

Main street plot scale in urban design for inclusive economies: Stockholm case studies

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1 **Abstract**

2 This paper explores evidence that entrepreneurial opportunities for migrants and other lower
3 income populations can be expanded in part through increasing the presence of fine grained
4 scales of plots and plates along main streets, as part of a systematic urban design strategy. It
5 describes that systematic strategy herein. The paper encompasses the study of three main
6 streets with varying plot sizes in the inner city of Stockholm, Sweden, and examines the
7 outcomes for different types and scales of businesses. After presenting the findings, analysis
8 and conclusions, larger questions of urban design for more inclusive economies are discussed.
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10 **Keywords**

11 Buildings, structures & design, Social impact, Town & city planning
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1 **1 Introduction**

2 Recent years have seen a surge of research and policy interest in so-called “main streets” or
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4 3 “high streets” -- that is, streets with a broad range of retail and non-retail activities, often with a
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6 4 relatively high mix of business types and scales, and with a high percentage of smaller, local
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8 5 and independent businesses. As other researchers have concluded, these streets typically offer
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10 6 “centrality”, that is, a strategic location for local impact and regional reach (Carmona et al.,
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12 7 2015; Talen & Jeong, 2018). Socially, main streets are at the heart of communities providing
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14 8 place for social interaction, identity and daily shopping (Mehta, 2011). Main streets are also
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16 9 physically the transportation links that connect different parts of the city while functioning as
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18 10 commercial and service clusters, an essential feature of cities of all times (Hillier, 1996). Thus,
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20 11 main streets often play a dual role of offering both mobility and public space (Schönfeld &
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22 12 Bertolini, 2017).

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26 14 Recent research has demonstrated, however, that in many cities today, the traditional main
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28 15 street is changing as it responds to competition from online shopping, big box retail and
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30 16 shopping malls, and the growing power of the global property market; partly as a consequence,
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32 17 chains are increasingly replacing local businesses on many main streets (Carmona et al., 2015;
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34 18 Talen & Jeong, 2018; Litvin & DiForio, 2014).

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38 20 Simultaneously, in many European cities, a contrary trend marks the increase of ethnic
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40 21 entrepreneurs on main streets (Carmona et al., 2015, p.7; Hall, 2011, Zukin et al., 2016). A
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42 22 number of researchers have noted the importance of this trend in providing economic
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44 23 opportunities by migrant communities seeking employment and/or entrepreneurial activities
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46 24 (Favell and Hansen, 2002; Hall, 2015; Zukin et al., 2016). What is at stake, they note, is not
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48 25 only the benefits to migrants from participation in the local economic and cultural life of the city,
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50 26 but the economic productivity of the city itself, given the positive contribution of migrants to local
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52 27 economies, the “local multiplier effect” of local entrepreneurial activity and employment, and the
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54 28 upward mobility offered by what the journalist Doug Saunders has termed ‘Arrival Cities’
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56 29 (Saunders, 2010; Moretti, 2010; Moretti and Thulin, 2013).

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31 However, research on ethnic entrepreneurship has often neglected the spatial dimension, thereby
32 neglecting the fact that location matters (Rekers & Van Kempen, 2000; Lo & Teixeira, 2015). The
33 value of small, local, independent businesses proves to be strongly linked to spatial dimensions.
34 In fact, according to Rekers and Van Kempen,

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36 *“...the spatial structure of the city is important with respect to business premises. In many*
37 *Western European countries an enormous difference exists between prewar and postwar*
38 *neighbourhoods. In older neighbourhoods, shops and other enterprises grew up more or*
39 *less spontaneously around daily markets and in several streets throughout the area.*
40 *These premises are now being occupied by new users, including ethnic entrepreneurs.”*
41 (Rekers & Van Kempen, 2000, pp.65-66).
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43 Ethnic entrepreneurs (including immigrants) are typically engaged and embedded in the
44 community, resulting in place management partnerships, community participation, and self-
45 organization (Parker et al., 2014). Within the local community, relatives, acquaintances and/or
46 employees from similar backgrounds tend to be employed in the migrant businesses and use the
47 opportunity to learn entrepreneurial skills (Khosravi, 1999). Ethnic vertical integration also reduces
48 transaction costs (Raijman & Tienda, 2003).
49

50 Against this backdrop, the “alterations in scale” of urban morphology, as a “signature” of post-
51 WWII urbanism (Porta et al., 2014), and especially the morphological structure of main streets for
52 diversity of ground floor spaces to provide diversity of ethnic businesses (Vaughan et al, 2017),
53 emerges as a key question. Specifically, one may ask, are there attributes of urban morphology
54 and scale that improve, or conversely degrade, entrepreneurial opportunities for migrants? What
55 businesses tend to be owned by migrants, in what kind of premises, and how have they changed
56 in the past ten years?
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58 In this research, it is therefore asked, is there a correlation between the scale of plots and/or the
59 plates on main streets, and the evidence of entrepreneurial opportunity and economic
60 productivity by migrant populations? If there is a correlation, can causation be inferred? This
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61 paper examines the specific case studies of three inner city main streets in Stockholm, Sweden,
62 and draws conclusions and discusses topics for further research.

