

**'Yonder Product and Practice: Case Study of Drottninghög, a Post-WW2 Large-Scale Housing Estate in Helsingborg, Sweden' by Heidi Svenningsen Kajita (University of Copenhagen)**

*YONDER PRODUCT AND PRACTICE: Drottninghög, a post WW2 large-scale housing estate in Helsingborg, Sweden* focuses on spatial tactics, figures and motifs of yonder as a way of re-imagining post WW2 large-scale housing estates; specifically in terms of change over time and influence by use. I refer to the notion of yonder as introduced by novelist and social critic Siri Hustvedt in her investigations of images of memory and place. And further, drawing on situated knowledge, the idea of yonder in this text specifically engages questions of site-bound spatial products and practices in examples from fieldwork research. So, this text is less a paper and more a speculative reflection on what continuous change may mean to architecture and planning.

'My father once asked me if I knew where Yonder was. I said I thought yonder was another word for there. He smiled and said, "No, yonder is between here and there [...] During my father's brief explanation of the meaning of yonder, and every time I've thought of it since, a landscape appears in my mind: I am standing at the crest of a small hill looking down into an open valley where there is a single tree, and beyond it lies the horizon defined by a series of low mountains or hills [...] Once you arrive at yonder tree, it becomes here and recedes forever into that imaginary horizon.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Siri Hustvedt

### State of change

Any plans for transformation of the extensive large-scale housing estates from the 1960-70s necessarily involve existing buildings, roads, cables,

trees and bus routes etc. along with local residents who live and plan their futures in these estates. Working with existing buildings for extended use is recognised as a more carbon efficient alternative to demolition and new build<sup>(2)</sup>. But there are needs and demands to re-think the social implications of transformation and how spatial products and practices can better attain residents' engagement, appreciation and care for what was, is, and what is to come. Architectural critique of the welfare states' housing projects must address not only the beautiful promises for the common good, delivered partly through housing for all in the post WW2 era, but also how this housing has been and will be inhabited and maintained over time. I borrow Hustvedt's notion of yonder that, as the quote above shows, concerns both the tangible, static and measurable (the crest of a small hill) and uncertain possibilities that motivate change (yonder tree). In her works, Hustvedt employs a focused ambiguity to question the relationship between arts and science,<sup>(3)</sup> whereas I borrow her unsettling notion of yonder place to ponder the state of change in spatial practices and products.

### Mainstream and/or marginal

'More like a weather map than an atlas, my cartographies mutate and change, going with the flow while staying grounded.'

Rosi Braidotti

Now, it is probably fair to generalize that spatial practitioners in our paradigm of transformation are expected to address a very broad frame of reference. They refer often in the same project

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to economic and legal demands, to political and personal will, to use, to technical demands, to policy, heritage, global frameworks, to science, to weather and wear, to poetry and use etc. So, rather than arguing for certain styles, preferences or ideal expressions, I am interested in meeting the challenge of continuous transformation of the built environment by embracing such necessary shifting perspectives.

The figure of the 'nomadic subject' <sup>(4)</sup> that feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti has put forward may be a fine model to underpin this enquiry into dynamic and open-ended products and practices. The empirical accounts that follow further on in this text apply such situated, particular and located positions to architectural ways of knowing. With Braidotti in mind, I question how marginal positions in planning and architecture concerned with inhabitation over time – with cartographies that mutate and change – can be brought to destabilize and activate the 'atlas' mode of mainstream practice and products.

Yonder is a 'shifter', a word that shifts and move with the speaker, and as Hustved tells us, you can never find yourself yonder. The word signifies a place in movement. In contrast, normative professional frameworks for architecture and planning outline work in a linear time. Industrialised production lines organise work stage by stage to control and ensure agile and efficient delivery of buildings, infrastructures, landscapes, delimitation of development sites and so on. But what if we as part of this static grasp of architectural/planning practice were to incorporate relational, site-bound

practices and products? These practices and products would like yonder consist of both quantifiable and predictable real stuff (a given site, instructions for work, money, time schedules, visualisations, materials etc.) and uncertain imaginations (of inhabitation, weather, values etc.). For this purpose, I seek to exemplify how the notion of yonder can be instrumental to discuss mass-housing, not as fixed financial or political products of certain times, but as open-ended products and practices.

