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Walk the Plan

– An exploration of linear landscapes

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Promenera i planen - En undersökning av linjär landskapsarkitektur

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Abstract

This master thesis is an investigation of linear landscapes through a case study of three projects, a design critique of Rosengårdsstråket, and a proposal for the architecture competition *Imagine Open Skåne 2030*. The critique is based on aspects found in the investigated cases and theory on on-site exploration and on-site information gathering. The main theoretical source is 'the Traveling Transect', the theory in development by researchers Lisa Diedrich, Gini Lee and Ellen Braae. It combines studio work with trans-areal exploration, as a way to uncover place specific information and relations. The purpose of the critique is to learn from an existing project, to find aspects to build upon in the search for new forms of a more including and democratic planning process. To offer a more collaborative process that supports bottom-up initiatives. The proposal is a group work by Carl-Johan Banck, Martin Berge, and David Bratthäll. It is set in the highly contested landscape of southwestern Skåne, where many different landscape types fight for space in a rather small area, and thereby, creating conflicts of interest such as urban expansion against preservation of farmland. Its main goal is to make the landscape accessible and open up for a discussion on how to best develop the different landscape types to best deal with present and future challenges. It is set up as a method in which collaboration between different actors and an experimental approach to landscape architecture and planning are included.

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Introduction

In 2015 the Region of Skåne, together with Swedish Association of Architects Skåne, launched the competition *Imagine Open Skåne 2030*, based on the development strategy document *The Open Skåne 2030*. The competitors were asked to come up with ideas regarding the future evolution of the region. In the competition program (Region Skåne, Sveriges Arkitekter Skåne, 2015) the task was described as two parts. First, the competitors were asked to "identify a challenge in society and describe how it affects Skåne" and secondly to "develop and present a design offering a response to this challenge" (ibid.). The intention of the competition is to let people from different design fields define problems within the region and present solutions to these problems. A secondary purpose is to broaden the discussion within the architectural field about community and regional development (ibid.)

"We are looking for design ideas of things to change, connect, develop or discuss in Skåne, as well as answers to how and why. We want entries that can work as part of a debate, critique of the present, or as visions of another world."(ibid.)

Within the architectural field, project based work and competitions are common approaches, and that is why we, Carl-Johan Banck, Martin Berge, and David Bratthäll, have chosen to do a collaboration within this context as part of our individual master projects. Meaning that the competition entry presented in this master thesis was developed conjointly by us, but the interpretation is elaborated individually, in the context of a survey of similar existing designs and a design critique of one local project in Malmö.

In the regional strategy document *The Open Skåne 2030* Region Skåne's (2014) aim is to develop Skåne into an open, including, innovative and socially, economically and ecologically sustainable region. The document puts great emphasis on the ability for people to move freely across Skåne. Different landscape types shall weave together the polycentric structure of the region into a cohesive whole, including a high biodiversity, the use of ecosystem favors, and responsible land use. The fact that all thirty-three municipalities of Skåne have approved the document gives it authority. However, it is also a product of compromises, lacking details on how to implement the visions into reality. Our opinion is that the document needs practical examples to complement the written texts and make its intentions more articulated. The goal of our collaboration is to create one of these practical examples focusing on one or several challenges that Skåne is facing. Some examples of challenges within the region are the preservation of farmland, access to recreation, increased biodiversity and connections between cities and between the urban and rural landscape.

Contemporary city planning in Sweden tends to focus on dense urban environments based on the traditional European cities from the 19th hundreds. In his seminal book *Zwischenstadt* [1], Thomas Sieverts (1997) argues that our fascination with the city as densely packed and with crowded public spaces to be a myth based on the overcrowded 19th-century city centers, although the conditions in those city centers differ a lot from the reality of today. This paradigm in modern planning leaves us with weak or no tools at all to plan the landscapes that do not fit into this notion. The landscape outside of the dense city centers is often referred to in terms

with a negative connotation, such as urban sprawl, detached settlements and that it lacks identity, this puts it a peripheral place in modern planning despite the fact that many of today's challenges are present here (Sieverts, 1997).

With the claims by Sieverts in mind, the ambition is to make a plan that could be developed over time and create better access to the landscape of the southwestern part of Skåne. The motive for this project is to explore a plan that is not fixed and can be established in collaboration between people, authorities, universities and companies. A way to make the landscape types accessible and an invitation to explore Skåne in a new way. With an itinerary as the spatialization of the plan, people can explore the plan and interact with the transformation over time. This idea of making an itinerary the main structure in our work for the *Imagine Open Skåne 2030* competition calls for an investigation of other projects that are organized along an itinerary or a line and how they can operate as agents for change in a transformative process.

This thesis includes an investigation of four projects, the Emerald Necklace, Superkilen, Chemin de Grande Randonnée 2013 (GR 2013) and Rosengårdsstråket (Rosengård Urban Pathway). These projects represent different aspects of linear landscape architecture. Emerald Necklace as the historical example, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, sometimes called the father of modern landscape architecture, and also created in a very significant time in history, during the height of the industrial revolution in America. Superkilen as the contemporary and very famous example made by a high profile team of architects, landscape architects, and artists in Bjarke Ingels Group, Topotek1, and Superflex. GR 2013, also contemporary, as the experimental, artistic and improvised example that can broaden our scope, created by a group of artists, and Rosengårdsstråket as s social and local example, made by Malmö Stad (Malmö municipality). I find particularly interesting to investigate Rosengårdsstråket further in a design critique considering it is an existing project in the vicinity of our competition entry. It is a part of the revitalization project of the city district of Rosengård which puts much emphasis on social and environmental sustainability and public participation.

The idea to complement our proposal with a critique of a similar project was formed during our investigations to come up with concepts for the Imagine Open Skåne 2030 competition. It fits well with our line of thinking for the competition, trying to find an alternative way of planning that can be more inviting to participation. Critiquing landscape architecture is still far from an undeniable part of the field, as it is in e.g. architecture or art. Therefore there is a rare opportunity to contribute to a still small but growing catalog that articulates what landscape architecture is and can be today (van Dooren, 2016).

Hence this master project is divided into two parts, a case study, and critique written individually, and a collaborative project for the competition. A structure that allowed for work within both academic studies and practical design work in the field of landscape architecture.

Method and theories for a design research proposal

The individual part of this master project is a design critique on Rosengårdsstråket in Malmö. A comparative case study of three other projects accompanies the critique. From these cases different aspects will be derived, that sets them apart from the other two. The idea of writing a design critique started with a two-day seminar, on the 7th and 8th of March on the campus of the Swedish University of Agricultural Science (SLU), Alnarp, discussing the role of critique in landscape architecture. The leader of the seminar was Noel van Dooren, editor of *Journal of Landscape Architecture's* (*JoLA*) critique section 'Under the Sky'. To prepare for the discussions critiques from the journals, *JoLA* and *'Scape* were studied, and a short embryonic draft for a critique was handed in. During the two seminar days, the group discussed the critiques read and presented our drafts for our critiques. Some of the questions brought up during the conversations were; How can we criticize landscape architecture? What is design critique of landscape architecture and what can it offer to our field? How to do it in an academic way? [And] what part do analytical drawings play in a design critique?

After the seminar, I formulated two questions that I wanted to answer in my critique of Rosengårdsstråket and case study. How can a linear design or an itinerary contribute to a landscape as a connector between areas and districts and what is the larger lesson learned from different projects of this form?
What can we learn from Rosengårdsstråket in particular?

The purpose of the case study and critique writing is to create an argumentation scheme that broadens the way we look at our competition entry. Put it into a genre or into a group of other landscape architecture pieces that have used a similar approach or form. When writing a critique on Rosengårdsstråket, the goal is to strengthen the argument that our competition proposal is a legitimate plan to deal with Skånes future challenges.

As a guide and structure for the design critique, I will follow Noël van Doorn's 'Ingredients of critique' presented in *The Landscape of Critique: The state of critique in landscape architecture and its future challenges (version March 2016)* (2016). He suggests five steps that can build an argumentative scheme for a design critique of landscape architecture projects. These five steps include three descriptive layers, a description of the design that motivates why it is worthy the attention of a critique, a part describing the process of the development and transformation of the site and a section telling the reader what it is now at the moment of the critique. It serves as the base for the concluding two parts which are the evaluation of the design and a discussion on the larger lessons learned (Dooren, 2016, pp. 4-5).

Because the critique is written in an academic context proper theory needs to be studied (Davidsson, Patel, 2003, p. 14, 45-46, 118-121). A qualitative literature study led us to base our argumentation on 'the Traveling Transect', a theoretical foundation and methodology for fieldwork research, currently under development (Braae, Diedrich, Lee, 2013; Braae, Diedrich, Lee,2014; Diedrich, Lee, Raxworthy, 2013).

The collaborative work is an intuitive design process, where we use the tools acquired during our studies to become landscape architects, and as a framework for this process the architectural design research method presented by Murray Fraser (2013) is used.

> As a working definition, architectural design research can be described as the process and outcomes of inquiries and investigations in which architects use the creation of projects, or broader contributions towards design thinking, as the central constituent in a process which also involves the more generalized research activities of thinking, writing, testing, verifying, debating, disseminating, performing, validating and so on. (Fraser 2013, pp.1-2)

Our goal is to create a design proposal for the *Imagine Open Skåne 2030* competition with the purpose to gain personal experience as working landscape architects and try our ideas in a public forum. The objective is to study the landscape of Skåne and its different characteristics between urban centers and countryside, coastal zone, and inland. New planning and design strategies will be developed as a result of these studies. The goal is to show how a conscious and holistic approach to planning is decisive when handling Region Skånes set up goals for 2030. The main question during this work is, how can new planning and design strategies for the landscape of Skåne be formed?

Field work is an essential part of the project's initial phase, to acquire a deeper understanding of the landscape in our area of Skåne and to help us shape a set of boundaries for our competition entry. In our design process, writing by Thomas Sieverts and others such as Mattias Qviström (2015) inspired us to investigate the landscape in southwestern Skåne, its different landscape typologies, barriers, and topography. We went on field trips both individually and as a group, by car and train, and also by bike and on foot to make deeper investigations on certain locations. 'The Traveling Transect' theory worked as a framework and inspiration for these field trips.

The theory of 'the Traveling Transect', developed by Lisa Diedrich, Gini Lee, and Ellen Braae, is the primary source of theory leading my collaborators and me through this work, both in the fieldwork and concept development for the competition and in the case study and design critique writing. 'The Traveling Transect' derives from epistemological theories coined by Alexander von Humboldt, saying that knowledge is an open work that always continues to evolve, and that on-site exploration is the main source of new information and learning (Braae, Diedrich, Lee, 2013, p. 193). Many of the methods and tools used by designers to investigate sites are focusing on static and material qualities, overlooking the more sensitive ones such as relations, atmosphere, and dynamics. At the same time projects are often claimed to be site specific (Brae et al., 2013, p. 191). 'The Traveling Transect' is a compliment to the designer's in-studio work, as a mobile form of investigating space and spatial relations. By recording and expressing a sites ephemeral and tangible aspects it creates better conditions for site specific design intervention (Braae, Diedrich, Lee, 2014).

To simplify, ‘the Traveling Transect’ has three distinctive stages, ‘pre-travel’, ‘travel’, and ‘post-travel’. In the ‘pre-travel’ stage, an itinerary is decided upon, and essential preparations are made. The ‘travel’ is the stage where sites along the itinerary are experienced and documented in e.g. annotations, sketches, photos, and sound recordings. During travel deviations from the preplanned route are encouraged as a way to obtain new knowledge about the site. ‘Post-travel’ is about evaluating and presenting the material gathered during the transect as an open-ended work that can be altered in the future (Braae et al., 2013, p.195). A crucial part of the transect method is to let yourself be subjective. The experience of the site and the uniqueness of that moment is equally important as the measurable data collected (Diedrich, Lee, Raxworthy, 2013, pp 155-157). The modernistic way of dividing the scientific site analysis and the conceptual design act is in ‘the Traveling Transect’ replaced by a process where design is site interpretation, and the site is the program. This approach creates a way of looking at design as a transformation of a site rather than a total redesign (Diedrich et al., 2013, p. 153). As we all act in a complex system of individuals and collectives taking action and making decisions that react to one another, research needs to adapt to this reality of increased complexity. By using the idea of conscious serendipity as a driver research can produce findings through situational interactions and exchanges (Diedrich et al., 2013, p. 162).