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64 **2. Plot-Based Urbanism as a conceptual framework**

65 This research builds on the contributions of “Plot-Based Urbanism” (PBU), a conceptual and
66 methodological framework for contemporary urban design and masterplanning. Broadly
67 speaking, Plot-Based Urbanism focuses on the scale of the plot, the plot’s relationship with
68 street types and land uses in time, and its critical impact on urban processes including
69 economic, to inform masterplanning practice. An articulation of the place-making approach to
70 urban design (Porta and Romice, 2014), PBU stresses the importance of establishing in places
71 the appropriate *spatial* conditions for the self-organization of *non-spatial* dynamics, such as
72 commercial, cultural and social. Self-organization is therefore intended to be complementary,
73 rather than alternative, to spatial planning, as long as the latter is made “time-conscious”
74 (Thwaites et al., 2007). The latest developments of the PBU approach more clearly recognise
75 the evolutionary nature of urban form and, along this line, the primary importance of people’s
76 “informal participation” in fuelling the trajectory of change of places (Romice et al., 2017a): by
77 doing so, PBU reconnects past forms of masterplanning that have generated adaptive and
78 continuously successful places over time (Barbour et al., 2016), to the desirable goal of resilient
79 and democratic future cities in the urbanization age (Porta et al., 2018). PBU informs a radical
80 “rethinking the masterplanning practice”, in search of a way to design places that understands
81 and embraces continuous *evolutionary* change rather than conceiving them as untouchable
82 expressions of design *creation* (Romice et al., 2017b; Dibble et al., 2017).

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84 In a PBU perspective, a correct understanding of main streets can make a whole difference in
85 the way future cities are shaped. Evidence has been raised many times in support of the idea
86 that main streets are the backbones of our best urban communities (Porta et al., 2012), and
87 tend to be stable in time (Strano et al., 2012; Strano et al., 2013). Properly structured, fine
88 grained main streets are in fact fundamentally important to the shaping of *resilient* urban
89 communities (Mehaffy et al., 2010): independently controlled plots of appropriate sizes on main
90 streets can meaningfully expand entrepreneurial opportunities and non spatial patterns that are

1 91 highly responsive to changing conditions in time. In a parallel relationship to other complex
2 92 adaptive systems (Holling and Goldberg, 1971), adaptive and resilient places are characterised
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4 93 by five main properties, or “resilience proxies”— namely *diversity, connectivity, redundancy,*
5
6 94 *modularity* and *efficiency*—which operate *at scale*, for example at the plot scale (Feliciotti et al.,
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8 95 2016; Feliciotti et al., 2017). Moreover, “good” places are made of urban elements that are
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10 96 strictly interconnected *across scales*, in order to allow “panarchic” change enlivening their
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12 97 evolution, in the same way it does to all complex-adaptive systems in nature, culture and the
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14 98 society (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Holling, 2004). In this sense, resilience thinking reveals
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16 99 to us the crucial importance of the dynamics of change that is investigated in this research,
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18 100 which typically involve different systems (urban form and retail commerce) that are
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20 101 interconnected in space at different scales (plot, street edge, street network). Similar cross-
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22 102 scalar patterns have been at the centre of Jane Jacobs’ notion of aged buildings as important
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24 103 features of successful streets that provide different levels of access to a broader spectrum of
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26 104 business types (Sardari Sayyar & Marcus, 2013). More plots, in this sense, are more likely to
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28 105 contribute to more diversity of economic activity. As famously noticed in Stockholm by Hall
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30 106 (2009, p.78):

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34 108 *“Investments by private individuals, as we have seen, were necessary if houses were to*
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36 109 *be built on plots, and ‘plot-jobbing’ was not regarded as dubious; it was the only option*
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38 110 *for people with small means, for example, craftsmen and lower white-collar workers, to*
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40 111 *rise quickly to a higher social and economic level”* (Hall, 2009, p.78).
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42 112 43 44 113 **“Plots” and “plates”**