The situated yonder should be read in line with proposals for the democratisation of architecture put forward since the 1950's as critiques of the modernist concept of space. The modernist space-concept defined according to Paul Frankl as 'smooth flow of space through the whole, which is conceived as a part of a larger, endless space' <sup>(5)</sup> had changed the morphological image of the city; from a city of architectural objects to an organised model of production. Eventually this model influenced the technocratic spatial planning and architecture of the post-war era with its 'endless' spaces flowing between housing blocks, shops and institutions. In large-scale housing estates such open spaces were planned for flexible and creative inhabitation, but we often find that these open spaces proved harder to inhabit than predicted. And critiques of the abstract ideas of space that the modernist model evoked were introduced through new concepts e.g. 'the found' <sup>(6)</sup>, 'terrain vague', <sup>(7)</sup> 'vague space', <sup>(8)</sup> 'junk space', <sup>(9)</sup> 'slack space', <sup>(10)</sup> 'the creative user', <sup>(11)</sup> 'weak place' <sup>(12)</sup> and so forth. My considerations into yonder products and practices agrees with

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these critiques that the production of space is not reserved for the architect and planner or for a form that can be given to a phenomenon, thing or material. However, to remove experts' authority over space may not necessarily involve removing ways of mainstream atlas-based practice. Instead the fixed position conventionally assigned to operations of mainstream practice can be challenged and destabilised by complementary motifs and tactics as Hustvedts' crest of a small hill suggests and as I sketch out in the two portraits below.

The portraits are based on formal analysis and fieldwork research that included qualitative interviews with residents and planners in a Swedish housing estate, Drottninghög.<sup>(13)</sup> The form given to the empirical accounts accumulated during this fieldwork are inspired by anthropologist Daniel Miller's ethnographic portraits.<sup>(14)</sup> In the research, I deliberately sought an optimistic gaze in order to look for particular possibilities in spatial planning that deals with questions of individuals' care and use over time and that include the creativity residents bring to the places they live in. Now, I use the portraits as means to map yonder practices and products across modes of mainstream practice, i.e. extent of site or typology, as well as in peripheral modes of practice. These may consider lived experiences, for example, the ramblings of an elderly man, when valuing architectural space. Each portrait's narrative is seen as a whole that captures spatial and material dimensions as well as tactics of architect, planners and/or inhabitants, yet, they are merely parts of bigger complex narratives.

## PORTRAIT I

Every day, Mr A. walks his dogs on the estate. He says: 'People don't really talk to each other any longer. Now that I have got the dogs, I speak to other dog owners, but people without dogs, they don't talk to other people. I can walk here and meet hundreds of people and yes, some say 'hi', others don't say 'hi'.' Mr A wants to take me on a stroll through the entire estate. We meet in a community room in a basement of one of the medium rise blocks. From here, he points to his flat – over there, 'I have a roof over my head and a place to sleep' he explains, '[the flats] are not of great standard'. We pass one of the green areas between the blocks of flats. He describes that 'you can walk on all the green areas. You cannot dig in the ground and stuff, but other than that there are no particular rules. Anyone can use it,' he says, 'but not many of us Swedish people use these areas. But the immigrants do. You can see over there, a big area of grass. There you can find 20 immigrants barbequing and eating, for instance. Us Swedes, we sit behind the curtains.'

With the earth, grass, barbecue and the international atmosphere in mind, we continue the walk. He guides me along the rear of the school, while he describes that people always complain about the youth, even if they do not really disturb anyone. From there we walk to the town square. The bakery opens early at six. From the bakery it is only a short walk to "Styrkoteket," a resident run fitness centre in another converted basement. Mr A volunteers here and he also comes to exercise. On the way there, we move along paths and

