of locals. The elasticity of the framework of critical normativity, and the possibility of adjusting the method to the circumstances at the site and of the researcher, makes it approachable. Two seemingly different sites can be studied without losing sight of either architectural factors of volumes, textures, sounds and others, or of the connection of these to an urban historical background. The history is rather explored and sometimes discovered in the folds of the sites.

The mentioned elasticity complicates the interpretation, as the framework offers several structures for doing this. It has an exploratory character which is useful in bridging the gap between architecture and gender studies in the original setup of Körner, as discussed under the method section.

The method can be developed to include a more rigid structure for interpretation. This could increase its relevance in the context of architecture and urban planning practice in firms and municipalities. It is, after all, in building the landscape that a multitude of contradictory perspectives needs to be catered for.

Photographing and sketching are different techniques with numerous schools of ideas and expressions. A limitation in using them as tools for an autoethnographic data collection is that the scope of the paper necessitates leaving out these legacies.

Using two different methods for collecting data of my own experience can, due to the difficulty in comparing the visual information itself, be of advantage in extracting my own experience. The objective of studying my own experience, rather than the medium, becomes clearer.

On the other hand, interpreting both photographic material and sketches in retrospect can diffuse an understanding of how I experience the site, as I need to decipher my language and style of expression in two media. My particular use of the tools creates an excessive parameter that needs to be isolated or at least defined when analysing the data. If the gage can be maintained, using the same medium is preferable.

This thesis has not attempted to engage in walkability and surrounding concepts. Although walking has been a tool, contextualising it theoretically has been beyond the scope of this paper. Analysing the site of the former stockings factory, with regards to movement and accessibility of the locals is an important question to consider if or when reconstructing is intended.

## Concluding Remarks

This thesis asks how the historical presence of the female textile industry workers can be envisaged in the city planning of Malmö. With the background of Malmö's urban history and transformation from an industrial town to a "City of Knowledge", and an autoethnographic method based on a framework of Critical Normativity, a case study is performed of Malmö Strumpfabrik AB, and contrasted against one of Marabouparken in Sundbyberg.

The autoethnographic method and the framework of critical normativity open an array of potentials for understanding how the vernacular landscape manifests in the lives of the inhabitants. The foundation of this method in exposing the lack of neutrality in a singular, all-encompassing perspective reciprocates with the narrative of Strumpan in the urban history of Malmö. Thereby the method carries a potential of making accessible a wider range of perspectives. Further research is required on how critical normativity can be utilised in envisaging the heterogeneous urban landscapes of Malmö from a historical and contemporary perspective.

Approaching the factory landscapes through sketching and photography creates an array of interpretations, which aids in maintaining a focus on the autoethnographic aspect of the study rather than in an immediate, spatial, comparison of the stockings factory and the chocolate factory.

The narrative and history of Strumpan and Marabou, the materiality of their present and historical conditions, and my own walking through this, figuratively and factually, exposes a potential in recognising the history of the female textile workers of Malmö through integrating Malmö Strumpfabrik AB in the present urban fabric. Using a corresponding and prestigious site of a female dominated workplace enables an envisaging of how Malmö can materialise this significant history of its textile legacy.

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#### Figure list

Figure 1: Lundh, G. / Malmö Museer (1949) *Arbeterskor lämnar textilfabriken MAB* [photograph]. Available: CARLOTTA. <https://carlotta.malmo.se/carlotta-mmus/web/object/655489> [2020-09-07]