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46 114 This study also extends the inquiry beyond plots – that is, legal property lines and/or units of
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48 115 uninterrupted accessibility– and into the plate spaces of buildings, occupied by a variety of
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50 116 individual tenants. For convenience, these spaces are referred to as “plates” (short for
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52 117 floorplates). While there are differences in ownership status between “plots” and “plates”, and it
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54 118 is easier to change the boundaries of plates over shorter periods of time, these are differences
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56 119 of degree. It is therefore important to assess the opportunities for migrants as they relate to the
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58 120 scale of both plots and plates.
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1 121
2 122 In both cases it can be asked what relation the size of these structures has to migrant
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4 123 opportunities in Stockholm. It is hypothesized that a more flexible, more adaptive built
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6 124 environment is expected to offer better spatial conditions for accommodating the needs and
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8 125 values of new users, especially startup businesses. This paper focuses on the plot and plate
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10 126 size and ethnic entrepreneurship in particular as proxies of the capacity of space to welcome
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12 127 change by constant adaptation and informal participation.
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16 129 The research questions, then, are: can a correlation be observed between the scale of plots and
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18 130 plates, and the indicators of migrant economic and social opportunities? Can any reliable
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20 131 evidence be identified that the scale of these structures plays a role? Do new research
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22 132 questions emerge meriting further research?
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26 134 **3. Case study background**
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28 135 ***3.1 Background to urban development in Stockholm***
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30 136 Urbanisation occurred in Stockholm at a relatively late stage in the XIXth century (Nyström &
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32 137 Lundström, 2006; Hall, 2009). In anticipation to industrialization and population growth, and
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34 138 inspired by European counterparts such as Haussmann's vision for Paris, the 1866 Lindhagen
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36 139 plan laid out a masterplan including a grandiose street network resulting in the implementation
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38 140 of a rigid street grid, broad thoroughfares and integrated green spaces (Hall, 2009). A national
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40 141 building statute issued in 1874 established that "[s]treets were to be at least 18 metres wide and
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42 142 buildings a maximum of 19.5 meters or five storeys high, but no higher than the width of the
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44 143 street, and [...] that at least one-third of each plot should be left unbuilt as courtyard" (p.78).
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46 144 These codes informed the straightening and widening of the three streets selected for this
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48 145 study: Odengatan, Hantverkargatan, and Hornsgatan. The next large city expansion occurred
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50 146 under the rules of Modern neighbourhood planning in the 1940s (Nyström & Lundström, 2006).
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52 147 Suburban developments were purposefully designed to avoid fine-grained retail commerce, to
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54 148 be replaced by cultural and institutional facilities that were meant to express democratic values
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56 149 and attract social interaction. Thus, the historical inner city, with its street network and retail
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58 150 functions at the ground floor, still remains today the central magnet of consumption and leisure
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1 151 in Stockholm. Since the 1960s, the focus has shifted from expanding strategies to infill
2 152 development and consequently densification of developed land (Hall, 2009). Arguably,
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4 153 Stockholm is currently in the midst of the next large city expansion by densification strategies
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6 154 wherein the quality of public space, diversity of people and district identities, and citizen
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8 155 participation are promoted (Stockholms Stad, 2018).
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11 157 **3.2 Entrepreneurship in Stockholm and Sweden**

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14 158 Stockholm is a growing city with 17% increase between 2008 and 2017 reaching almost a
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16 159 million inhabitants in the metropolitan area, 24% of which have a foreign background (Statistics
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18 160 Stockholm, 2017). Similarly, Sweden has never seen such a large population, not the least due
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20 161 to influx of immigrants; in 2017, citizens with a foreign background increased with 14%
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22 162 compared to 2016 and its total population increased with 1.2% reaching more than ten million
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24 163 inhabitants (Statistics Sweden, 2018). Observing the past ten years, Sweden has seen a 40%
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26 164 increase in newly registered companies and Stockholm even a 51% increase (Bolagsverket,
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28 165 na). However, looking at small firms, the number of new sole traders as well as totally registered
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30 166 sole traders in Sweden has decreased with 40% which is about the same in Stockholm.
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32 167 Nevertheless, according to the Swedish Agency of Economic and Regional Growth, particularly
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34 168 migrant entrepreneurs have increasingly started businesses, accounting for 13% in 2012 and
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36 169 15% in 2014 of the total number of businesses, with a higher share in small businesses
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38 170 (accounting up to 9 employees) (Tillväxtverket, 2013; 2015). Thus, while native sole traders
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40 171 have decreased, migrant sole traders have increased, denouncing that
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45 173 *“the self-employment sector has thus become a source of employment that plays an*
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47 174 *important role in the assimilation of immigrants”* (Hammarstedt, 2004, p.115).
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51 176 For immigrants in Sweden, it appears harder to find employment on the job market, which
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53 177 makes entrepreneurship often a forced choice. Obstacles such as bureaucracy, access to
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55 178 capital and language and/or cultural barriers are more prevalent among job-seekers with a
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57 179 foreign background (Khosravi, 1999; Tillväxtverket, 2013; 2015). Nonetheless, migrant
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180 entrepreneurs in Sweden tend to have higher ambitions and expectations for the company to
181 grow, specifically in number of employees (Tillväxtverket, 2015).

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183 **3.3 The case studies**