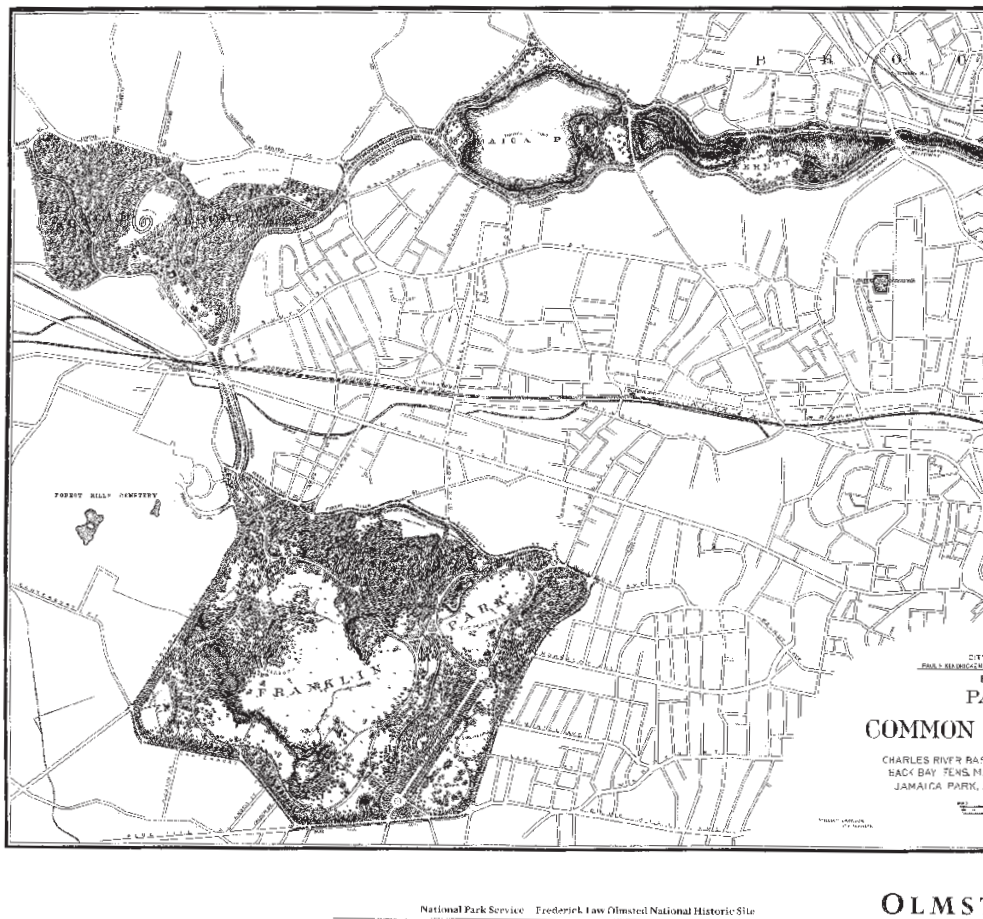
Cases in context

This chapter includes presentations of three design projects with a linear form. All three distinguish themselves from one another with their functionality, form, and purpose. The focus is to understand what larger lessons can be learned by studying them from an urbanist perspective. A synthesis will conclude the chapter and lead into the next one, which is a critique of Rosengårdsstråket, in Malmö.

EMERALD NECKLACE – converting a muddy river into a stormwater trench and public landscape

The Emerald Necklace is a system of parks, parkways and waterways in the Boston metropolitan area (Pressley, 2016). The design is made by Frederick Law Olmsted, a pioneer in modern landscape architecture and the architect of world famous parks such as Central Park in Manhattan and Prospect Park in Brooklyn (Eisenman, 2013, p. 290). The Emerald Necklace covers roughly 445 hectares of the Boston metropolitan area and connects Boston Common, which dates back to colonial times, and the Public Garden with Back Bay Fens (1878) and The Riverway (1892), further through Olmsted Park (1892), Jamaica Pond (1892), Arnold Arboretum (1872) and finally to Franklin Park (1881). When finished, it was an approximately 11-kilometer long continuous system of green areas and parks, all designed by Olmsted except for the Common and Public Garden (Pressley, 2016).

One of the more significant parts of The Emerald Necklace is the Back Bay Fens and Riverway sections. Back Bay, originally a saltwater marsh, was used as a collection basin



for sewage and flood water. The sedimented sewage sludge destroyed the local ecosystem and frequent flooding of stinking sewage to the adjacent neighborhoods forced the city to find a solution to the problem (Spirn, 1984, p. 22). In the 1880s Olmsted was commissioned to propose a restoration program of the area. He proposed a dredging of Back Bays mudflats to create storage for stormwater and prevent future flooding and managed to turn it into a public park, by restoring the ecosystem using plants tolerant to shifting water levels (Spirn, 1984, p. 23). It is an early example of stormwater management with wetland restoration, an approach that's been rediscovered in modern time. The Back Bay Fens and Riverway sections are almost a third of the Emerald Necklace and it is primarily engineered to handle flooding and increase water quality, recreational aspects was only a bonus (Spirn, 1984, p.147). Olmsted advocated for parks as an integrated part of the city comprehensive plan and as a method to develop the city geographically, economically, socially and culturally (Eisenman, 2013, pp. 298-299).

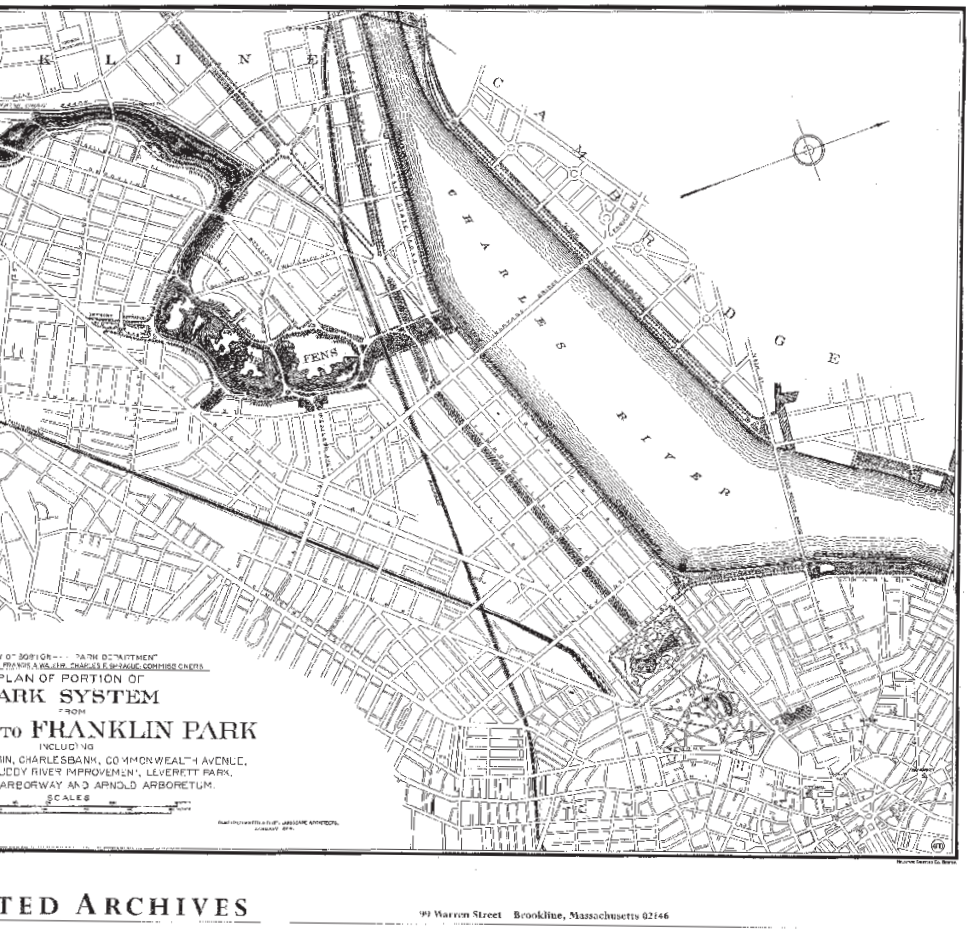


Fig 1. *The plan from 1894 of the Emerald Necklace. (National Park Service)*

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99 Warren Street Brookline, Massachusetts 02146

The original design of the Emerald Necklace took two decades to create, and the final construction of the park system was finished 1895 (Pressly, 2016). With the Emerald Necklace Olmsted created a line of parks by connecting old parks (Boston Common and Public Garden) with new ones (Olmsted Park, Jamaica Pond, Arnold Arboretum, and Franklin Park) and making public recreational areas out of pure sanitary projects (Back Bay Fens and The Riverway). His vision and innovation created an unbroken line of parks and parkways that still benefits the city of Boston today.

The most important lesson to be learned from Olmsted's vision is the one of continuity. Without it, the Emerald Necklace would lose its ability to function as a connector between the inner city and the suburbs. Boston would still benefit from the beautiful parks, but it would lose a major connector between city districts.

Fig 2. *Dredging in the Back Bay Fens, 1882. (City of Boston)*

Fig 3. *The Riverway under construction in 1892. (National Park Service)*

Fig 4. *The Riverway after construction in 1920. (National Park Service)*

SUPERKILEN – converting a left over tramway strip into a multi ethnic public space

Superkilen is an urban space and park in Nørrebro, Copenhagen, a city district known for its diverse population with relations to more than 50 different cultures (Hixson, E., 2013). The designers have used a very graphical idiom with strong colors and divided the area into three distinct spaces, The Red Square, The Black Market and The Green Park, each with its main function (Superflex, n.d.). According to Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), leading architects of the design of Superkilen, the idea is to showcase the diversity that exists in today's Denmark (BIG, 2012). To represent the cultural mix of the area more than a hundred objects from over 50 different countries have been moved or reproduced in 1:1 scale in the space of Superkilen. A group of representatives from the neighborhood was included in the process of choosing the objects. Objects such as picnic tables from Armenia, a basketball hoop from Somalia, bike racks from France, a neon sign from Qatar and manhole cover from Israel, among others (SuperFlex, n.d.). Superkilen is an existing urban space that screams for attention. It is very modern, but it the incorporation of foreign objects in the space is a reference back to an old design concept from traditional English landscape garden design (Toptek1, n.d.).

Fig 5. *The Red Square, Superkilen. (Naotake Murayama)*

Fig 6. *The Green Park, Superkilen. (Maja Manner)*

Fig 7. *The Black Market, Superkilen. (Karen Mardahl)*

Fig 8. *Neon Sign in Superkilen. The original originates from Doha, Qatar. (Maja Manner)*

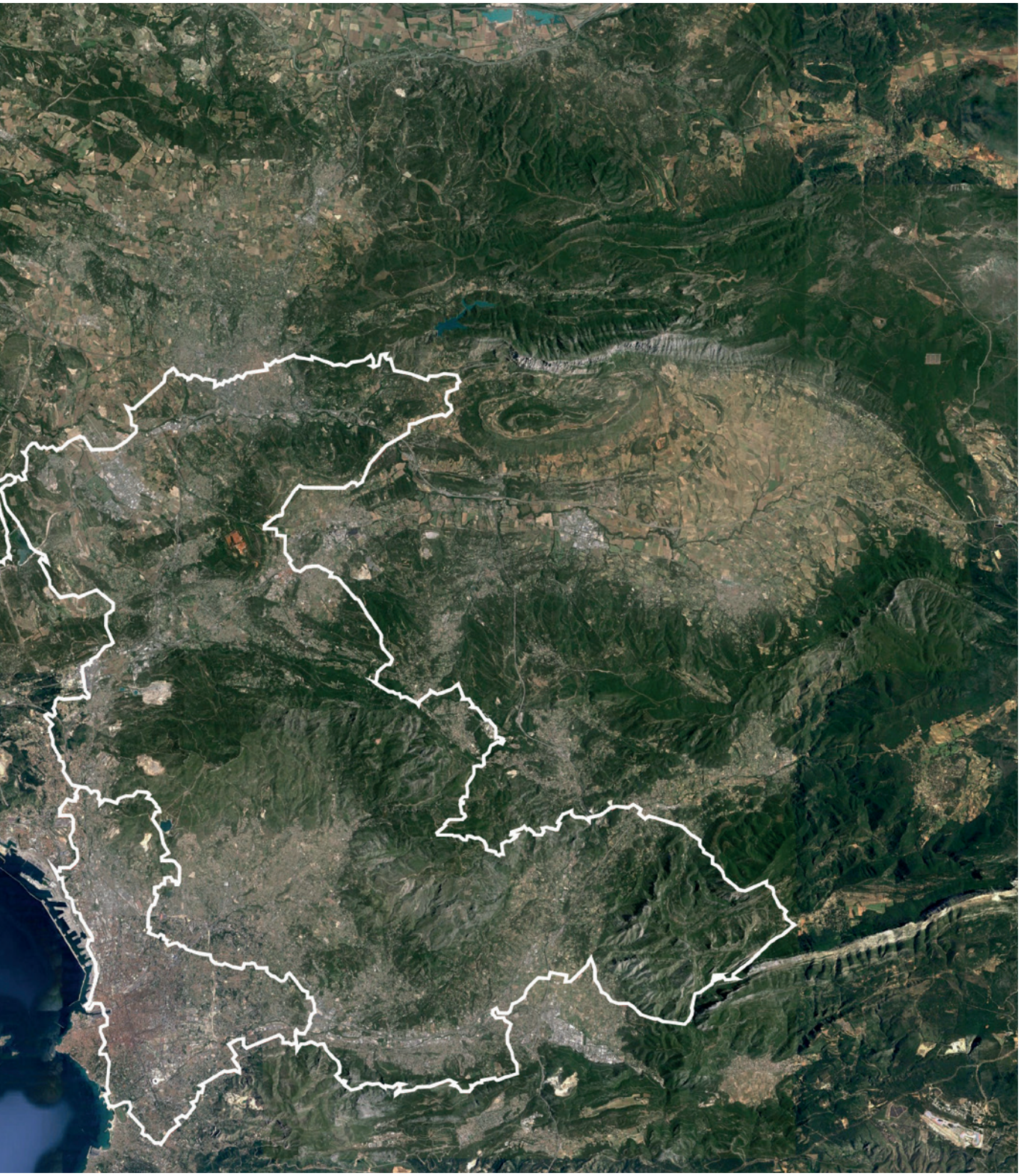
Superkilen has drawn much international attention and been praised by locals and design critics alike (Hallett, 2014). However, critical voices have been raised questioning the motives of the participatory process. In his text *Superkilen: Participatory Park Extreme!*, Brett Bloom claims that the neighborhood's representatives involved only had power over superficial matters and no actual influence when it came to functionality and design (2013). Bloom calls for a much more open and transparent process when conducting participatory design in a diverse area such as Nørrebro, a bottom-up approach instead of top-down (ibid.).