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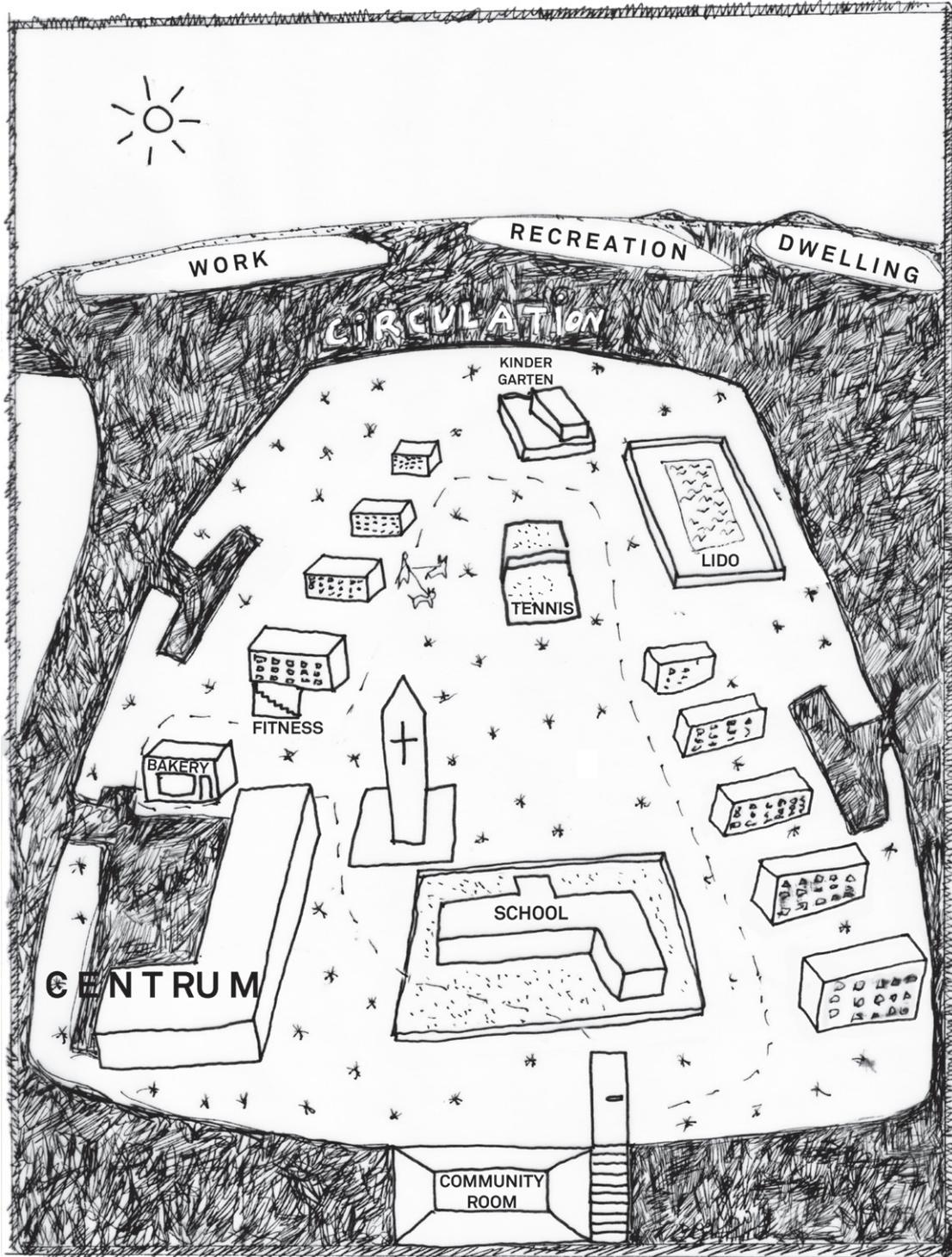


Figure 1: In 1965 the Swedish government set a goal to construct one million new dwellings over a ten-year period in the report *Höjd Bostadsstandard (Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1965:32)*. In this famously named Million Programme, there was an emphasis on raising living standards by means of coordinated planning and construction of new districts according to a set of norms for new larger dwellings and for communal amenities and infrastructures such as paths, roads and parking spaces, shops, laundry facilities, and play. On Mr A's walk across Drottninghög estate, one of the Million Programme estates, he traces a personal island-like world by describing particular places that refer to different district components outlined in the report.

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through green spaces, but he does not describe these spaces; he talks instead about destinations that we have already passed or will reach later. We carry on through the park and along the blocks of flats on our way back to the community room. On the way, he points out the kindergarten, the tennis court, the lido and south facing balconies. Places that are special and memorable to him. Other residents have also described that they like the kindergarten and the lido. What he likes most these days is sunbathing. He looks forward to enjoying the sun in the garden of the new flat he is about to move into in Dalhem, the neighbouring estate.

The walk is purposely choreographed to replicate one of Mr A's daily rambles with the dogs. Mr A's route marks a series of porous situations – it reads like a 'weather' map. Yet, he stays within the 'atlas'-like cartographic extent of site marked by the roads surrounding the estate. And, he diligently guides me through the entire estate – a blueprint of the Million Programme estate including a local town square, institutions and recreational space. In other words, Mr A's personally guided tour confirms the orthodoxy of post WW2 modernism; and it surprises by revealing site-bound situations in converted basement rooms and sunny locations.

## PORTRAIT II

'[In] the street, and enabled by it, a group of inhabitants can manifest itself and appropriate the street, they can achieve an appropriated space-time. Even one such appropriation shows that use

and use value is capable of dominating exchange and exchange value.'<sup>(15)</sup>

Henri Lefebvre

When I first met planner-architect (my translation of the Swedish job title planarkitekt) Katarina Carlsson, she worked for City Council of Helsingborg on the transformation of the large-scale housing estate Drottninghög. Carlsson has now moved on in her career, but between 2010-17 she was co-responsible for a number of outcomes within the interdisciplinary project entitled DrottningH including the local development plan (planprogram), detailed development plans (detaljplaner) and dialogues with residents and local stakeholders including the main property owner; the municipal housing association Helsingborgshem AB.