184 This study selected streets in three inner city areas of Stockholm, Sweden: Odengatan
185 (Norrmalm), Hantverkargatan (Kungsholmen), and Hornsgatan (Södermalm). See Figure 1. The
186 criteria that led to the identification of the aforementioned three streets for this research are
187 many. Firstly, their strategic location in the inner city of Stockholm, as each street is located in
188 the centre of an area connecting east-west linkages close to well-connected major
189 transportation hubs, and has subways and local and city busses running through. Secondly, the
190 inner city is significantly different from the suburban outer city. Stockholm metropolitan area, as
191 many other European cities, is challenged with unequal living conditions, social and ethnic
192 segregation and unequal availability to services and labour market (Legeby, 2009). In contrast
193 to outer city suburbs, the inner city attributes higher retail diversity in terms of intensity, better
194 internal accessibility as well as to other economic activities; has a self-organizing (market)
195 driven retail system as opposed to the suburban planned (publicly or privately) retail system; a
196 larger size of local market for retail activities; and a higher number of plots (Sardari Sayyar &
197 Marcus, 2013). This arguably creates a reasonable market for retail in the inner city. The
198 perception that ethnic entrepreneurship is restricted to migrant-dense neighbourhoods is not
199 always true, especially not when the targeted clientele is located in the inner city (Lidola, 2014).
200 Furthermore, for the selection of the three streets, the island-structure of the inner city of
201 Stockholm naturally allows for clearly defined areas with distinct identities. Norrmalm
202 (Odengatan) and Kungsholmen (Hantverkargatan) have around 70.000 inhabitants while
203 Södermalm (Hornsgatan) houses around 125.000. In addition, the working population
204 represents respectively 15.000, 22.000, and 12.000 work places. Administratively, the areas are
205 divided into smaller districts, configuring the main streets neighbourhoods that have respectively
206 30.000, 20.000, and 15.000 inhabitants. Albeit the distinct identities, the area and population
207 characteristics among the streets are rather similar: mainly higher educated and middle to upper
208 class of which around 15% are foreign born (Statistik Stockholm, 2017). Therefore, studying the
209 three streets in a comparative manner may be in interesting for finding similarities or differences

1 210 between the areas. Thirdly, the change of the inner city ground floor in relation to the building
2 211 ownership is interesting since between 1990 and 2014 around half of the rentals apartments
3 212 have been transformed into condominiums (Statistics Stockholm, 2017). The residents lease
4 213 apartments with the right of tenant ownership. The tenant-owner's association owns and
5 214 manages the building through a governing board that decides on the finances and property
6 215 management.

7 [Figure 1]

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9 218 **4. Data from cases**

10 219 The three inner city main streets present remarkable similarities regarding spatial structures as
11 220 well as changes in type of business and type of entrepreneurship between 2009 and 2018 that
12 221 allow for generalizations among the streets. This study examined both "plots" (legal property
13 222 lines) and "plates" (floorplates within buildings that are demised for leasing). The plots are often
14 223 measured as not smaller than 200m² while the plates are sometimes as small as 40m², which is
15 224 a size typical of a small business. Data of the three streets are combined and processed with a
16 225 statistical tool to produce the following findings. All data presented in this paper have been
17 226 checked for correlation and have passed the significance test.

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19 228 **4.1 Spatial structure**

20 229 Table 1 presents the streets' spatial structures and plot ownership. The data is retrieved from a
21 230 property database and collected through measurements based on an approximate map
22 231 measurement and personal observations.

23 [Table 1]

24 233 Table 2 presents the size and scale of the plates. The method used to measure the plate is
25 234 based on an approximation combining a map measure tool and personal observation.

26 235 Furthermore, the plates have been categorized by size: small, medium, large and extra large
27 236 plates based on the author's judgement. The larger non-commercial institutions have been
28 237 detected as outliers and have been removed (Missing values: Odengatan 14; Hantverkargatan
29 238 15; Hornsgatan 15).

30 [Table 2]

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2 241 **4.2 Changes in type of business**

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4 242 Table 3 shows the changes between what business was there in 2009 and in 2018. The open
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6 243 source tool Google Street View has been utilized for observations in 2009 (and if not available
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8 244 then used 2011) complemented with personal observations. Comparing 2009 and 2018, the
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10 245 findings show that almost half of the plates have changed in the past ten years. Also, a few
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12 246 plates have been split and merged, ultimately resulting in slightly lower number and thus larger
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14 247 plates in 2018.

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16 248 [Table 3]

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18 249 For the categorization of the type of businesses, see table 4.

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20 250 [Table 4]

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22 251 For the changes of the type of business see table 5.

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24 252 [Table 5]

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26 253 This study takes an interest in *where* these changes take place and whether the morphological
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28 254 setting can offer an explanation. At street level, the findings tell us that the changes are
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30 255 randomly spread over the street, but that the change is related to plate size: businesses located
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32 256 in small and medium plates have changed more than in large and extra large plates
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34 257 ($\chi^2(1, N = 686) = 8.7, p < .003$). More specifically, the small plates change more radically
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36 258 (i.e. from category 'Retail Product Stores' to 'Personal Beauty Services' as opposed to a change
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38 259 within same category) ($\chi^2(1, N = 686) = 3.9, p < .046$). 'Personal beauty services' are to
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40 260 larger extent situated in small plates ($\chi^2(1, N = 686) = 31.0, p < .000$) while 'Food and Drink
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42 261 services' are to larger extent situated in medium plates ($\chi^2(1, N = 686) = 6.2, p < .013$).
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44 262 'Retail product stores' show no relation to a specific size of plate.
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49 264 **4.2 Changes in entrepreneurship**