Superkilen is a project that needs to be discussed and questioned. It is evident that the design is original, and it can be scrutinized through a broad range of perspectives. Nonetheless, I believe that the participatory aspect of the design and the aspect of ownership may be the most relevant discussion considering that the narrative of the design process is one of public participation and ownership. Who should be included for participation to be valid? What is enough participation? [And] what is the designer's role in a participatory process?

Fig 9. *Starshaped fountain, Superkilen. The original originates from Morocco. (Nakotake Murayama)*

CHEMIN DE GRANDE RANDONNÉE 2013 – proposing an urban walk as an ephemeral public landscape

Fig 10. *The GR 2013. The trail is divided into two loops with a total length of 365 km.*



The Chemin de Grande Randonnée 2013 (GR 2013) is a hiking trail around the greater Marseille area in the southern Provence. It was constructed by 'walking artist' Baptiste Lanaspeze and Paul-Hervé Lavessière together with a small group of like-minded people as a part of the Marseille-Provence European Capital of Culture 2013 in Marseille (Marvellus Provence, 2016; Bureau des Guides, 2016). It is 365 km long and crosses through many different landscape types in the area (My Provence, 2016).

The trail consist of two loops, creating a lemniscate (infinity symbol) on the map. It circles the Etang de Berre (the Berre Lake) in the western loop, where the trail moves through the highly industrialized landscape of Provence. It passes oil refineries, a major port development, steel and chemistry industries, suburban settlements and the Marseille-Provence airport at Marignane (Marvellus Provence, 2016). The second loop, the eastern circle, brings the hiker into the urban fringe areas of the Etoile mountain range, to the north, and the east of the city. This part of the trail goes through a more conventional hiking landscape with beautiful sceneries and historical sites (Marvellus Provence, 2016).

The GR 2013 is created to be used by tourists and locals alike, and it is a way to present the everyday landscape that we live in and to give the hiker the opportunity to look at it from new angles or perspectives. It is the originator's goal to reintroduce the art of walking as a practice to explore the nature of the urban and suburban areas in the greater Marseille area and to create connections between spaces that are commonly looked at as disconnected or unapproachable (Metropolitan Trails, 2016). Baptiste Lanaspeze and Paul-Hervé Lavessière, founders of the NGO Metropolitan Trails and the initiators behind GR 2013, claims that by making a trail a piece of contemporary art it can connect to a broader range of human activities, such as culture, ecology, urban planning, energy, transport and tourism. The trail sheds new light on the environment where we live and connects the urban, suburban and rural landscapes (ibid.).

The official recognition GR 2013 has received, shows that alternative, DIY (Do-it-yourself), and experimental projects have a potential to bring new insights about the nature of today's landscapes. The question is if this concept of urban trails can be a platform for participation in the landscape transformation process that can engage a broad spectrum of citizens?

Fig 11. *Narrow alley, Pélisanne (David Biesack)*

Fig 12. *View of Golfe de Fos from Port-de-Bouc. (Dietmer Heinz)*

Fig 13. *View from a bridge in Martigues. (Francois Schwarz)*

Fig 14. *View in the Pichauris Park. (akunamatata)*

Synthesis

Olmsted's work with the Emerald Necklace in Boston shows that he had a greater vision for his projects, to always invest in the well-being of people and nature. His ambition to put natural elements into the planning and development of a city, be it a pure sanitary problem or a city comprehensive plan. With the significant challenges of adapting to the changing climate, a high urbanization rate and enthusiasm for densifying our cities, this is a lesson to be learned for contemporary urbanists when planning for future urban development. The Emerald Necklace is one line of green structure that moves through Boston, from the suburbs to the inner city and it was possible because of Olmsted had a vision and predicted the city's future growth. Thereby making the continuity of the park system possible, with his inventiveness in the Back Bay Fens and Riverway sections (Eisenman, 2013, p. 295). The continuity of this park system not only makes it ideal for long walks or bicycle trips, but it is also a provider for recreational space for a vast amount of people in Boston. The Emerald Necklace has become fragmented due to mismanaging and ignorance during the twentieth century (Spirn, 1984, p. 173), but a process to restore neglected parts are today conducted by The Emerald Necklace Conservancy (Eisenman, 2013, p. 295). The restoration efforts show that the continuity of the park system has been rediscovered, and are still valued.

When it comes to Superkilen, there are many things to be questioned, but it is hard to look passed the fact that it may be one of the most famous pieces of landscape architecture created in the last ten years. Pictures from it, are instantly recognizable, and it has created much publicity worldwide. Superkilen taps into an urgent discussion in the field of landscape architecture today, the discussion about public participation and ownership. The foreign objects on display in Superkilen is a very direct and visual concept when reflecting the composition of people living in the neighborhood. It works both as a space that informs its visitors of the cultural mix in the district of Nørrebro, as well as trying to instill a sense of ownership or feeling of belonging, to its citizens. The very distinct division of the three spaces within Superkilen also makes it possible for people to claim one of them as their favorite spot depending on preference. It is hard to judge once forever if Superkilen has succeeded or failed in its mission to create a sense of ownership to the residents in Nørrebro. The attempt to use unconventional public participation methods is a project of its own right and worth being monitored over the time to come, to judge this project at continuous moments of its existence, in order to draw lessons over time about new ways of involving citizens in urban development aiming at reducing segregation.

To hike in the city is an exciting idea that could open up for new viewpoints and understanding of the city and its districts. GR 2013 contemporary, artistic and straightforward approach to urban development is in many ways old but rarely used in modern planning. The pace of walking allows for contemplation and greater attention to the surroundings. A possibility to engage in the landscape and see it for what it is at that exact moment. It is a method that creates room to let the experience landscape with both the senses and the intellect.

In the next step, these aspects of continuity, public ownership and experimental way of finding place-specific qualities will be the most important points in scrutinizing the urban pathway project Rosengårdsstråket.

A critique of Rosengårdsstråket

Fig 15. *The City of Malmö, its Boroughs and Districts. Rosengårdsstråkets location is marked with a red line.*

Rosengård – repurposing functionalist spaces as a community oriented public landscape

In this design critique, I will take a closer look at Rosengårdsstråket, a pedestrian and bicycle pathway between the North entrance of the underground train station at Triangeln to Rosengårds Centre. The pathway is meant to strengthen the connection between Rosengård, a city district struggling with segregation and social issues, and the central parts of Malmö. Rosengårdsstråket is part of one of Malmö Stads (Malmö Municipality) flagship redevelopment programs Hållbara Rosengård (Sustainable Rosengård), which is a pilot project for a socially and environmentally sustainable development in the city district of Rosengård (Malmö Stad, 2013). The Rosengårdsstråket project is meant to make people choose the bike instead of the car and thereby decreasing the district's carbon emissions. To reach this goal Malmö Stad wanted to create a more attractive pedestrian and bicycle pathway, by increasing safety and creating new social meeting points (ibid.).

There are three specific sections along the pathway. The first of them goes through the city districts Möllevången and Sofielund, a very vibrant part of Malmö, with a dynamic, young and creative atmosphere. The closed blocks of early 1900s houses host a variety of restaurants, bars, cafés and smaller shops. The second sections go along the edge of the park Enskifteshagen. Quite typical 1940s to 1950s Swedish modernist housing surrounding the park on the North side and older industrial buildings and warehouses on the South, some are still in use while others have turned into sports facilities and a care center. It is the calmest part of the pathway. The park is in a typical modernist style, with a big open lawn in the middle and groups of trees and bushes along the edges. More recent additions to the park are a playground, an outdoor gym, a dog park, and a community garden, all situated along the North edge. The South side of the pathway is fenced, which makes the industrial buildings only visually accessible from the path. The final section runs from the west end of Rosengård to Rosengård's center. It is a district built in a typical late-modernist style, and the pathway leads the traveler along tenements buildings and larger open courtyards.

Outside of Rosengård, there was no need for new social space, the development along the pathway in these areas has, therefore, concerned improvement and renovation of existing structures and spaces. Improvements such as planting of trees along Ystadsgatan, new paving from Triangeln train station all the way to Lantmannagatan and installation of new light fixtures along the whole pathway. In Rosengård two new public spaces have been developed, Örtagårdstorget, a square in front of the 'Bokalerna'[2], and Rosens Röda Matta, an activity space. In the development of these two spaces participation with local stakeholders has played an essential role, with a focus to engage young people and especially young women in the process (Björnson, Eriksson, 2013). These two new public spaces in Rosengård, built on former parking lots, add a much-needed layer of well-defined public spaces to the area and enhances the continuity to the pathway in Rosengård, a continuity that previously only was present in the parts outside of the district.

Fig 16. Rosengårdsstråket and its 3 sections.
Three specific sections and the main transformation work made.

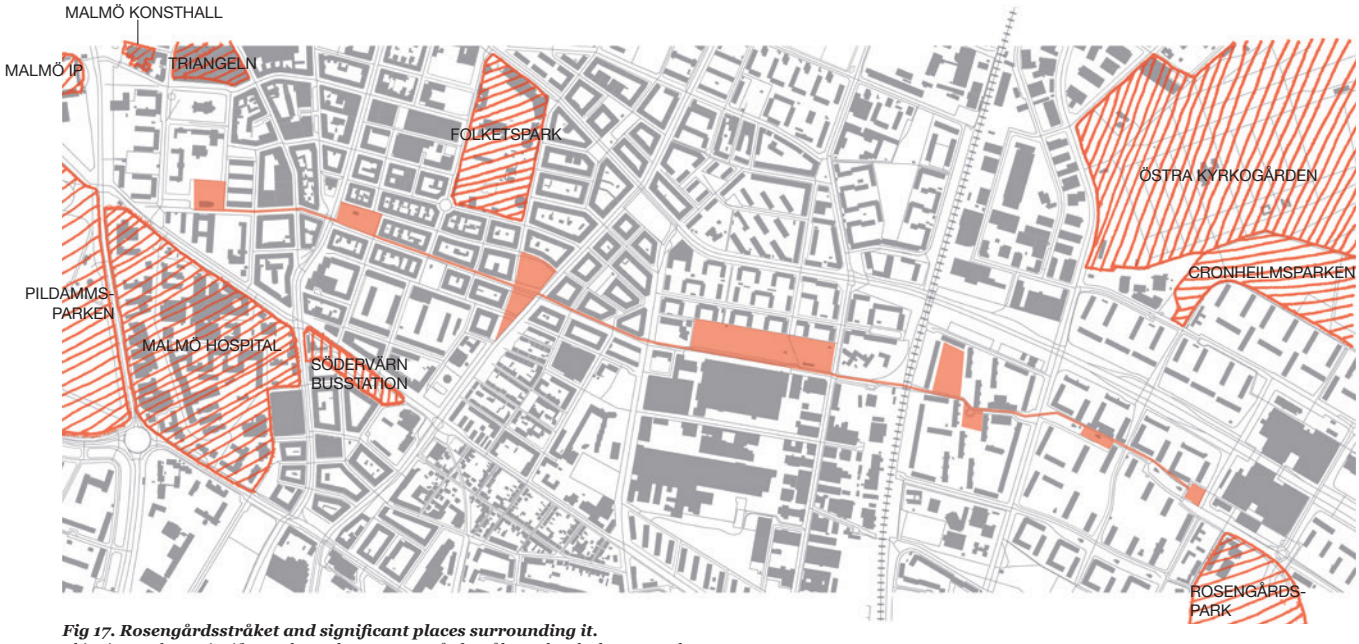


Fig 17. Rosengårdsstråket and significant places surrounding it.
This picture shows significant places close to Rosengårdsstråket as hatched areas on the map.

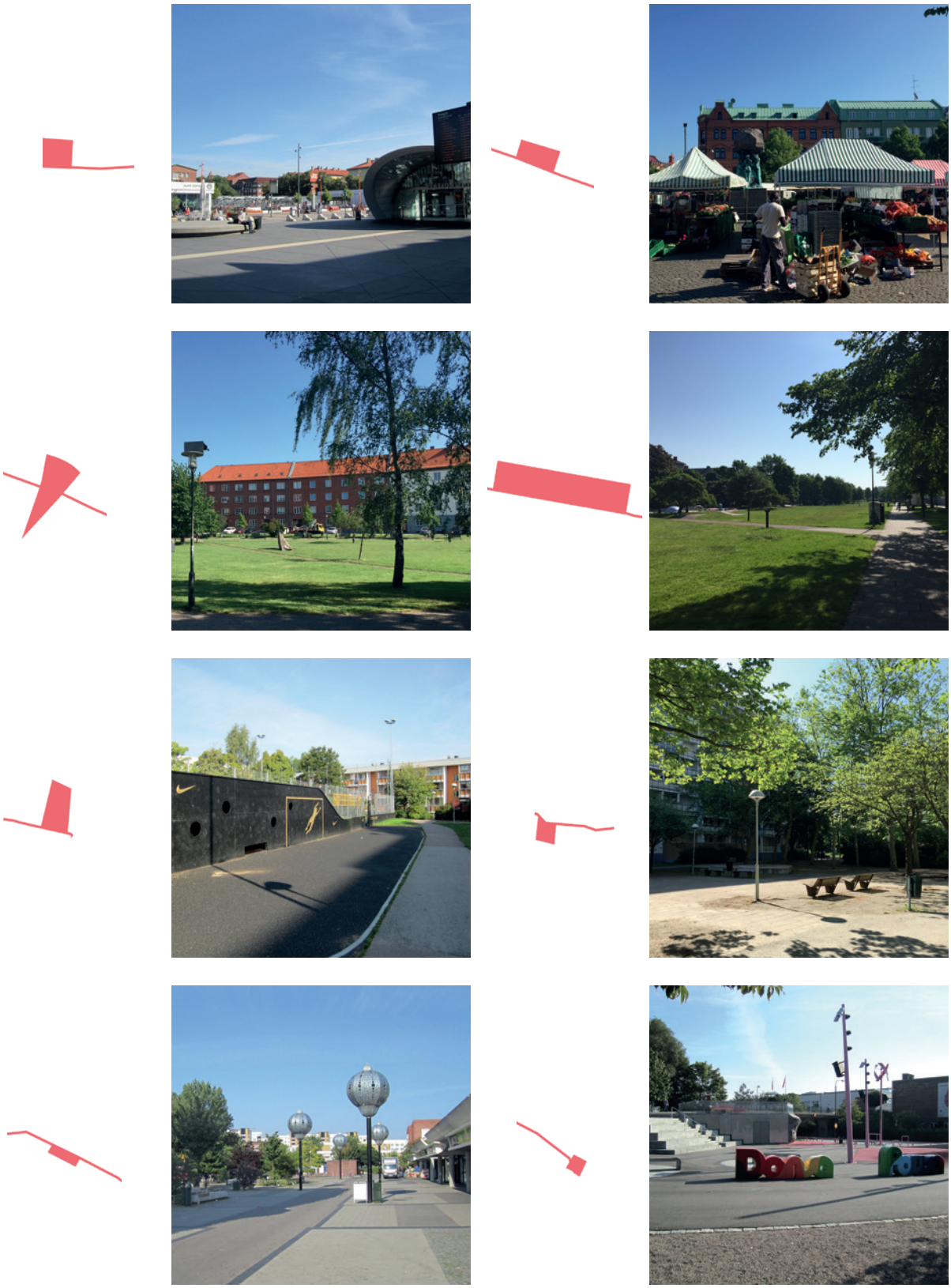


Fig 18 a-h. The Places along Rosengårdsstråket.
Rosengårdsstråket connects to a variety of places, urban squares, run down modernist space, green space and places for spontaneous activities.