The overall aims for this ongoing project are to better integrate the housing area into the city of Helsingborg on principles of economic, ecological and social sustainability.<sup>(16)</sup> Early on in the development process, that is projected to last at least 20 years, Carlsson's role was to reveal values of the existing estate, because as she describes 'the management of Helsingborgshem did not see these values.'<sup>(17)</sup> Today, the estate's green structure and the path system are considered to be key primary structures of both the original master-plan and in the current plans for transformation that make use of and extend these structures by opening, linking and densifying.<sup>(18)</sup>

Circulation space was central to modernist planning manifestos from Ebenezer Howards'

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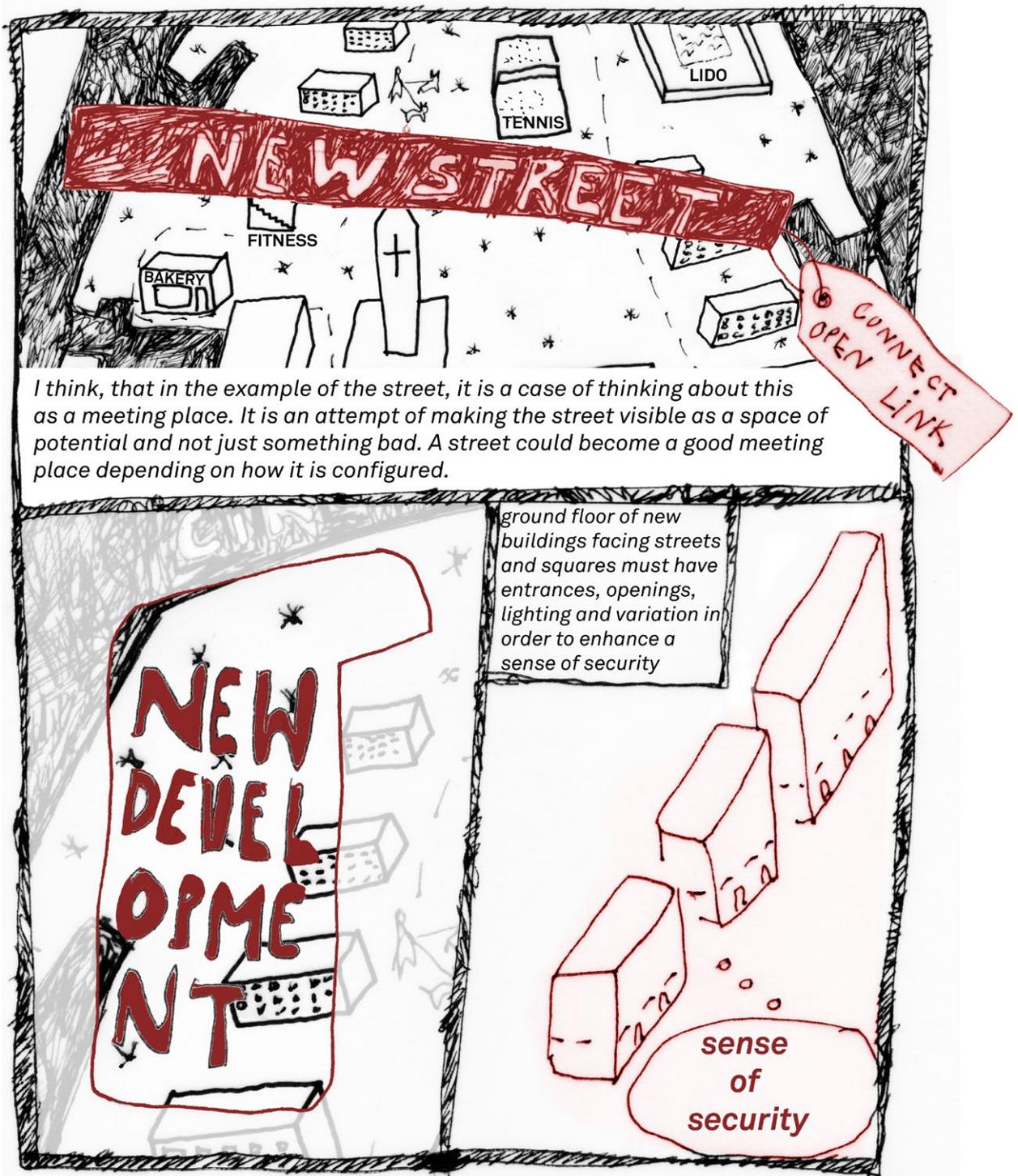


Figure 2: Space of potential. Illustration by author.