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51 265 Through a mix of methods used to triangulate the type of entrepreneurship (Internet searches,
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53 266 personal observations, informal interviews, and online data registers), it has been possible to
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55 267 draw categories. Sole traders, family and local businesses are firms where either the shop
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57 268 owner works in the shop or is personally involved in the daily management. Local companies
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59 269 have been recognized by more than three employees and where the business owner is not
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1 270 always present in the shop. International and national chains are formulas that are run as
2 271 branches with recognizable products, branding and marketing. Regional chains are stores with
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4 272 the same brand located in Stockholm county.
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8 274 All the streets demonstrate a decrease of sole traders, family businesses, and local companies
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10 275 and an increase in chains, particularly regional city chains. Migrants tend to be mostly sole
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12 276 traders, followed by local companies and regional chains owners. See table 6.
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14 277 [Table 6]
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16 278 The findings show that sole traders, family and local companies are more situated in small and
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18 279 medium plates than in large and extra large plates ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 57.8, p < ,000$). Also,
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20 280 sole traders are mostly situated in small plates ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 104.6, p < ,000$). Relating
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22 281 the type of business to the type of entrepreneurship, it can be observed that 'Food and Drink
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24 282 services' are mostly run by local companies ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 66.6, p < ,000$) and regional
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26 283 chains ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 33.7, p < ,000$). 'Personal beauty services' are mostly run by sole
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28 284 traders ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 44.3, p < ,000$).
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31 286 ***4.3 Radical change in plate size as entrepreneurial opportunities for migrants***

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33 287 To test for how the variables of plate size, type of business and type of entrepreneurship could
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35 288 potentially generate entrepreneurial opportunities for migrants and lower-income populations,
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37 289 each of the business is coded in a range of migrant businesses. Migrant businesses have been
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39 290 identified as an ethnic-themed company run by migrant (e.g. Indian restaurant run by Indian
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41 291 migrant) and neutral company run by migrant (e.g. nail salon run by Vietnamese couple). Online
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43 292 databases featuring company registration information, homepages, as well as personal
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45 293 observations has led to the categorization of migrant businesses.
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51 295 The data shows that migrant businesses have increased as more businesses from 2009 that
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53 296 changed have become migrant-driven businesses. Migrant businesses are more situated in
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55 297 small plates ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 17.1, p < ,000$). Migrants drive mostly 'Food and Drink
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57 298 services' services' ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 54.5, p < ,000$) and 'Personal beauty services'
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1 299 ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 16.6, p < ,000$). And they are more run by sole traders or family business
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3 300 followed by local companies ($\chi^2 (1, N = 686) = 62.4, p < ,000$).
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5 301
6 302 What can be observed from the findings is that there are significant relationships between the
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8 303 variables: plate size, type of business, type of entrepreneurship and whether the business is run
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10 304 by a migrant entrepreneur through measuring the change in time. Since the small plates change
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12 305 often and change most radically, it appears that such spaces are more flexible with regard to
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14 306 any kind of plate activity. This creates entrepreneurial opportunities both for migrants and for
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16 307 lower-income populations seeking to start a small business requiring lower startup capital, which
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18 308 is typical for personal beauty services as well as food and drink services. However, those types
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20 309 of business categories show different tendencies and characteristics while both show similar
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22 310 significant correlations to migrant entrepreneurship. The variance indicates that 'Personal
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24 311 beauty services' are more often sole traders and situated in small plates, while 'food and drink
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26 312 services' are more often regional chains or local companies and situated in medium-size plates.
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28 313 This finding however does not necessarily point toward a standard retail model, but indicates
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30 314 only that the variables are significantly correlated in the case study areas.
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35 316 **5. Discussion**