Continuity is key

The ambition of Rosengårdsstråket has been to create a pathway that has a rhythm of places that people use on a day to day basis (Grundström, G., 2014, p. 23). Where public space and activities occur in a high enough frequency to create a pathway that is interesting to travel along and infuses the traveler with a feeling of safety. The idea of not having any 'dead sections'. It derives from the concept of the pathway as a way to make the city readable (Lynch, K., 1960), and theories of the crowded and safe street as the supreme example of a well-functioning city, a model articulated by urban theorists such as Jan Gehl and Jan Jacobs (Gehl, J., 1971; Jacobs, J., 1961).

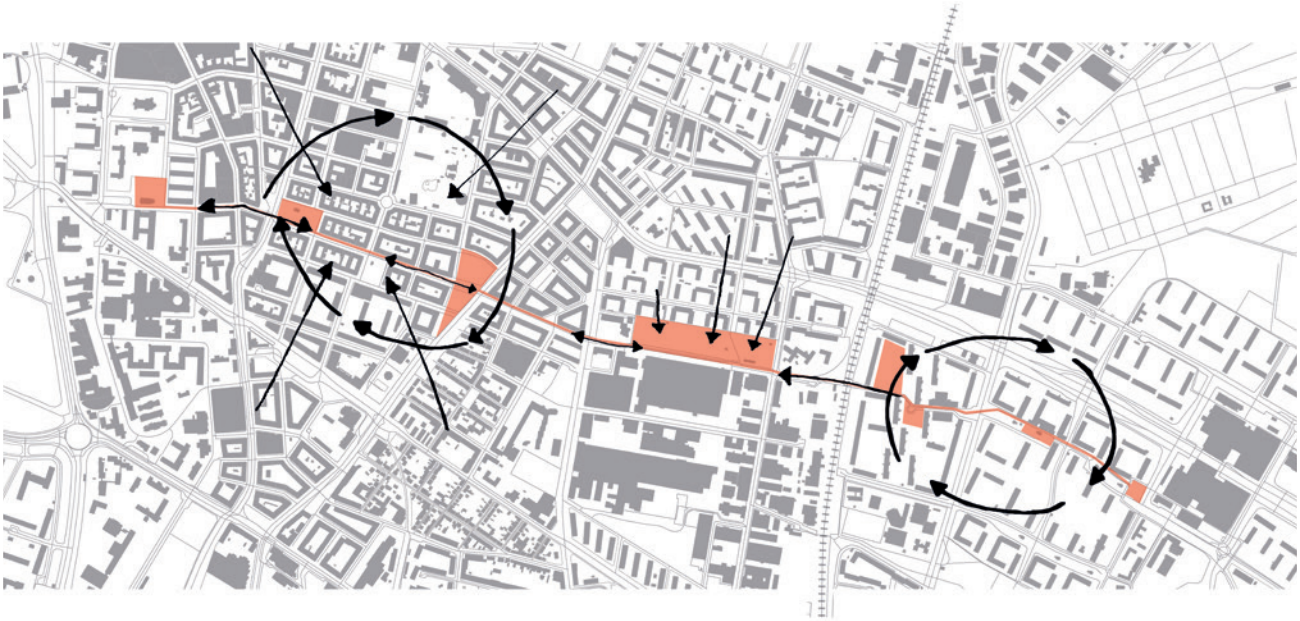


Fig 19. Rosengårdsstråket and the movement pattern in the areas surrounding it.
In Möllevången and Sofielund there is internal movement in the area and also people coming to the area from other parts of town. Enskifteshagen is a destination where people go to, e.g. families take their kids here to play in the playground or on the large open lawn. In Rosengård there is internal movement. Along Rosengårdsstråket there is movement in both directions, but there is more movement from Rosengård than it is too.

Even though Olmsted's Emerald Necklace is a far greater achievement than Rosengårdsstråket, they share the intentions of wanting to connect city districts with each other and be something good for the public life, both on the local scale of districts and for the whole town. Olmsted pioneered wetland restoration which made the Emerald Necklace possible. In the Rosengårdsstråket project, it has been about changing nonpublic space to public space, with an aim to create better continuity along the pathway and mitigate the feeling that Rosengård is a peripheral part of the city.

Fig 20. Rosengårdsstråket and its barriers.
Larger roads crossing the path are marked with black lines. The railway is marked with a zigzag line (from north to south). The fence south of Enskifteshagen also symbolized with a zigzag line (from east to west). [And] the problematic area between Enskifteshagen and Rosengård is marked with a dashed line.

Fig 21. Rosengårdsstråket at Enskifteshagen, facing west.
With Enskifteshagen to the right and the fenced-off industrial area to the left.

When traveling along Rosengårdsstråket, which I have done a couple of times in the period between late April and the end of August 2016, the rhythm between active places is very much present. A lack of frequency in public activity is not an issue for the pathway, at least not during daylight. However, there is one particular part of the pathway that feels left out of the project. It is a short stretch, just a little bit more than a hundred meters long, between Norra Grängesbergsgatan and Rosengård. Here, a preschool, industrial buildings, and derelict green space surround the pathway. The feeling of safety will fall dramatically when the activity in the buildings close down for the day, and it turns darker outside. Places, where people feel unnoticed by others, are unsafe places according to Jacobs (1961, p. 31). In this part, the nearest place where others might see a person in need of help is too far away. Another problem with this segment of Rosengårdsstråket is the very sharp line between Rosengård and the adjacent neighborhood. The physical form of this line is the railway. A bicyclist or pedestrian needs to walk or bike through a quite narrow under-

Fig 22 a-d. Rosengårdsstråket between Norra Grängesbergsgatan and the western end of Rosengård.
A problematic stretch of Rosengårdsstråket, too far from the nearest populated space and a lack of lighting makes it feel unsafe after dark.

pass to get into and out of Rosengård. When traveling through this underpass, the feeling of going from something to something else is quite strong. Rosengård was built in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a part of the million housing program in Sweden, and the feeling of a shift in physical structure, compared to that closer to the city center, is strong when entering through this narrow underpass. It turns into a portal that separates Rosengård from the city on 'the other side of the tracks'. A planned train station in this area may contribute to a better situation along this stretch, but it is still uncertain when or if it will be realized (Malmö Stad, 2014, p.16).

Fig 23. Rosens Röda Matta.
An activity space created in close collaboration between Malmö Stad and a group of girls from the district of Rosengård.

Public 'ownership' along the line

The benefit of a 'line-project' like Rosengårdsstråket may be in the branding of the pathway, which can make someone living in one end of the pathway connected to places on the other end. It links all the places into a greater whole. It can also enhance the feeling of ownership of the local places along the line. Not the kind of ownership that is on paper but the one achieved by engaging and contributing to something, in this case, a space along Rosengårdsstråket.

In the creation of Örtagårdstorget and Rosens Röda Matta participation played a significant role in the design process. In the participation process for Rosens Röda Matta, Malmö Stad chose to target young girls. A group with a weak voice in the planning process. This kind of separatist inspired method sheds new light on power structures in society. I would claim that not many planners or landscape architects know what young girls want when it comes to public space. I see Malmö Stads progressive attitude to open dialog and participation, where the planners actively seek contact with stakeholders, as a step forward to more democratic planning. To empower a group that may not have the knowledge it takes to participate is proactive and strengthens the credibility for the planners.

Fig 24 a-c. Community garden in Enskifteshagen.
The community garden is open for anyone to enter but it is maintained and cared for by the local growers, who also own the crops growing here.

However, it is easy just to focus on the process, in the end, the ultimate goal is that the participation continues to shape the realized space and that the citizens feel confident to use the space and make it their own. Making the users the owners of the designed space and not the designers. The big question is how do we transcend a bottom-up method utilized in the process to the everyday use of the space? Because ownership in the process will not automatically mean ownership of the space created. As mentioned in the previous chapter about Superkilen, continuous monitoring of the space are needed to evaluate the success or failure of the participatory process and its purpose.

An intinerary to discover qualities on site

The city of Malmö struggles with segregation today, income differences between city districts is a big problem (Andersson, R., et al., 2007, pp.30-31). GR 2013 gives everyone the opportunity to see the Greater Marseille area as it is, but from a new, unexpected perspective of the hiker. Rosengårdsstråket is marked, with pink tubes and sometimes other pink objects, to work as eye-catchers that make people aware of that this is Rosengårdsstråket, almost like the colored markings used for trails. However, Rosengårdsstråket is not an urban trail like GR 2013. It has to function as a transport link first and foremost, while the urban trail is free to be a subjective experience for the ones walking it. This concept of urban trails translated into the landscape of Malmö municipality could be a way to evolve the pathway thinking in planning. A network with a mix of formal paths like Rosengårdstråket and less formal urban trails, making connections to unexpected parts of the city. If this concept can reach a broad and committed group of people it could be of great benefit for Malmö.

Anyone can create a trail today, with a GPS tracking application on a smartphone. Just walk a planned or improvised route and the application creates a digital map of the itinerary. The endless abilities to share information like this over social media platforms could be a method to help people express their views of places in the city. By sharing pictures, comments, or creating events for themed group walks in the city, planners, property owners, citizens, and other actors can meet, discuss, and support new initiatives. To support Malmö Stad could e.g. help with setting up trail markings, to make trails visible in the urban landscape, and spread knowledge and education, to support local initiatives along the trails. It has a potential to be a method with a bottom-up approach that helps the public inform city officials about overlooked and under-appreciated places in Malmö and as a way to create connections that enable people to discover unfamiliar parts of the city.

Maybe the next step, in Malmö Stads pathway concept, is to make connections further out into the surrounding landscape or create an urban hiking network where people can discover the complex fabric of the rural and urban landscape in and around Malmö?

Fig 25. Park area between tenement houses in Rosengård.
This park lies close to Rosengårdsstråket, but it is not visible from the pathway. One has to deviate from the pathway find it.

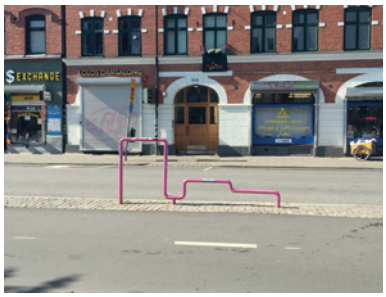
Fig 26 a-b. Enticing places in other parts of Malmö with a weak connection to the city.
(a) Spillepengen is a recreational area on an old landfill. (b) Norra hamnen (The Northern Harbor) is an interesting place in Malmö and worth a visit just to experience its architecture and scale.

Discussion

To develop the city along a pathway is how the medieval cities grew. All trade and social places developed around a major trade route. The path made the other functions possible and nurtured them with a flow of people who could buy the goods or services on sale in the buildings. Rosengårdsstråket is opposite to that. It is the places and the public life in those locations that nurture the path in this case. I think that Malmö Stads Rosengårdsstråk is a work well done. It is apparent that they know their city and has taken care of the existing potentials and only made the necessary additions. A tight budget is, of course, a factor in keeping the investments to a minimum. The pathway was already existing before the project started, however, Rosengårdsstråket is now a more obvious part of the areas it goes through. The continuity is stronger because of better lighting, developed road crossings, and by making the path look and perform as one of the primary pedestrian and bicycle pathways in Malmö. With Rosengårdsstråket Malmö Stad makes a start in offering a linear landscape that is not only functional (just as The Emerald Necklace). It is not just a pathway for easy transport, but a linear landscape with a variety of public spaces, where experiences and public activity is integrated.