In the transformation of Drottninghög the planners address different scales. The estate at large is broken into smaller areas separating new development sites from clusters of buildings that will be renovated. New streets are introduced through the originally traffic separated estate; and at a more detailed level guides direct building design, e.g. setting specific requirements for the ground floors of new buildings.

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Garden City of Tomorrow and CIAM's Athens' Charter to the detailed building norms and standards of the Swedish Million Programme. Historically streets had come to be seen as overcrowded spaces that produce poverty and squalor. The reformist planning agendas sought to do away with this mess by establishing categories for private and public functions in allocated architectural zones. However, the doing away with the appropriated space of streets was to the detriment of local communities as noticed by prominent critical thinkers such as Henri Lefebvre, who saw the street as a space that can and should support everydayness and social reproductive processes.

Today, the re-planning of Drottninghög retains these contradictory approaches to the street, but this time by combining the principles of traffic separation and streets. New streets are proposed to create links to the surrounding city; to create social relationships in a lively street scape, but they are also seen as a means to integrate new housing developments necessary to raise capital for renovation of the existing housing stock. Looking closely, Carlsson observes that the existing primary circulation spaces have been appreciated by residents: 'The potential of the path system is not evident in the masterplan, but it is obvious in the built environment.' She refers to oral histories, dialogues with residents, satisfaction studies etc. that demonstrate how paths and open space have been appropriated over time – both positively through residents' planting, barbeque areas etc. and negatively through vandalism etc.<sup>(19)</sup> She links this gaze on

experienced space to the distanced gaze of the masterplan in a way where circulation space is both seen as primary structure and as secondary function such as 'meeting spaces or new public interiors'.<sup>(20)</sup> Carlsson explains: 'I think, you can do a lot using [secondary functions], if you acknowledge it as a tool.' The new plans outline development sites and new streets into and across the estate – breaking the 'island' – but nevertheless aim to densify by complementing rather than overwriting the existing physical structures. Carlsson says 'we have considered planning at an overall level and kept to this way of operating, rather than addressing specific points.' In other words, she describes that the secondary functions – that importantly motivate the decision-making behind the new masterplan – are not formalised at this stage in this masterplan. This is foremost due to the decision-making processes, that leave detailed decisions to be taken by the housing association at a later stage. 'Nevertheless', she points out, 'I think, that in the example of the street, it is a case of thinking about this as a meeting place. It is an attempt of making the street visible as a space of potential and not just something bad. A street could become a good meeting place depending on how it is configured'.

Now, a few years on, the detailed plans [detaljplan] for redevelopment of Drottninghög's shopping square [centrum] draw on these initial observations and specify that the ground floor of new buildings facing streets and squares must have entrances, openings, lighting and variation in order to enhance a sense of security.<sup>(21)</sup> In the dialogues that Carlsson and her colleagues

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have with local residents, they uncover important intangible findings; determining what creates local pride and sense of security in a street, and whilst these use-values are difficult to incorporate at the level of masterplanning <sup>(22)</sup> such issues continue to inspire and establish local qualities and potential in the more peripheral modes of planning. Through collaborative processes the findings are eventually fed into the detailed plans that instruct links between primary structures and secondary functions on the estate. In these plans, the street is combined with components such as private entrances to define the character, or sense, of the street typology. The planning instruction for the street refer to dialogues of earlier planning stages, and, throughout this process, information is passed between various actors over time. Inspired by Hustvedt, the activities, memories and imaginations occurring in the margin of formal planning over time and across scales may be considered as a kind of focused ambiguity blurring fixed categories of each work stage through images of inhabitation. In other words, the 'thinking' of the practicing planner is collaboratively carried through the work stages and frameworks of decision-making over time and across scales.

