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INTRA-METROPOLITAN RELOCATION OF WORK PLACES: THE CASE OF STOCKHOLM

Ron Mahieu
Umea University, Umea, Sweden

In this paper the current developments of polycentric municipalities are being discussed. This smaller study reviews only parts of the changes affecting the regional area of metropolitan Stockholm. It will begin by placing contemporary trends in the context of population and employment within metropolitan areas, further it will focus on the changes that have taken place in the intra-urban pattern of places of work and jobs in Stockholm Metropolitan Area.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the 1880s an urbanization process started in Sweden which is still going on. In 1950 about 50 per cent of the Swedish population lived in localities with more than 2000 inhabitants. Today, this figure is over 75 per cent. The urbanization process of course, reflects the restructuring that occurred in production. In 1950 about 20 per cent of the working population was occupied in the primary sector. Currently this is less than 5 per cent. During the last hundred years growth in employment has been within the secondary and tertiary sector, typical urban economic activities.

At first, the urbanization process paralleled the development in the industrial sector, which reached its maximum in the middle of the 1960s, employing about 50 per cent of the working population. After that service occupations have increasingly dominated the economy, thus also the urban areas.

Until as recently as the end of the 1950s the service sector had a traditional hierarchical structure, with specialized higher order personal and professional services concentrated in or near the central business district. Since the beginning of the 1960s however suburbanization and counter urbanization increasingly influenced the form and structure of the towns. A rise in car ownership, the increasing participation of women in the labour market, are some forces that reinforce these changes. The improvement in accessibility opened up larger parts of the urban area within a short commuting time, and a more mobile population. Suburbanization or decentralization of economic activities from the (mono)centre is a phenomena that has occurred during the last decades. Towns have become polycentric.

The trend toward polycentric metropolises has been one of the most characteristic developments in the structure of many larger urban areas throughout the last decades. Technological, economic and social change are producing new urban spatial trends in North America, Europe, and much of the advanced industrial world. As the number of manufacturing jobs has declined and the size of the service sector

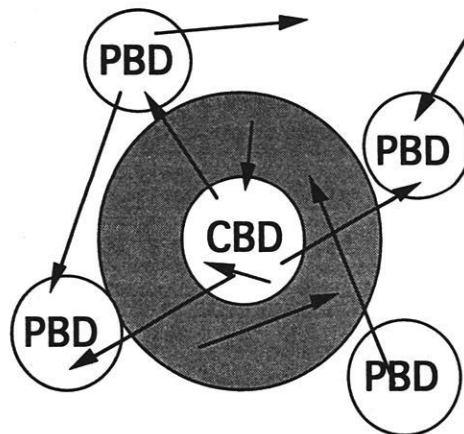
increased it is possible to ask whether a postmodern urban landscape with "fragmentation, multi-nodality, plurality and diffusion" exists (BOURNE, 1991).

Multi-nodality or polycentric urban developments and the occurrence of "subcentres, suburban nucleations, mini cities" are however widely recognized (HARTSHORN & MULLER). Not only in relation to manufacturing (SUAREZ-VILLA, 1989), but also retailing (BROMLEY & THOMAS, 1993; JONES & SIMMONS, 1990), offices (GAD, 1991) or within the service sector in general (DANIELS, 1985). North American and British literature have dominated the decentralization/ suburbanization discussions, and the uncertain position of the urban core in relation to the competing suburbs is often discussed (LAW, 1988).

The problem of a diminishing tax revenue base, unemployment, and decline of certain municipalities within the metropolitan centre is obvious, as the metropolitan area is not homogeneous. Municipalities have to compete with each other, not only on the local and regional level, but increasingly on the supra-national level. In this context it is interesting to see that city-marketing with large advertisement campaigns has become a concept of growing importance for local managers in order to draw attention to the attractiveness of their municipality (PUMAIN, 1991; BUURSINK, 1991).

In recent years Swedish towns are developing towards polycentric cities, as several business activities have been relocating from the town centers or traditional CBDs to suburban sites, so called Peripheral Business Districts (MAHIEU, 1992).

Figure 1 Intra-urban relocation and the polycentric urban model



CBD = Central Business District
PBD = Peripheral Business District

The overall aim of the study is through a description and analysis of firm location and relocation in the metropolitan area of Stockholm to be able to indicate whether the overall intra-urban relocation pattern of Stockholm shows similar development as in certain other western metropolises.