It uses pink objects as eye-catchers to work as identifiers for the pathway, just as Superkilen uses foreign objects as identifiers for the place and the cultural mix in Nørrebro. Though, I doubt that the pink objects along Rosengårdsstråket have the effect intended. Rosengårdsstråket is the only pathway in Malmö who uses visual guides. Why is it neces-



sary here? Why no visual guides on the pathway to Limhamn? It is a trend to in architecture and landscape architecture to be visually striking, a fixation on objects and how they perform visually. Unfortunately, the surface becomes more important than the content in some cases. The concept of eye-catchers has to grow outside of Rosengårdsstråket and be included on all the major pedestrian and bicycle pathways in town to be a valuable addition. In this way, the purpose would be clearer. As it is now, exclusive to Rosengårdsstråket, the function becomes confusing, vague and somewhat unnecessary. My experience is that people are not able to make the connection between the pink objects and Rosengårdsstråket if they do not use the pathway on a regular basis. If Malmö Stad would brand the main pathways in town with colored visual guides, it could become a palpable network for pedestrians and bicyclists, the spine in the city's transportation infrastructure. A network that is easy to navigate and that offers different experiences in the places it connects too.

The next step would be to find new ways of involving the citizens in a process as a continuation of the linear landscape concept. The method of urban trails could be a part of that continuation. Informal urban trails that connect to unexpected places in or outside of the city. A network of itineraries that are free from all formal functions and, therefore, can perform as landscapes of experience. Experiences that makes people discover new places in their town and share ideas and ultimately forming initiatives to participate in the

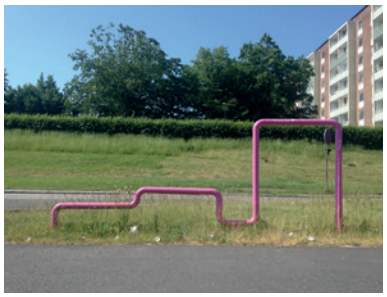
Fig 27 a-u. The Pink Objects, in order from Möllevången to Rosengård.
Sometimes they function as bike racks or handrails for the bicyclists at the road crossings. However, most of the time the only function is as visual objects.

planning of Malmö. ‘The Traveling Transect’ could work as a theoretical guide, and GR 2013 could be the inspiration, of an already existing project at the beginning of the process of creating urban trails in Malmö. A process that includes e.g. explorations of different thematic transects and workshops where planners, locals, and other stakeholders participate together. Where ideas are tested on a smaller scale, projects are temporary, in the moment or last for a short while. As a way to experiment and create engagement from the citizens. To make practical work out of the theories, to see how it operates on site and evaluate the projects continually in their time of existence. Use the ‘the Traveling Transect’s’ idea of knowledge as an open-ended work that continues to evolve and treats on site exploration as the main source of information (Braae, Diedrich, Lee, 2014). If connected to an easy to use media platform, like a smartphone application, it can create an ever growing library of knowledge and practical examples.

It is a method with many advantages. First of all, it is simple, if one is walking with a conscious focus on the surroundings ideas are bound to appear. Secondly, it lets people discover the city’s and its surrounding landscape and see it for what it is while creating an opportunity to be involved in the development of the city.






THE NORTH FACE

The proposal

On the following pages, a proposal for a more explorative approach to planning in the highly contested landscape of Southwestern Skåne is presented. The concept is created by Carl-Johan Banck, Martin Berge, and David Bratthäll and it was an entry to the architectural competition Imagine Open Skåne 2030.

WALK THE PLAN


experiment and exploration of the landscape where we live.
ar systems
Recreation

Fig 28.

CHALLENGE:

In competition for land, wrong decisions have long term negative effects on society. We need to be more efficient in our use of land and resources to reach the full potential of Skåne as a region and to ensure its position as internationally attractive. If future needs of energy, food, recreation and sustainable growth is to be accommodated, a multifunctional landscape, as a framework for innovative progress, is a must.

RESPONSE:

Plans are abstract and therefore inadequate as a tool for decision making about our future landscape. By creating an itinerary and transform it into a linear full scale laboratory of landscape practice to show, discuss and evaluate solutions of present and future challenges, a new tool for decision makers is created. By making it a public trail everybody is invited to discuss and be a part of the process in the development of where we live.

Fig 29.

WHY

Walk the plan is a framework in which the landscape where we live, becomes an exploration into where we are heading. It reveals our surroundings and ask questions about present and future challenges and in the end it will give us answers.

Walk the plan is a tool that enable us to approach the uncertain. It transforms the scattered landscape of our present environment, into a full scale laboratory, where researchers, designers, planners, politicians and citizens have the possibility to participate in live, full scale workshops. It is an interdisciplinary experiment and exploration of the landscape where we live.

Walk the plan transforms the often complicated processes of landscape planning and design into a democratic process where decision makers leave the office and walk out into the physical environment and get their hands dirty.

Walk the plan uses modern mainstream technology as a communication platform to create discussions and collaborations, enabling actors along the trail to inform and get informed about present and future projects and innovative landscape solutions.

WHAT

Walk The Plans itinerary goes through the south west of Skåne, where publicly accessible land is scarce (less than 30%) and due to the high urbanization rate competition for land is tough. This is where decisions are made and therefore an ideal area for a pilot project.

The area provides among the most fertile soils in the world, a valuable resource that we must use efficiently. Today too much farmland is destroyed due to urbanization.

Despite its importance the agricultural landscape has drawbacks. The intense large scale farming activities have big negative impact on biodiversity and a low resilience to environmental changes, mainly because of its monocultural nature. Research shows that biodiversity is the key to a resilient and adaptable landscapes of tomorrow. Therefore ecosystem approaches to landscape problems needs to be tested in full scale to increase biodiversity.

To create a resilient landscape Skåne have to embrace closed circular production systems, which minimize the environmental impact. Algae-, seaweed- and ascidian-farms in the coastal zones can be sources for biofuels and fertilizer, while cleaning our seas from phosphor and nitrogen. Algae-farms have the advantage that they can be built in waterbodies as well as on land, freestanding or attached to almost any existing construction that fits the purpose. These kinds of “aquatic farms” could be a part of the process in developing closed loop system between sea and land.

To ensure good quality of life the significance of recreation can’t be stressed enough. The coast provides good recreational qualities for those who can reach it. The main problem is the inland. The monofunctionality of the large agricultural fields together with highways and railroads creates an illegible landscape with impermeable barriers and low recreational values. Aspects of scale and accessibility are issues that needs to be implemented to achieve a multifunctional landscape.

It is certain that a multifunctional approach to landscape planning, that incorporates the values of resilience to climate change, resource production in circular systems and recreation, is crucial for the future of our society.

Walk the plan does not know what it will become. It starts with a trail and only our own imagination sets the limits for where it will end. The following is a framework for how this project could begin and initial thoughts on what direction it could take.

HOW

Fig 30.

The posts

The trail is marked with white posts that guide the hiker through the landscape. Some posts displays an engraved map, as well as a short description of interesting qualities in the surrounding landscape. The posts are connected to a smartphone-application. By scanning QR codes printed on the posts, users are able to access the place specific content in the application.

Fig 31.

The App

The Walk the plan-app turns the smartphone into a tool that enables the trail to become interactive. It makes it easier for hikers to explore the landscape, while registering and sharing interesting findings and alternative routes with other users. In this way the trail will develop in unknown directions.

The app allows the different actors along the trail to communicate to each other and to the public, spreading information about their projects. The app also makes it possible for decision makers to inform the public about future developments while getting input and opinions in return. With the help of new technologies, such as augmented reality (AR), the future projects could even be projected on site on the smartphone screen for the users to watch.

Fig 32.

The Catalyst

When the itinerary is done, physical and site specific interventions are developed.
The interventions acts as catalysts, starting the process by questioning, showing, discussing or mediating the surrounding landscape.

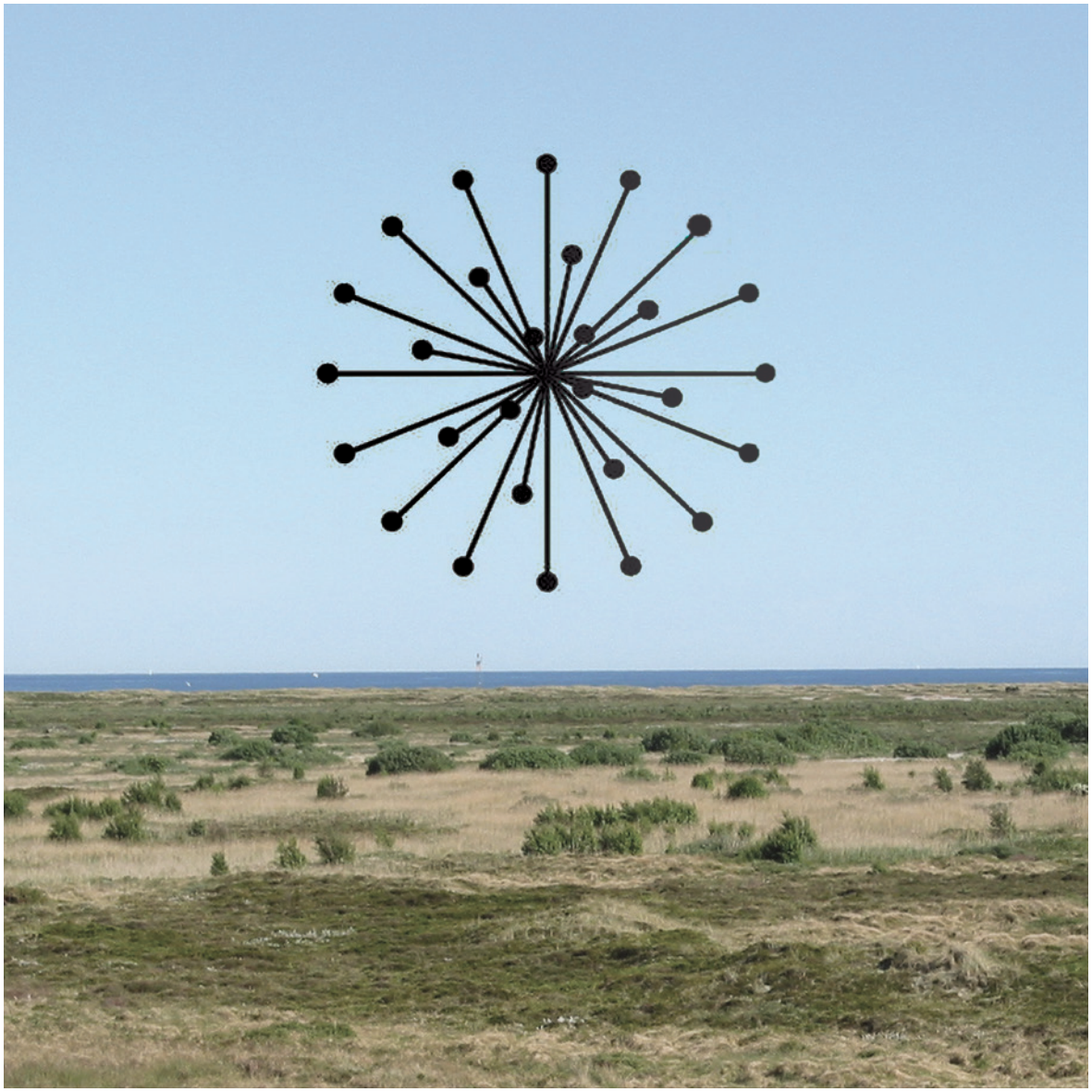


Fig 33.

◯ Explore

Explore the landscape thoroughly and map its qualities and challenges. Investigate suitable actors who can be part of the project. Make the itinerary.

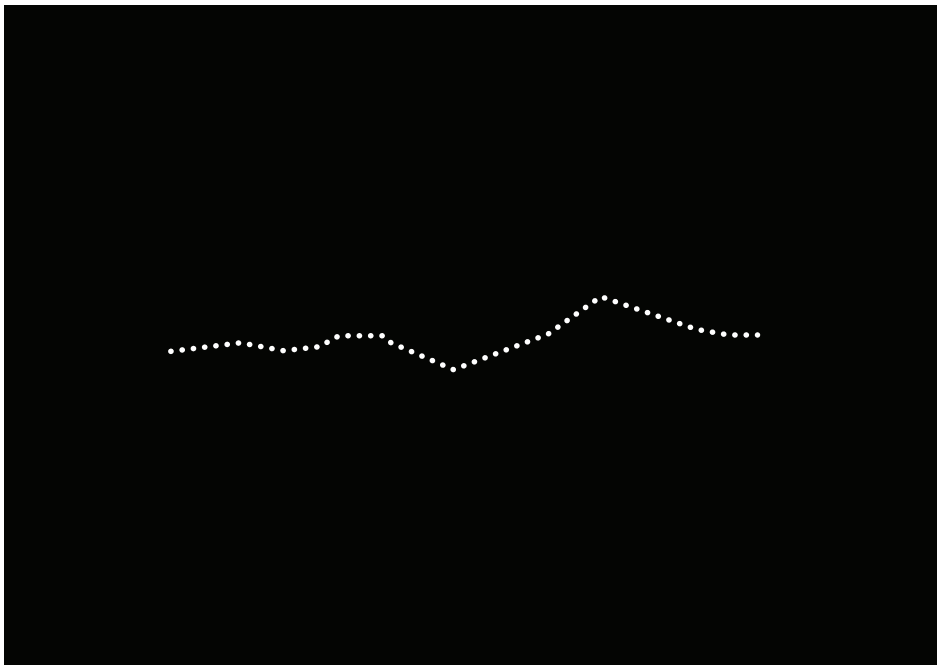


Fig 34.

● Experiment

Identify spots and areas where potential interventions on large and small scale can be developed. Create interventions that comment, explains or questions the landscape in which it exists.