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37 317 Each individual street as a micro-space has its own particular dynamics within its context.
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39 318 However, intriguingly, this study shows the parallels between all three streets in terms of change
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41 319 of retail and entrepreneurship in relation to morphology. Based on the similarity of the built form
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43 320 of every street, the results could imply that the morphological structures of a street as well as
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45 321 the degree of inner city centrality are determiners for the kind of change happening on a street.
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49 323 The fact that around one out of two businesses changed in the past ten years could be an
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51 324 alarming signal for businesses that fail. However, a more holistic interpretation suggests that
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53 325 there is probably a combination of processes at stake. For instance, businesses may simply
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55 326 move to other streets, the owner may retire, a well-running business is bought up and re-
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57 327 named, and so forth. Griffiths (2014) emphasizes the natural evolution of main streets, providing
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59 328 space for negotiating social change as a 'dynamic agent of continuity' (2014, p.39). In fact,
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1 329 many chains started on main streets before relocating to larger shopping streets (Sangani &
2 330 Stephans, 2011). Moreover, our findings support the creative and innovative nature of main
3
4 331 streets for startups. Historic changes on main streets also took place some twenty years ago,
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6 332 including alterations in physical form, use, economic value and social significance (Dawson,
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8 333 1988).
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12 335 Interestingly, the results of this research go hand in hand with national economic development
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14 336 trends, showing decreasing numbers of sole traders and increasing companies and migrant
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16 337 businesses (Tillväxtverket, 2015). It can be observed, then, that main streets are a symbolic and
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18 338 representative urban element that reflects wider social and economic trends.
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22 340 The results of this study demonstrate the stability of the large and extra-large plates while the
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24 341 small and medium plate sizes generate more dynamism and change that allow for opportunity.
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26 342 At the same time, it is probably not feasible (or even desirable) to have only small and medium
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28 343 plates with small-scale local companies. Rather, a mix of sizes allows for healthy adaptability
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30 344 and vitality of the entire street. Since the size of the plate is a determinant factor for a chain or
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32 345 local company, with a mix of scales it is easier to ensure a right balance between chains and
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34 346 local companies (see Litvin & Rosene, 2017; Litvin & DiForio, 2014).
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36 347
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38 348 The presence of small and medium plates has in the past been associated with the presence of
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40 349 sole traders, local firms and family businesses. In contrast, what can be seen now, and not only
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42 350 in Stockholm but also e.g. in London (see Hall, 2011), is the increase of small scale retail chains
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44 351 oriented towards food and drink services, a trend that is parallel to the increase of small, local
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46 352 and independent migrant businesses. The latter are oriented towards not only food and drink
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48 353 services but also personal beauty services, which are both increasingly run by migrants on main
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50 354 streets. Food and drink services target mostly the medium size plates whereas the personal
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52 355 beauty services target the small size plates. The result that can be foreseen is that small, local
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54 356 and independent businesses currently situated in small and medium plates in main streets
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56 357 experience competition from highly adaptable chains that have longer opening hours and
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58 358 subsequently higher turnover, facing the risk that rents will be adjusted to those. Without
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1 359 effective policies and planning regulations to protect the value of small entrepreneurship on
2 360 main streets, the city misses the potential for generating entrepreneurial opportunities for
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4 361 migrant and lower-income populations.
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8 363 The increase of regional chains triggers conflicting values: on the one hand, with the influx of
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10 364 retail chains, all streets are going to look the same, which, according to surveys, is a negative
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12 365 factor for many residents. Distinct character and identity difference between the areas in
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14 366 Stockholm are likely to be erased as these areas are homogenized, in part because of the
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16 367 disappearance of small, local and independent businesses.
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19
20 369 On the other hand, the rise of chains might in fact generate opportunities for migrants and lower
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22 370 income populations. The regional chain owners might also be locally-based entrepreneurs who
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24 371 started with one business and managed to expand their small-scale business in another street
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26 372 in the city. Without much effort, since the formula can be exactly the same, these migrant-
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28 373 operated businesses can be meaningfully expanded as local chains. This might be an attractive
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30 374 model in particular for migrant entrepreneurs that are known to want to expand (Tillväxtverket,
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32 375 2015). Indeed this could be a successful entrepreneurial strategy, as Khosravi (1999) concluded
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34 376 that two businesses can lower the risk of running a single business. In fact, the expansion of an
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36 377 independent migrant business to a city chain may create multiplier effects for workplaces
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38 378 shaped for co-ethnic employees or forms of ethnic vertical integration.
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43 380 However, the limitations of self-employment for migrants as a way of improving standards of
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45 381 living and reducing social exclusion must also be recognized. Migrants engaged in self-
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47 382 employment tend to have lower incomes compared to self-employed indigenous Swedes
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49 383 (Slavnic, 2013).
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53 385 **6. Conclusion**
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55 386 This research has found a correlation between the scale of plates of ground floor spaces on
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57 387 main streets and the evidence of entrepreneurial opportunity and economic productivity by
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59 388 migrant populations. The results indicate a correlation between small and medium size plates

1 389 and certain types of businesses (especially food and drink services and personal beauty
2 390 service) with a correlation between larger sizes and lower levels of entrepreneurship by sole
3 391 traders, family businesses and local companies often driven by migrants.
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8 393 At the same time, regional chains are targeting the same plate sizes and types of businesses,
9 394 sometimes displacing migrant entrepreneurs, but also sometimes providing opportunities for
10 395 migrants to start their own chains. In this sense, the picture for migrant opportunities in relation
11 396 to pressure from chain businesses is somewhat mixed. There is certainly a potential impact
12 397 from chains (both local and otherwise) on the character and neighbourhood identities of the city,
13 398 which also needs to be assessed.
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18 400 Generally, older masterplanning and building planning that provided smaller plots and plates
19 401 also created ample opportunities for migrants. Part of the opportunity undoubtedly comes from
20 402 the age of the buildings, translating into more affordable space – a point made famously by
21 403 Jane Jacobs (1961). But as this study shows, varied plot and plate scale is one of the effective
22 404 policies and planning regulations needed to guide the adaptability of main streets, and to
23 405 provide continued opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs to situate themselves on main streets.
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28 407 This research has highlighted a number of areas that warrant further research. As noted above,
29 408 there is a question whether the introduction of chain retailing is a net reduction or net expansion
30 409 of opportunities for migrants. In addition, there is a question of the different effects of plots (legal
31 410 property boundaries) and the other spaces that are termed “plates” (leased areas within larger
32 411 buildings and plots). Since plates can be more easily modified over time, it would be instructive
33 412 to see if there is a difference in the rates in which smaller scale spaces are maintained. Lastly,
34 413 and perhaps most important, it would be helpful to compare other kinds of streets, particularly
35 414 streets with greater variations in age and morphology, to either verify or contradict the initial
36 415 findings here of a correlation between migrant opportunity and smalls plot and plate sizes.
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41 417 Finally, this paper concludes that the use of fine-grained and varied plot and plate scales must
42 418 be part of a wider set of tools and approaches to design places that embrace continuous