This paper shall review only parts of the changes affecting the regional area of metropolitan Stockholm. It will begin by placing contemporary trends in the context of population and employment within metropolitan areas, further it will focus on the changes that have taken place in the intra-urban pattern of places of work and jobs in Stockholm Metropolitan Area.

This is done by focussing on two questions:

1. What changes are taking place in the Stockholm area when looking at changes in places of work and number of jobs?
2. Do the suburbs grow/ diminish in relation to the central municipalities, as seen in other studies?

Even though the suburbanization/ decentralization of economic activities is widely recognized, its causes and consequences are not.

The driving forces for relocation are of course an interplay between push and pull factors. The locational choices of firms depend on many factors: accessibility, the cost of space and location rent, labour market, infrastructure, special building or site requirements, etc.

Other factors that are less easily pinned down and might be considered "soft" location factors deserve some attention. Image and status address can be important for firms. "To be there" has meaning. In a study of intra-urban relocation within several provincial towns in Sweden the need for more space was shown an important driving force, or push for relocation. While image and status address formed the pull to the destination area (MAHIEU, 1994).

The demand for space for an expanding firm is one of the major driving forces to relocate and search for new locations, as ERLANDSSON (1975) has shown in his study of firm development and spatial demands within Stockholm, Malmö, and Helsingborg. Clear linkages can be made with the product cycle theory, in which the growth of firms and their place in the different phases – 1. innovation, 2. take-off, 3. mature phase, 4. final phase, determine the metropolitan expansion and urban renewal (LICHTENBERGER, 1991).

THE STUDY AREA

Greater Stockholm or Stockholm Metropolitan Area in this study includes all municipalities within Stockholm County with the exception of Norrtälje, Södertälje and Nynäsham, which means a total of 22 municipalities. These municipalities comprise

a population of about 1 480 000 persons (The National Atlas of Sweden, 1991). The mouth of the lake system Mälarn divides the area in a southern and northern part.

In this analysis the area is divided in two major parts: The inner suburbs, including Stockholm with its inner city and 5 other municipalities, and the other 16 municipalities that form together the outer suburbs (see Figure 2). By comparing two databases which contain the number of jobs and places of work in both 1987 and 1992 on each municipality, the changes in the metropolitan area can be calculated.

Since the 1950s the development of Stockholm Metropolitan Area has changed. The population in the region grew from 1 million in 1950 to about 1,5 million in 1989. Thereby, the area increased its part of the national population from 15 to about 20 per cent. This population growth mainly concentrated in the outer suburbs. During the same period the total number of jobs in the SMA increased from 510 000 to 880 000 (SOU, 1989). The tertiary sector has always dominated in Stockholm, but the share of service jobs in relation to the total number of jobs has increased during the post-war period (see Figure 3), and in national perspective the Stockholm region can be considered as Sweden's service centre.

CONCLUSION

When comparing the databases of 1987 and 1992 we see that the number of work places (i.e. 5 or more employed) in Stockholm Metropolitan Area has grown during this period. This also counts for the number of jobs these establishments provided. This growth however has not been equally distributed throughout the entire area. The inner suburbs (including Stockholm with its CBD) show a lower increase than the outer suburbs in places of work and an absolute decline of the number of jobs. The largest growth has taken place in the northwestern part of the Metropolitan area towards the location of Arlanda, the international airport of Stockholm.

This development clearly shows the same trend as in many other North-American or European metropolitan areas, even though the centre of Stockholm Metropolitan Area still remains an important location for economic activities.

Figure 2 Stockholm Metropolitan Area

Inner Suburbs

- 1 Stockholm (includes inner city)
- 2 Sunbyberg
- 3 Solna
- 4 Danderyd
- 5 Lidingö
- 6 Nacka

Outer Suburbs

- 7 Ekerö
- 8 Upplands-Bro
- 9 Järfälla
- 10 Sollentuna
- 11 Upplands Väsby
- 12 Sigtuna
- 13 Täby
- 14 Vallentuna
- 15 Vaxholm
- 16 Österåker
- 17 Värmdö
- 18 Tyresö
- 19 Huddinge
- 20 Haninge
- 21 Botkyrka
- 22 Salem