But the practitioners wondering, musing and sounding also expand beyond responsibilities of planners at any time. Carlsson reflects on how the housing association, Helsingborgshem, shifts their priorities over time in line with changing notions of sustainability. She explains that Helsingborgshem initially had planned to demolish if not all, then large parts of the estate. But, because the

various stakeholders now 'understand the values in the existing structure, both the buildings and green structure,' they choose instead to densify along the perimeter of the estate, on the central shopping squares and along new streets creating links across the estate. This long-term perspective builds on an understanding of social capital. Carlsson explains: 'Today it is quite a different situation, where you actually understand that we have residents living here. There are several residents, who have lived here since the late 60s [...] If you look at the city in its entirety, then we need places, where those people who cannot afford to live elsewhere, can afford living. Otherwise we would be pushing these people around. I think, it is important to understand the bigger perspective. But economy is a major issue to address. How do we make feasible plans for [the housing association]? This is not a discussion that I as planner am part of. Well, I guess we all take part in the discussion, but the client, Helsingborgshem holds the economic responsibility and mandate. To Helsingborgshem, I still think, it is difficult [but] if we don't break the social structure, we will [in the long term] have saved a lot of money. All these social networks and the security.'<sup>(23)</sup>

Importantly, Carlsson's planning practice shows potential to both extend and expand beyond the limitations of professional frameworks. Whilst her main task may be to determine new circulation spaces, development sites etc., the peripheral by-products of the planner-architect's work have a rippling effect on our very notion of the social. Carlsson is modest and aware of her limited concrete influence. She describes that mainstream

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practice delimits and is limiting due to its tools and frameworks, but she demonstrates that 'thinking' and 'taking part in the discussion' can contribute to change in neighbourhood planning.

### **Yonder product and practice**

The modest insight into the spatial practices and products of DrottningH/ Drottninghög given here confirms mainstream 'atlas' like practice and products; and it gives the contours of a 'weather map' where experiences, thoughts and imaginations (vaguely) impact decisions taken further along.

Let me first expand on the terms product and practice in the context of production of knowledge as opposed to a production of objects. Architect and theoretician Peggy Deamer argues in a Marxian line of thought for architectural practice as labour of knowledge production by seeing architects' work not as 'a finite moment in [a] chain of production; [but] implicated in both immediate and deferred ways at every stage of the building's existence.'<sup>(24)</sup> The stance here, is a broader and more far reaching practice that acknowledges and confers upon architecture the role of societal agency, not merely to provide service to society. In line with this idea, my speculations on yonder product and practice are underpinned by ideas for the production of social space.<sup>(25)</sup> Social space is continuously produced and reproduced societal cultural space that include individuals' social activities but also the composite space of planners and architects. Social production processes include subjective imaginations,

caring acts and experiences. Deamer asserts that 'creativity in architecture rests not on an ever-expanding categorical inclusion of form-making but rather on an imaginative approach to problem solving.'<sup>(26)</sup> Pervasively, she writes, architectural work concerns 'not how to do things right but how to find the right things to do.'<sup>(27)</sup> With this she calls for a more fair and responsible organisation of the profession at large; and in view of this my question focuses on how architects and planners become knowing subjects through practice and, in particular, in regards to the challenges presented in transformation of mass-housing.

In this social context, yonder is instrumental to consider the work that goes into producing knowledge for works such as buildings, landscapes and cities. As we see in the case of Drottninghög, work includes technical information for planning and construction such as masterplans and detailed development plans; calculations of volumes and economic estimates in dialogues with developers; communication with stakeholders and citizens; as well as creation of value, meaning and desires. The state loans that first subsidised this housing have been paid off; and political times have shifted. In Sweden, the neoliberal shift has resulted in profit-driven, traumatic and violent displacement as the typical answer to contemporary large-scale renovation processes of Million Programme housing.<sup>(28)</sup> The need for renovation is foremost guided by technical and environmental standards, yet social measures are taken against tenants, who are blamed for lowering property value through their alleged misbehavior.<sup>(29)</sup> It is crucial to underline that the optimistic

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processes that I investigate in Drottninghög are also challenged by such market speculation and social stigma. In the midst of these complex challenges, I stress the importance of the architect and planner as active, situated subjects who are collectively and critically engaged in knowing and caring about residents' memories, imaginations and social relationships in their housing.

Knowledge that is situated, embodied and localised interacts with and enters the production of social space in the midst of things. Such an approach to architectural practice implies new meanings to the relationship between expert and user. Architects' and planners' ways of knowing use and users can in this sense not be answered solely through universal measures such as norms and guidelines for building and planning or by meeting other outside demands. The situated architect and planner embodies creative and artistic imagination; empathy; power; a duty of care; and critical agency as she sets the conditions for collective work. The critical and conceptual concepts developed by postmodern feminism can in the context of architecture and planning open for other approaches to practices that refuse singular answers or ends. Braidotti's figure of the nomadic subject shows us ways of knowing that are spatially conditioned by movement in a time continuum that activates and questions the forms and functions of spatial processes. As both Mr A's and planner-architect Carlsson's engagement with Drottninghög shows us, the focus of knowing cannot be located in a single point. Rather it moves through various locations and in dialogue with and in relation to memories, imaginations, economies,

and politics that are also on the move. Carlssons' work both results in a masterplan here and now to give form to spatial processes; and it caringly and imaginatively fluctuates in the margins where it engages in spatial processes with others such as residents' experiences.