1 419 *evolutionary*, change, rather than conceiving of places as untouchable expressions of design
2 420 creation. To take the latter approach is to fail to recognize the need for all citizens, including
3
4 421 low-income and migrant populations, to take their place within the life of the city.
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9

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16 427 Unit at University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK.
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57 595 **Figure captions**

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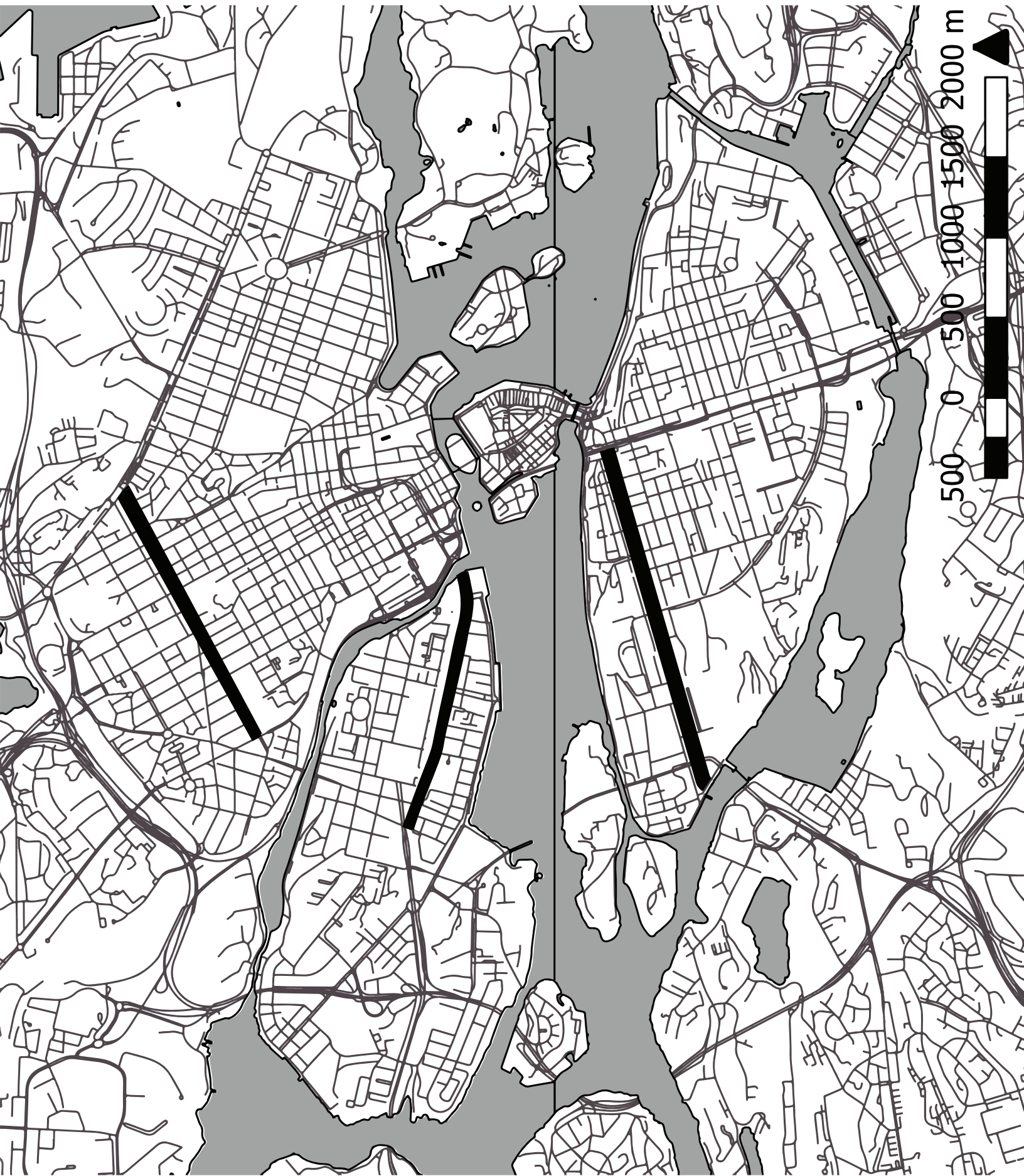
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1	596	Figure 1. Map of Stockholm featuring three selected main streets. Top: Odengatan (Norrmalm);
2	597	middle: Hantverkargatan (Kungsholmen); bottom: Hornsgatan (Södermalm).
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4	598	Table 1. The spatial structure and plot ownership per street
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6	599	Table 2. Sizes and scales of the plates
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8	600	Table 3. Change of plates per street
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10	601	Table 4. Categorization of type of business
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12	602	Table 5. Changes of category of business per street and for all streets
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14	603	Table 6. Change in entrepreneurship per street and for all streets, and the share of migrants per
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Figure 1