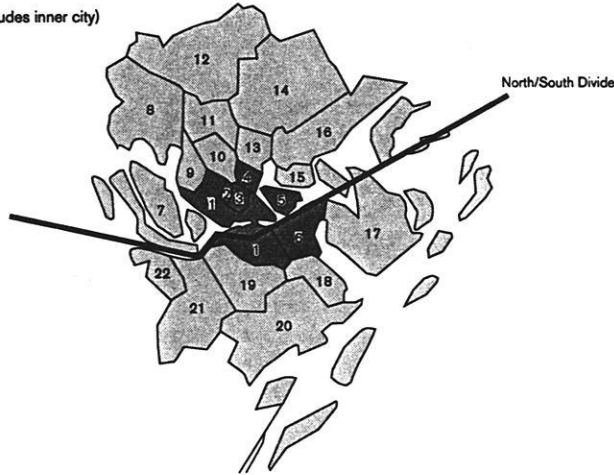


Figure 3 Employment figures in SMA, the development in different sectors

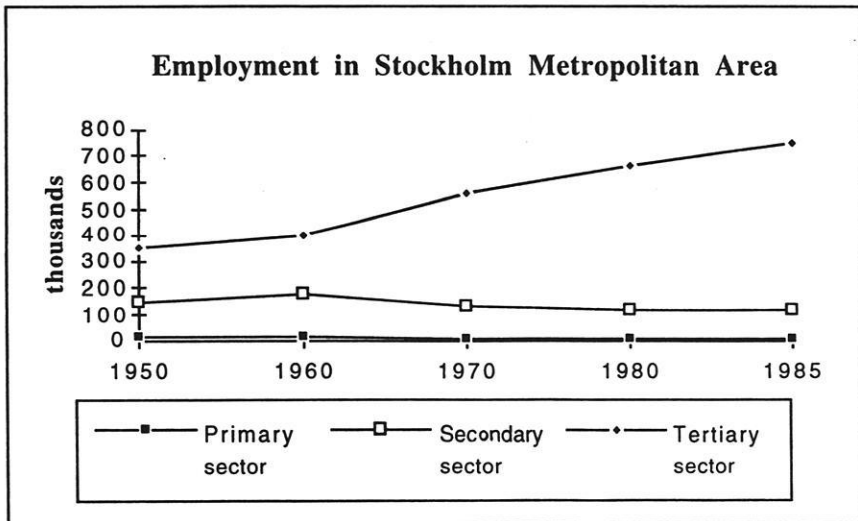


Table 1 The changes in places of work and jobs in SMA between 1987 and 1992

STOCKHOLM METROPOLITAN AREA (Places of work with ≥ 5 employees)

Code	Municipality	Places	Places	Absolute	Relative	Jobs	Jobs	Absolute	Relative
		of Work	of Work	change	change	1987	1992	change	change
		1987	1992		(%)				(%)
114	Upplands Väsby	280	349	69	25	9417	11098	-11681	18
115	Vallentuna	130	158	28	22	2660	3188	528	20
117	Österåker	174	210	36	21	4467	5117	650	15
120	Värmdö	119	147	28	24	3326	3387	61	2
123	Järfälla	410	453	43	10	16737	16645	-92	-1
125	Ekerö	120	135	15	13	2491	2983	492	20
126	Huddinge	524	650	126	24	22276	25654	3378	15
127	Botkyrka	386	467	81	21	12933	14511	1578	12
128	Salem	54	64	10	19	1352	1255	-97	-7
136	Haninge	364	428	64	18	13334	17460	4126	31
138	Tyresö	240	228	-12	-5	5576	5606	30	1
139	Upplands Bro	147	165	18	12	4153	4812	659	16
160	Täby	436	536	100	23	10865	12779	1914	18
162	Danderyd	296	313	17	6	17960	18722	762	4
163	Sollentuna	484	602	118	24	15000	17408	2408	16
180	Stockholm	10307	10647	340	3	425209	413101	-12108	-3
182	Nacka	491	561	70	14	16003	15624	-379	-2
183	Sundbyberg	374	380	6	2	13609	14132	523	4
184	Solna	873	913	40	5	50757	50098	-659	-1
186	Lidingö	383	314	-69	-18	8409	9043	634	8
187	Vaxholm	59	64	5	8	1664	1231	-433	-26
191	Sigtuna	295	385	90	31	14000	20576	6576	47
	Total	16946	18169	1223	7	672198	684430	12232	2