'Nomadic thought engages with the present not oppositionally but rather affirmatively and does so not out of acquiescence but rather out of the pragmatic conviction that the conditions that engender qualitative shifts will not emerge dialectically from a direct and violent confrontation with the present. They can only be actualised as praxis from conditions that are not there yet: they are virtual, that is to say, they need to be counteractualised, created, and brought about in a collective effort. The productive engagement with the present engenders sustainable futures'.<sup>(30)</sup>

In line with nomadic thought, yonder practice can be seen as positive and differentiated mode of working into and through established professional frameworks. Braidotti's point of becoming is a movement led by desire and affirmation. This energised and creative call for action and praxis not from a single position but from multiple positions is relational and directed from the outside. Figurations, Braidotti argues, are ways of situating and framing positioning and practices that produce multiple creative counterimages of the subject. In the portraits I show this, say, by following Mr A as father / dog owner / pensioner / shopper / fitness club volunteer / white male / Swedish / and sun loving man. In each of these positions, he contributes differently to the estate's

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many community spaces that he is part of 'here' and remembers and imagines 'there.' The same estate is differently described by planner-architect Carlsson, who from her positions as planner-architect/educator/ dialogue partner/caring citizen/ and white Swedish woman frames spaces of socio-economic balances; everyday pleasure; financial profit; urban links and so forth. These figurations denote specific political, professional and historical locations. Situated practice that acknowledges such nomadic location may offer the ambiguous room for doubt necessary for imaginings across the compartementalised work stages of architecture and planning. Thinking alongside Braidotti, yonder wobbles and shifts and so does the ambiguous preposition 'sense of ownership'. In a minority-mode, this particular sense of space can nuance stigma and make rights visible.

DrottningH is a project that spans 20 years and, as Carlsson shows, social, environmental and economic concerns are learned and communicated gradually. The masterplan was crucial to the post-war era's universal programme for welfare; and it is a crucial tool in today's profit-focused society. So, the masterplan can make visible systemic targets. Through the notion of yonder, the masterplan may be considered as a means to critically intervene with and negotiate systemic layers. However, Carlsson shows us that to read, support and intervene in dialogue with citizens' and stakeholders' memories, imaginings and actions also demands different kinds of knowledge than what can be grasped through the distanced gaze of the masterplan at a certain time. And, the common critique of the masterplan

document is indeed that it excludes planners' close-up sensibility and empathy. But as Carlsson describes, she moves through her work spatially and temporally across scales; and across the time-line of the project. In these open-ended processes, the masterplan, along with the other products of planning, inform a search for the 'right thing to do.' The problem is when these planning documents are mistaken for 'things that are right'. A masterplan is not a neighbourhood. Yonder products and practice define space not as a fixed concept, akin Frankl's modernist definition or as exchange commodity, but rather as open-ended processes. The prepositional, shifting character of yonder potentially invites interdisciplinary interference with the fixed work stages and tools of the architectural/ planning work stages. But, the purpose of space as process is not to refuse design expertise. It is rather to ensure continued lateral influence from the complex situations that this expertise supports throughout the long time-spans of work. Yonder denies fixity, yet embraces the focused and delimited tasks at hand.

'When you read, you see. The images aren't manufactured with effort. They simply appear to you through the experience of the text and are rarely questioned. The pictures conjured are enough to push you forward and are to a large extent, I think, like my image of the word yonder. They serve a function. And like the picture I carry with me [...] they are not fully fleshed out.'<sup>(31)</sup>

Architectural ways of imagining images set off many different motions not just those that are translated into objects. Architectural products,

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being it atlas-like masterplans, renderings, reports, drawings and so on, are not buildings as architectural historian Robin Evans reminds us,<sup>(32)</sup> but they can trigger more or less room for interpretation as they are translated into built objects. Yonder practice support or 'push forward' relationships. Architects' and planners' produce knowledge through far reaching 'thinking' and 'discussion', as Carlsson reminds us, that challenges and destabilises the fixed position conventionally assigned to operations of mainstream practice.

Yonder product and practice is a plea for doubting, nuancing and pushing forward the social question in slow transformation of post WW2 large-scale housing estates.