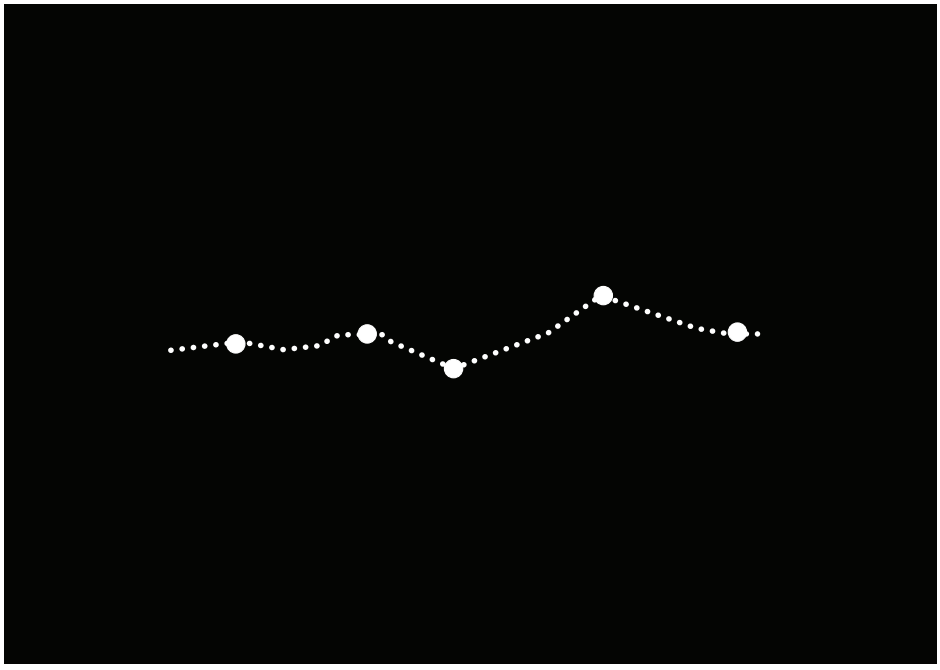


Fig 35.

Expand

Over time interventions and projects will develop and expand beyond the trail.

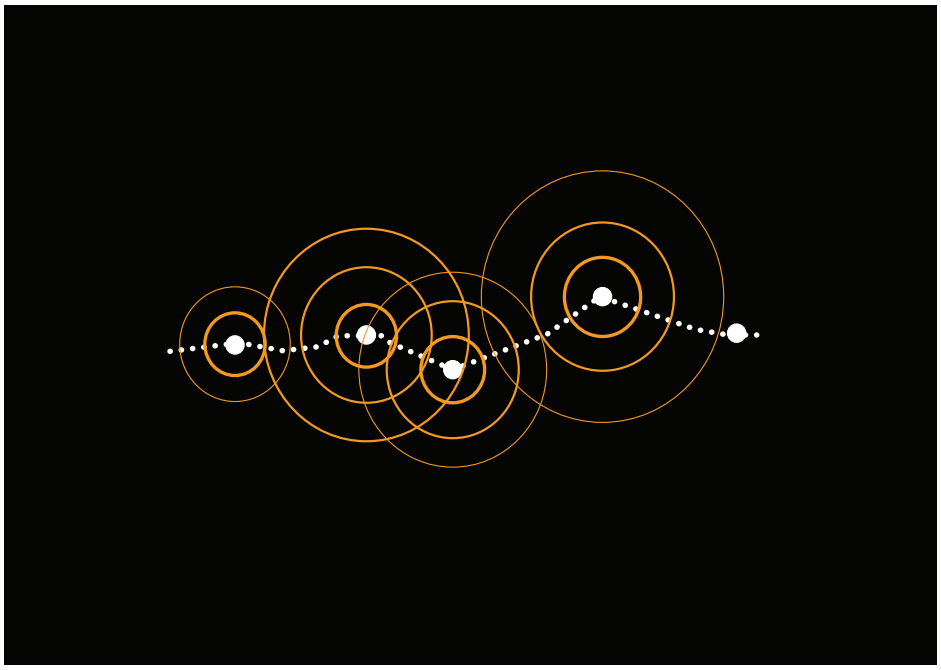


Fig 36.

WHERE

Filling the gap

Skåne has a well-established trail system known as Skåneleden. A comprehensive system of trails that spans over 1000 km and includes 5 trails and 89 sections.

This pilot project of Walk the plan will be the 90th section of Skåneleden, filling a gap in the trail system between Löddeköpinge and Bulltofta (Malmö). It links Öresundsleden with Nord-Sydleden and brings new themes to the trails.

We are here

The 90th section of Skåneleden goes through an area that is ideal for experimenting and exploring how to build our future Skåne. It is a landscape where the competition for land is intense. More than 70% of the area is inaccessible for public use, due to agricultural activities and private interests.

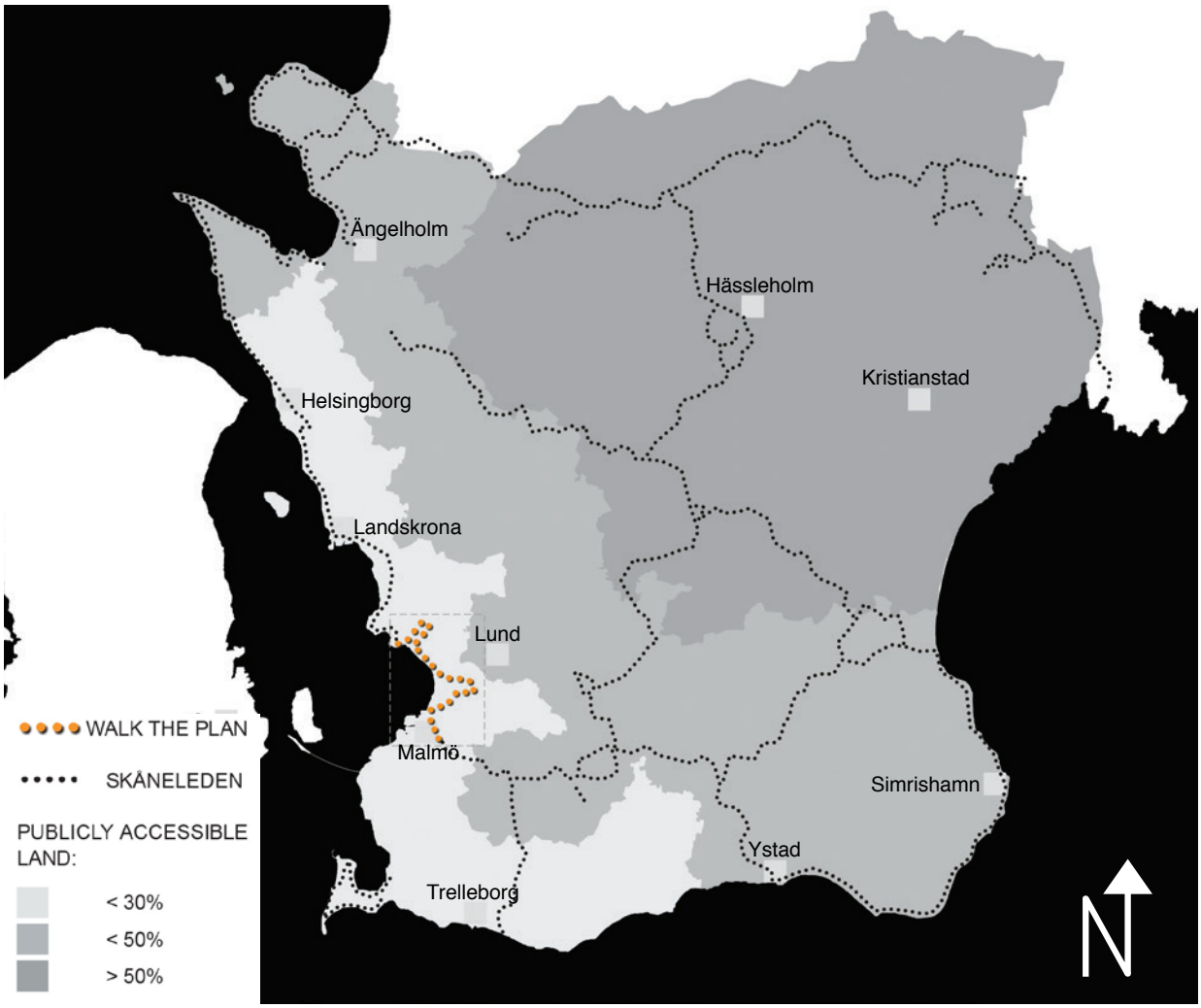


Fig 37.

Collaboration

The trail is situated in the epicenter of the Öresund region, in close reach to several universities, colleges and other interesting actors, offering a compelling network of expertise within fields such as art, planning, architecture, energy, marine research and agriculture.

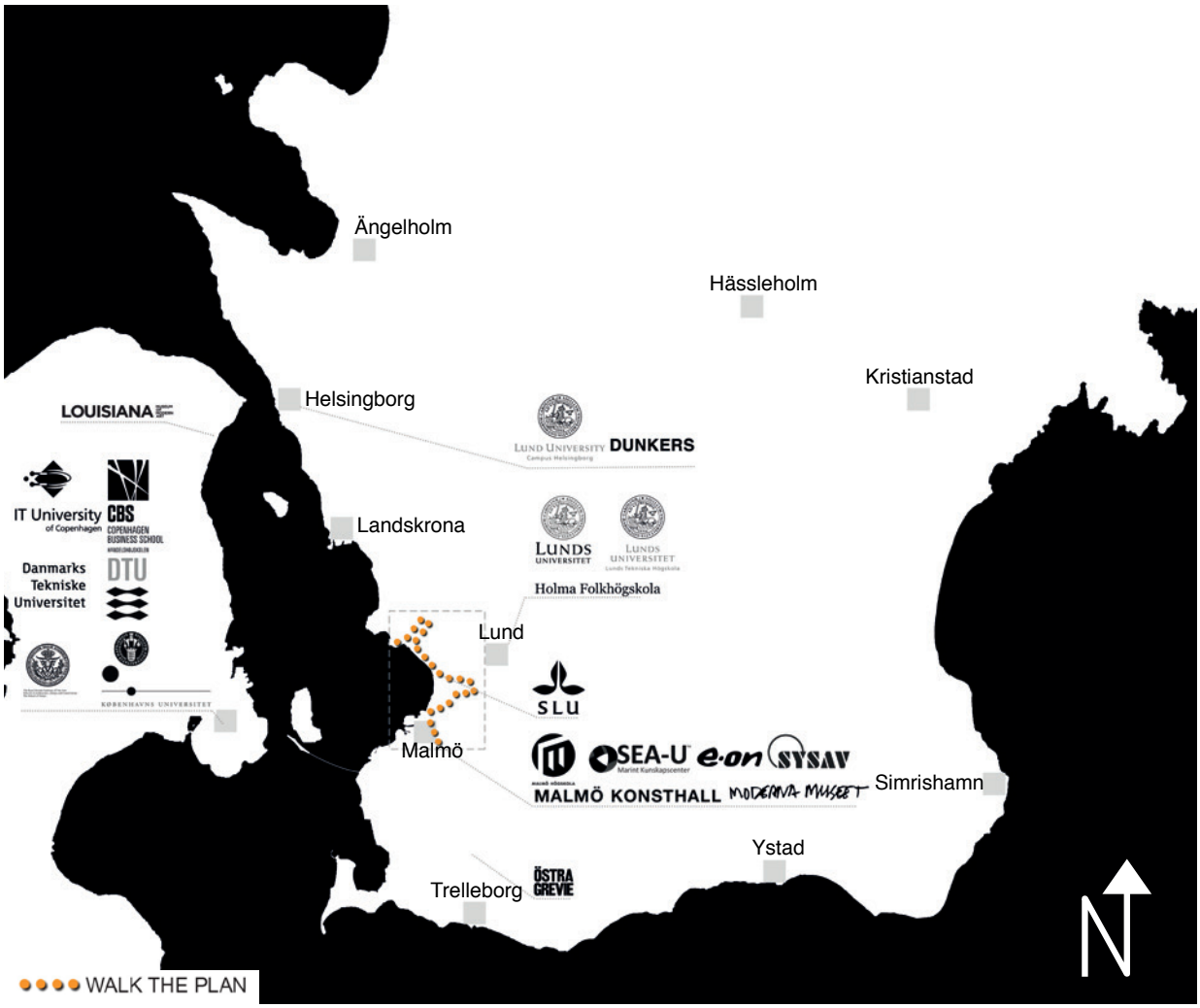


Fig 38.


Highwayland
Bulltofta - Spillepengen
Distance: 3,7 Km
Manmade Nature
Spillepengen - Alnarp
Distance: 4,2 Km
Open Farmland
Alnarp - Hjärup - Lo
Distance: 10,7 Km

THE PLAN

Walk the Plan is a guide for exploring the landscape and with a focus on the experience in the landscape types it moves through. Deviations from the set itinerary are encouraged, to enable the project to grow and evolve. This plan is a pilot project. The concept can be implemented in other geographical locations.

Fig 39.

HIGHWAYLAND

Fig 40.

ITINERARY: Highwayland

A fragmented landscape with large highways, railroads, industries and modernistic housing areas with a patchwork of nature and wetlands providing habitats for birds and animals.

CATALYST: Observe

An observation tower is built enabling the visitor to ascend above ground and get an overview over the fragmented and illegible landscape.

TOWARDS 2030:

The fast urbanization of today indicates that this area will be developed in the near future. To tie this scattered landscape together a stronger connection between the recreational areas of Bulltofta and Spillepengen is necessary. Innovative approaches are required to preserve the existing ecosystems while making it more humane and permeable.

Fig 41.

CATALYST: Observe

Merging green fragments

Trail

Railroad

Road

MANMADE NATURE

Fig 42.

ITINERARY: Manmade Nature

At the municipal boarders of Malmö, Lomma and Burlöv an area of manmade nature exists. Spillepengen a former landfill turned into a recreational area, old heath lands formed by grazing animals since the Bronze Age and the Alnarp estate with its park and agricultural fields.