Table 2 Differences between inner- and outer suburbs, places of work

	1987	1992	Change '87-'92	Relative change
Places of Work				
Inner suburbs	12724	13128	404	3 %
Outer suburbs	4222	5041	819	19 %
Total Area	16946	18169	1223	7 %

Source: Calculations after Sweden Statistics, firm registers 1987 & 1992

Figure 4 Changes in places of work between 1987 and 1992

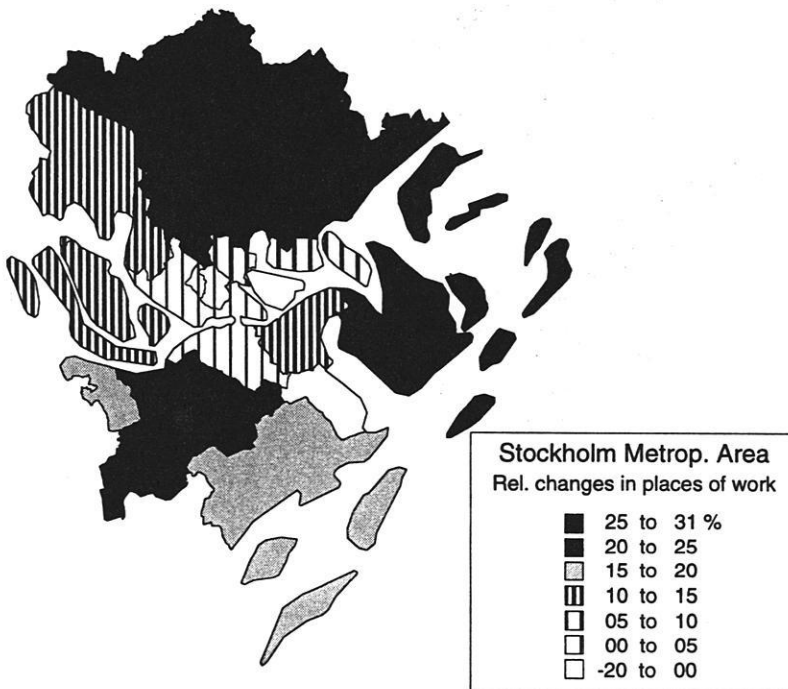
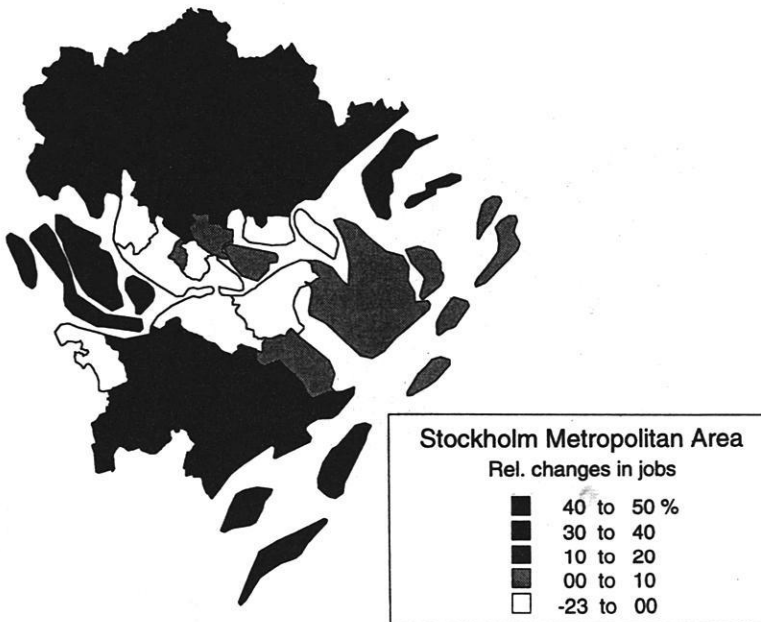


Table 3 Differences between inner- and outer suburbs, jobs

	1987	1992	Change '87-'92	Relative change
Jobs				
Inner suburbs	531947	520720	-11227	-2 %
Outer suburbs	140251	163710	23459	17 %
Total Area	6721998	684430	12232	2 %

Source: Calculations after Sweden Statistics, firm registers 1987 & 1992

Figure 5 Changes of jobs between 1987 and 1992



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