	Odengatan	Hantverkargatan	Hornsgatan
Length of the street	1750 meters	1600 meters	2300 meters
Number of blocks plots	33 blocks 88 plots	28 blocks 57 plots	29 blocks 112 plots
Number of doors	Residential 84 Retail and non-retail 209 Other 28 Total 321 door every 5.45 meter	Residential 65 Retail and non-retail 136 Other 25 Total 226 a door every 7.08 meter	Residential 130 Retail and non-retail 304 Other 69 Total 503 door every 4.57 meter
Change of plot owner 1999 - 2008 2009 - 2018	32% changed 9% changed	33% changed 27% changed	36% changed 12% changed
Plot ownership 2018 (three largest)	Cooperative 51% Corporate company 17% Insurance company 12%	Cooperative 48% Corporate company 25% Municipal housing company 13%	Cooperative 51% Municipal housing company 20% Corporate company 17%

Table 1 The spatial structure and plot ownership per street

2018			
	Odengatan	Hantverkargatan	Hornsgatan
Plate size average	146 sq.m.	113 sq.m.	101 sq.m.
Minimum	30 sq.m.	25 sq.m.	12 sq.m.
Maximum	1600 sq.m.	420 sq.m.	1307 sq.m.
Median	131 sq.m.	93 sq.m.	80 sq. m.
Distribution of plates:	100%	100%	100%
“small” plates (up to 60 sq.m.)	24%	23%	42%
“medium” plates (61 - 120 sq.m.)	36%	39%	37%
“large” plates (121 - 180 sq.m.)	23%	14%	8%
“extra large” plates (from 181 sq.m.)	17%	24%	13%

Table 2 Sizes and scales of the plates.

	Odengatan	Hantverkargatan	Hornsgatan
Number of plates			
2009	229	151	301
2018	226	150	299
% change of plate activity between 2009 and 2018	46.1%	48.4%	48.5%

Table 3 Change of plates per street

	Retail		Non-retail
	Product	Service	
Category Type	Retail product stores Clothes, shoes, fashion; Furniture and home accessories; Retail stores (toy store, office products, music etc.); Florist; Second hand and antique store; Book store	Food and drink services Restaurant-bar; Lunch deli, bakery, ice cream shop and coffee café (fresh products); Fast food (limited seats, take-away service); Hotel; Night club	Culture, education and art Gallery and museum; Theater and cinema; Library; School; Church
Category Type	Food retail product stores Grocery store; Food-oriented shop (limited fresh products); Convenient store; Liquor store; Specialized food store (cheese, butcher, veg & fruit)	Personal beauty services Nail salon, hair dresser and solarium; Tattoo and barber shop; Beauty and massage salon; Gym and dance studio	Offices
Category Type		Commercial services Computer and phone repair service; Optician, electronics, bike, jewelry, photo (product and service combined); Tailor, shoe, lock & key repair and dry cleaning service; Pharmacy; B2B and other commercial services	Residential
Category Type		Business and institutional service Formal service (Bank, money exchange, travel agency, funeral service, property seller etc.); Governmental and municipal service; Doctor and medical support	Vacant

Table 4. Categorization of type of business (source: author)

	Change from 2009 to 2018			
	Odengatan	Hantverkargatan	Hornsgatan	All streets
Increasing category of businesses	Food and drink services (from 16.5 to 24.3%) Personal beauty services (from 9.1 to 10.4%)	Food and drink services (from 22.2 to 26.8%)	Food and drink services (from 20.8 to 24.1%) Personal beauty services (from 10.6 to 13.9%)	Food and drink services +25.0% Personal beauty services +15.6%
Decreasing category of businesses	Retail product stores (from 27.4% to 23.0%)	Retail product stores (from 18.3 to 15.7%)	Retail product stores (from 31.4% to 23.1%)	Retail product stores - 20.1%

Table 5 Changes of category of business per street and for all streets

Type of entrepreneurship	Change from 2009 to 2018				2018
	Odengatan	Hantverkargatan	Hornsgatan	All streets	Of which % migrant businesses
Sole traders and family businesses	From 38.7 to 33.0%	From 40.5 to 35.9%	From 33.0 to 31.7%	-9.6%	40.5%
Local companies	From 22.2 to 19.6%	From 28.1 to 24.2%	From 38 to 27.1%	-21.5%	33.5%
Chains (international and national)	From 16.9% to 21.8%	From 12.4 to 15.0%	From 14.2% to 19.8%	+31.7%	9.2%
Regional chains	From 5.7 to 11.7%	From 5.2% to 11.1%	From 7.3 to 12.9%	+93.0%	31.3%

Table 6 Change in entrepreneurship per street and for all streets, and the share of migrants per type of entrepreneurship