CATALYST: InfoCafé

An info café where SLU and other actors can inform about present projects and sell local produce from the Alnarp estate. Parts of the house is open 24-7.

TOWARDS 2030:

The idea and concept of Alnarps famous Landscape Laboratory develops and expands in to the farmland of the Alnarp estate. New typologies of agricultural practice is tested here. Commercial farming, biodiversity and recreation are of equal importance in these new experimental typologies.

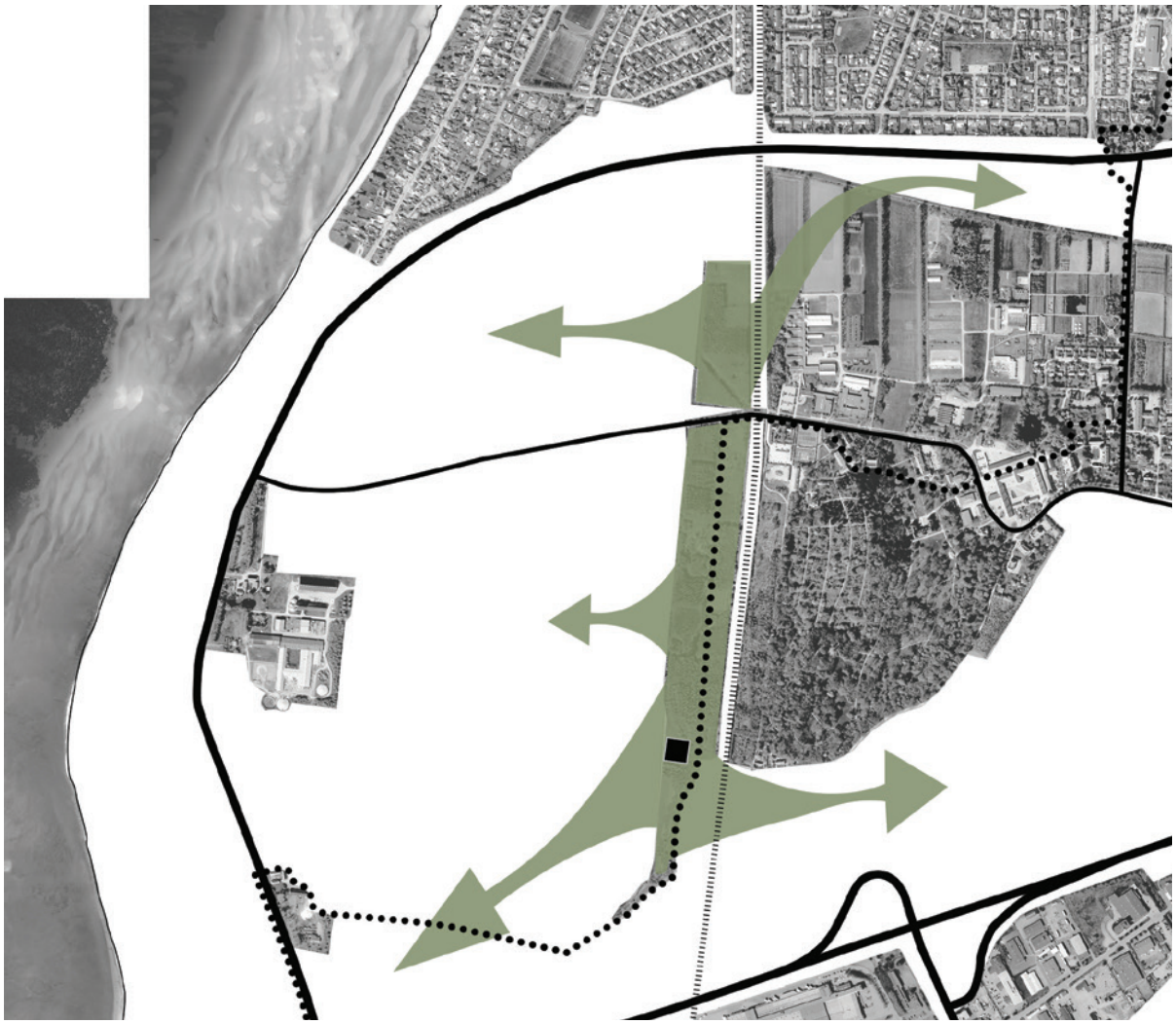


Fig 43.

- CATALYST: InfoCafé
- Landscape Laboratory
- Trail
- Road
- Railroad

OPEN FARMLAND

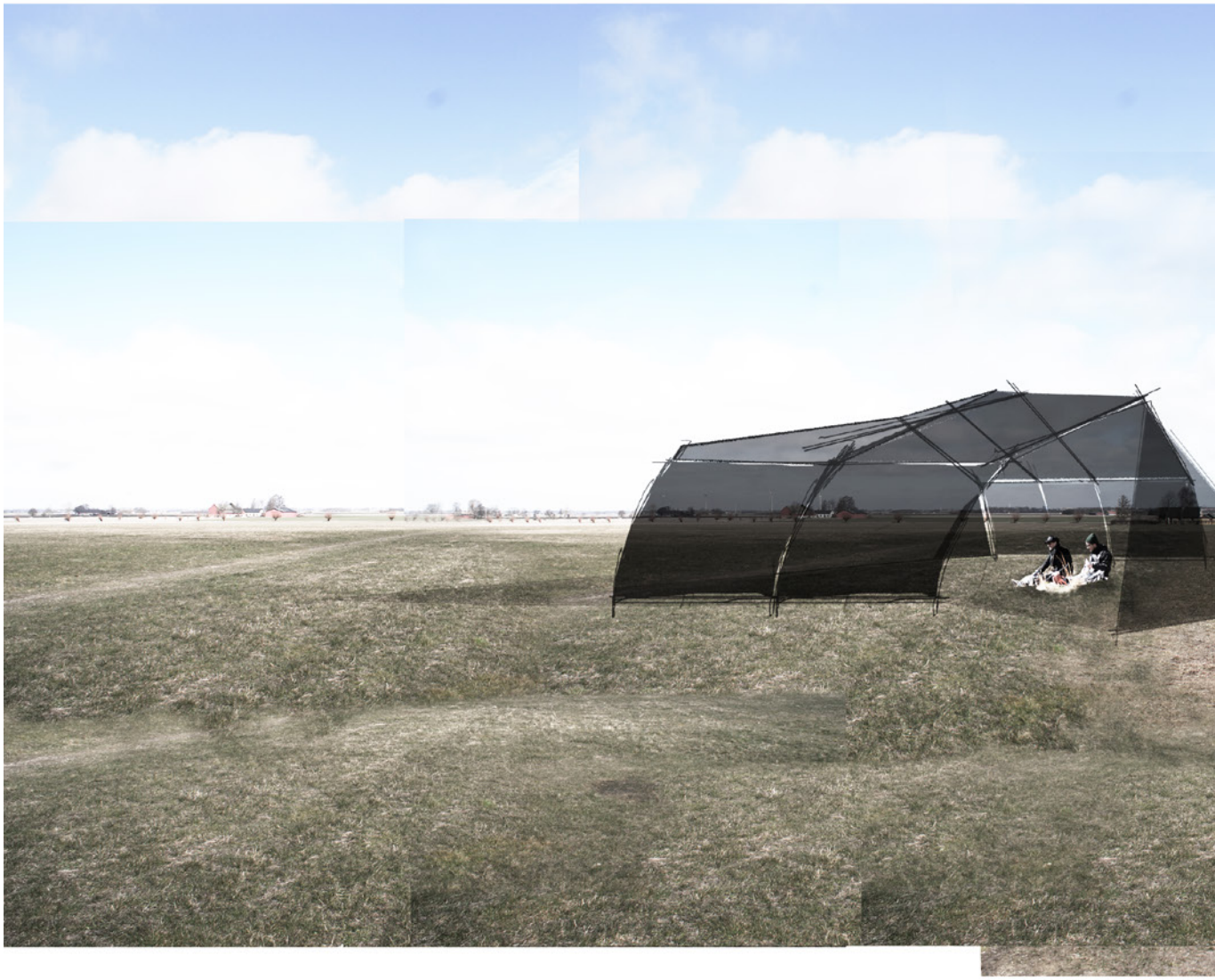


Fig 44.

ITINERARY: Open Farmland

This is a typical landscape in this part of Skåne, with large scale agricultural fields. The hiker leaves the single housing cluster of eastern Lomma behind and heads towards the small settlement of Hjärup before turning back to Lomma again. In the open farmland the hiker is exposed to wind, sun and rain.

CATALYST: Shelters

Shelters standing in the open fields reminding the hiker about the exposed landscape, while giving protection from sun, rain and wind.

TOWARDS2030:

To increase resilience to changes in the climate a higher rate of species is important. The main objective in the farmlands is to create strategies that support biodiversity. Objects like non-arable outcrop, stone walls, ditches and tree rows are important habitats for many species, while creating a much needed visual variation in the agricultural landscape.

In the border of villages green belts are required to enhance the recreational values and create limits to future expansions into the valuable farmland.

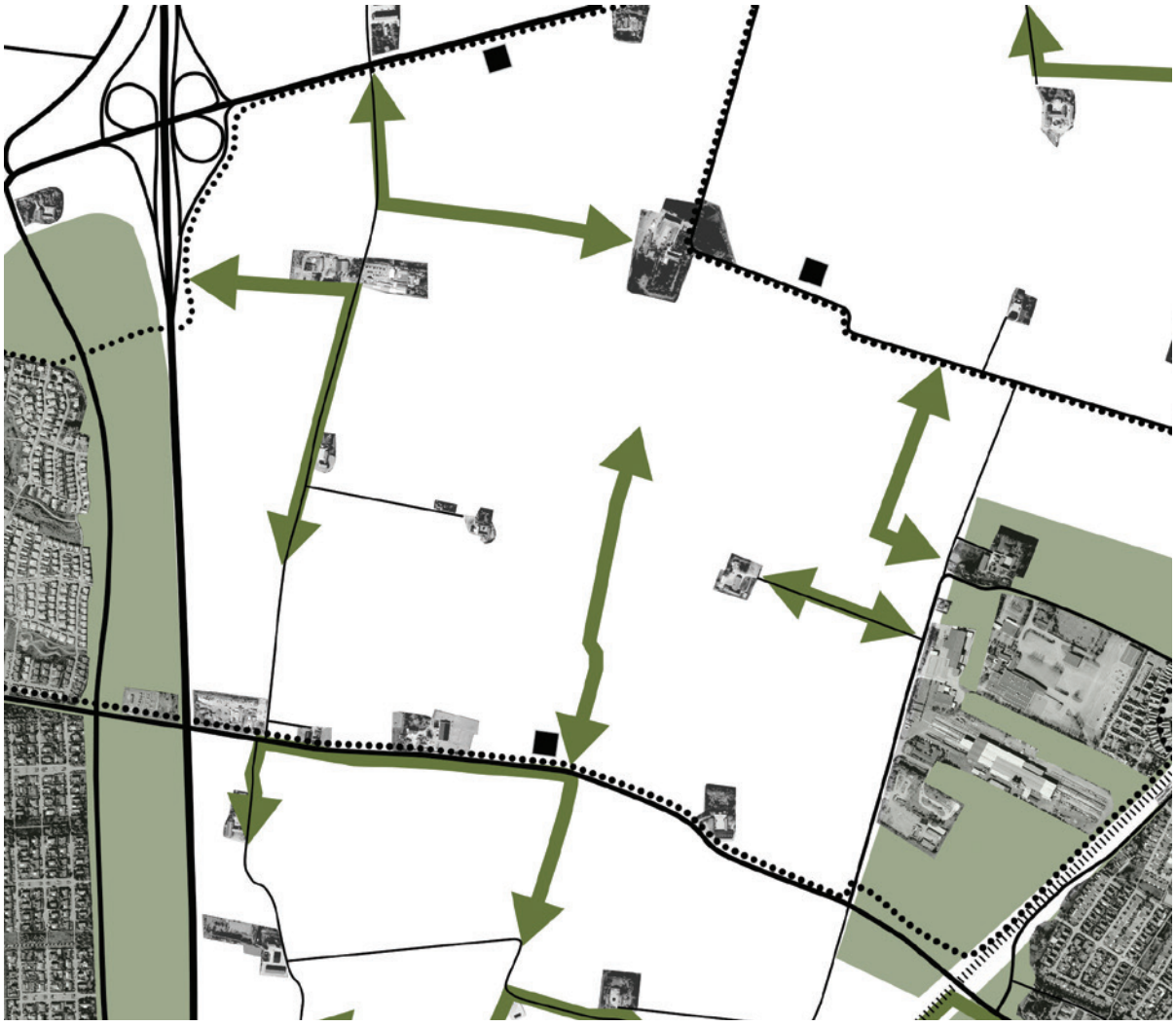


Fig 45.

- CATALYST: Shelters
- Biodiversity increase along the field borders
- Green Belt
- Trail
- Road
- Railroad

LOSING LAND

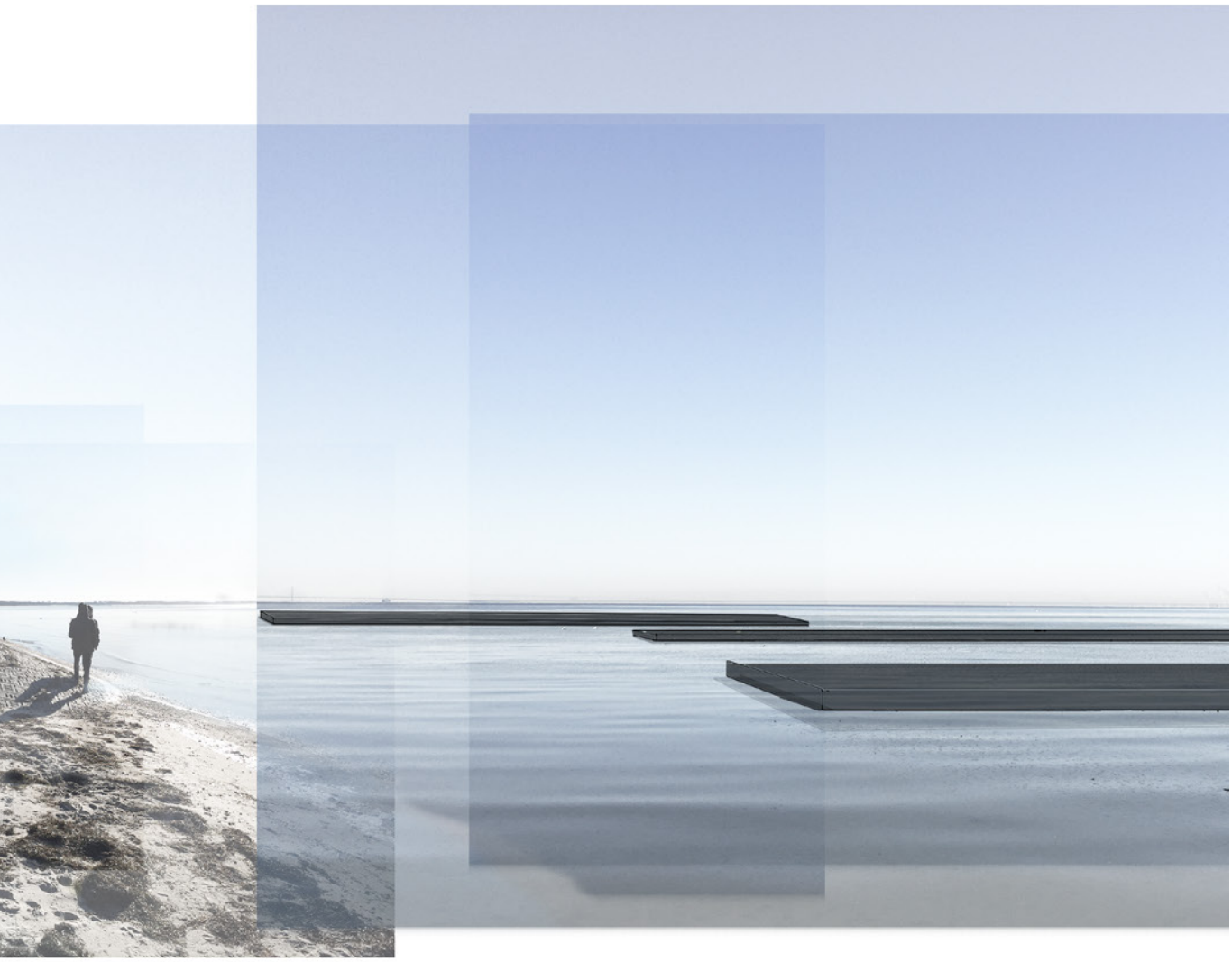


Fig 46.

ITINERARY: Losing Land

Coastland with patchy forests, sandy beaches and large private villas near the water's edge. At some spots accessibility to the beach is gone due to eroding land and private properties.

CATALYSTS: New Beach

Bathing jetties detached from land, as a symbol and reminder of sea level rise and process of erosion. The jetties provides a nice spot to spend a summers day at the beach on, but you have to get your feet wet if you want to reach it.

TOWARDS 2030:

In this section the theme of the intervention is erosion and sea level rise. Afforestation is needed to fixate the soils and add recreation. New multifunctional wave breakers protects the area from storms. The wave breaks and artificial reefs could be fitted with algae-, seaweed-, ascidian- and mussel-farms that filters phosphor and nitrogen from the water. When harvested they can be turned into biofuels and fertilizer for the agricultural practices on land, and be part of a circular system between land and sea.

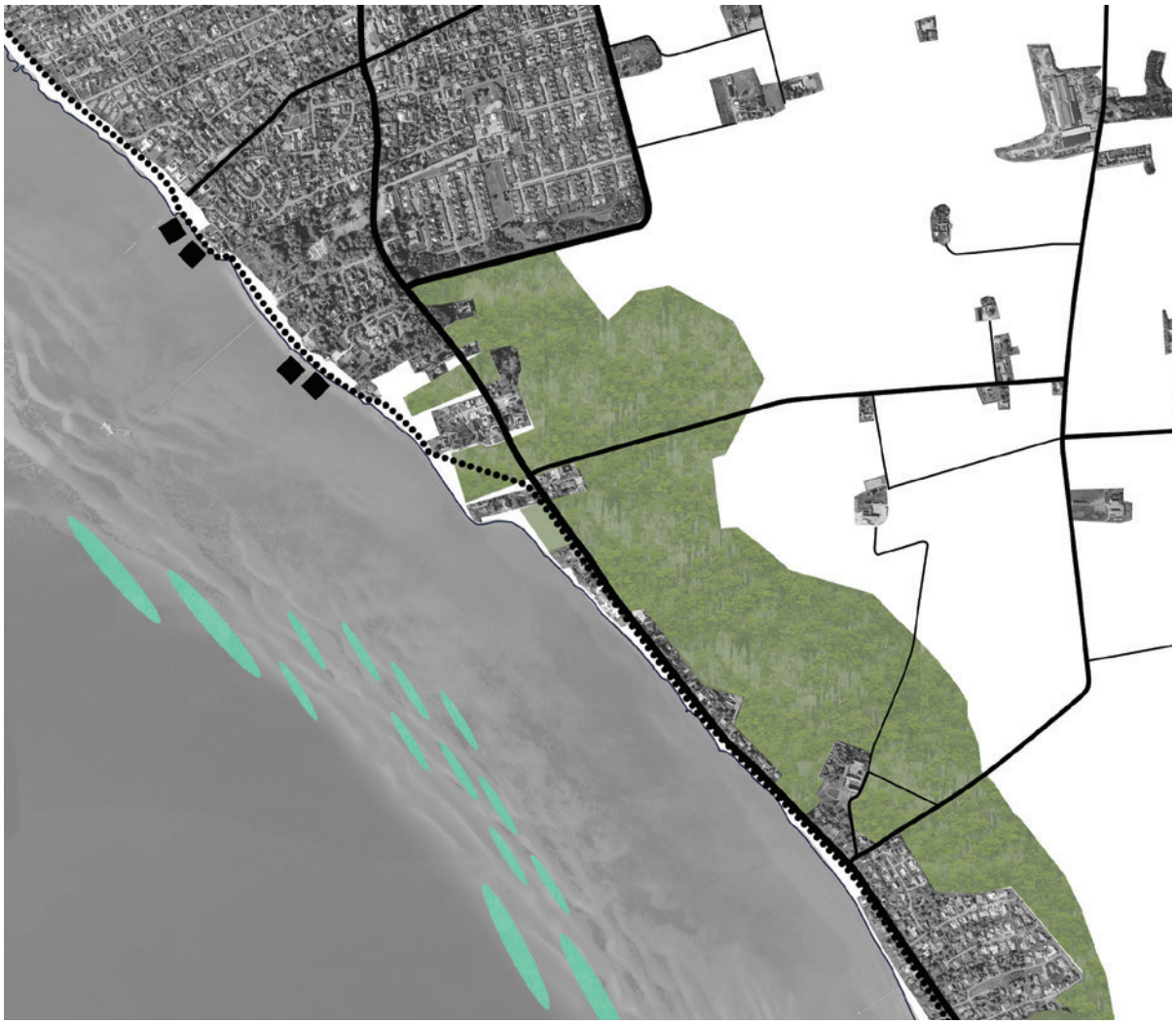


Fig 47.

CATALYST: New Beach
Afforestation
Multi Functional Wave Breakers
Trail
Road
Railroad

MOVING WATER

Fig 48.

ITINERARY: Moving Water

The trail follows along the banks of Lödde Å through meadows and reed and with agricultural fields close by.

CATALYST: Access

A system of footbridges on spots where private property goes all the way to the water edge. The bridges opens up the sometimes inaccessible landscape and gives the hiker access to the water.

TOWARDS 2030:

Along the creek of Lödde Å buffer zones needs to be established, increasing biodiversity in the riverine area. Buffer zone protects the water body against run off from the adjacent farmland. By keeping the buffer zone open with grazing animals, the recreational values in the area are strengthened.

Fig 49.

- CATALYST: Access
- Buffer Zones
- Trail
- Road

ENERGY LANDSCAPE

Fig 50.

ITINERARY: Energy Landscape

The landscape surrounding Barsebäck power plant is characterized by its straight lines and large scale, consisting of open fields, tree plantations and high-tension electricity transmissions.

CATALYST: Mirage

Screens are put up along the trail, working with the same principle as leading line navigation marks at sea. The screens hides the power plant when standing at the exact right spot, giving a hint of how the landscape will look when the power plant is gone.

TOWARDS 2030:

Barsebäck power plant is an iconic symbol for Swedish national energy politics. The landscape surrounding the closed power plant is therefore perfect to be developed into an energy research park. Barsebäck Energy Park should be accessible as a recreational area for the public, while functioning as a center for development of new energy sources. It has potential to be a strong attraction for the whole region of Skåne.

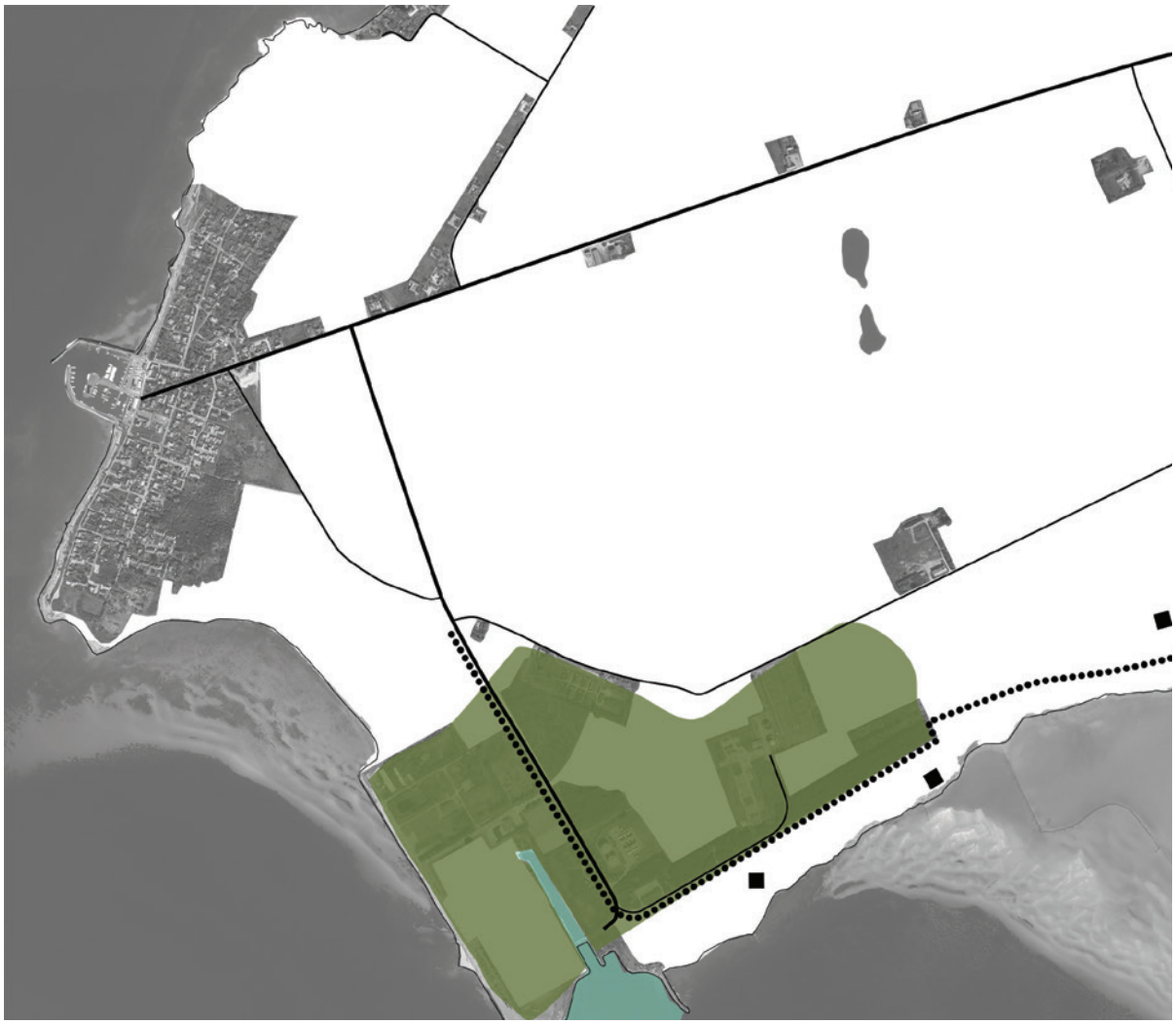


Fig 51.

- CATALYST: Mirage
- Energy Park
- Marine Energy Lab
- Trail
- Road

NOTES

1. Thomas Sieverts seminal book *Zwischenstadt: zwischen Ort und Welt, Raum und Zeit, Stadt und Land* was originally released in 1997 in German. The first English edition appeared in 2003 and was called *Cities between Cities*. In 2008 a re-translation into English of the main part of the book was released because of discontent with the first translation. It is called *Where We Live Now* and it is the source studied by the author of this Master Thesis.

2. 'Bokaler' are house accommodating both living space and commercial space. Living quarters in the back and store space up front to the street.

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