General Notes:

The drawings that illustrate this text are memos used in the research processes to note informants' on-site descriptions. Ethnographic-architectural ways of knowing that underpins this research is supported by this process of image making. To me, a trained architect, the images refer to professional traditions and conventions and were used to develop more formal, measured analytical drawings, So, the important function of these incomplete images lies, like in a mathematician's scribbly diagram or a novelist's doodles, in the role they play in the research process and not in their representational quality.

Footnotes (as referenced within the text)

(1) Hustvedt, S. (2006). *A Plea for Eros*. London: Sceptre. p 1

(2) See architects' declarations for climate aware

practice around the globe. E.g. <https://www.architects-declare.com>. Last accessed June 2019.

(3) For a discussion on focused ambiguity in Siri Hustvedt's interdisciplinary work see Becker, S. (2016) "Deceiving the reader into the truth": A Conversation with Siri Hustvedt about *The Blazing World* (2014). In J. Hartmann, C., Marks, and H. Zapf (eds). *Zones of focused ambiguity in Siri Hustvedt's works: interdisciplinary essays*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. pp. 409-422.

(4) Braidotti, R. (2011). *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (2nd Edition). New York: Columbia University Press.

(5) Paul Frankl quoted in Forty, A. (2012). *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson. 2012. p. 264. See also: Aben, R. and de Wit, S. (1999). *The Enclosed Garden: History and Development of the Hortus Conclusus and its Reintroduction into the Present-day Urban Landscape*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

(6) Smithson, A. (1977). *The City Centre Full of Holes*. *Architecture Association Quarterly*. No 2-3. pp 4-23. Smithson, A. and Smithson, P. (1990). *The 'As Found' and the 'Found'*. In Robbins, D. (ed.). *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press. pp 201-203

(7) Solà-Morales, I. (1995). *Terrain Vague*. In Davidson, C. (ed). *Anyplace*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. pp118-23.

Solà-Morales, I. (1997). *Differences: Topographies of Contemporary Architecture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

(8) Lilliendahl Larsen, J. (2010). *Vague Spaces*:

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(9) Koolhaas, R. (1995). Whatever Happened to Urbanism?. *Design Quarterly*. No 164. pp 28-31.

Koolhaas, R. and Mau, B. Sigler, J.(ed) (1995) S, M, L, XL. New York: The Monacelli Press.

(10) Till, J. (2009). *Architecture Depends*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

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(13) This text draws on extensive fieldwork research in the estates of Drottninghög in Helsingborg, Sweden, Albertslund Syd in Albertslund, Denmark, and Lindängen in Malmö, Sweden. Fieldwork activities included in-depth interviews with planners and residents; architectural surveys in drawing and photographs; participant observation in workshops and meetings with local planning teams; workshops with local schools; observation of jury discussions on an architectural competition etc. See: Kajita, H.S. (2016). *Fragile Potentialer i de store planer – Rumlige og materielle dimensioner af efterkrigstidens storskala-boligbebyggelser i brug*. Ph.D. dissertation. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture and Design.

(14) Miller, D. (2008). *The Comfort of Things*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

(15) Henri Lefebvre translated and quoted in Purcell,

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(16) <https://helsingborg.se/trafik-och-stadsplanering/planering-och-utveckling/oversiktsplanering/gallande-oversiktsplaner/oversiktsplan-2010/>. Last accessed June 2019.

(17) Authors interview and dialogue with planners from Drottninghög, Lindängen and Albertslund Syd in December 2010 interview with Katarina Carlsson, Helsingborg in January 2015 and follow-up dialogue with Katarina Carlsson in February 2019. Unpublished.

(18) <https://drottningh.helsingborg.se/planer-2/planprogrammet/>. Last accessed June 2019.

(19) The ongoing development of Drottninghög involves both informal and formal dialogues between planners and the local community through various activities e.g. the nation spanning educational initiative *Arkitekter i Skolan* where a class of 11 year olds were introduced to the practice of planning through weekly lessons; 'Mine Kvarter' a co-design game that engaged 12-20 year olds; formal public hearing processes; informal meetings during regular site visits and periods of working at a site office etc. The main focus is to educate residents in planning processes and to train them in communication with local authorities for their long-term engagement in urban processes.

(20) Kajita, H.S. (2015) *Engaging in the Afterlife of the Big Plans – Embedded Secondary Functions*. *NORDIC Journal of Architecture*. Vol. 4 (5). pp. 36-42.

(21) Paraphrased and translated from: *Detaljplan för del av fastigheten Drottninghög Södra 3 m fl, Drottninghög centrum, Helsingborg Stad*. 2017. See: [file:///Users/heidi.kajita/Downloads/drottninghog\\_socdra\\_centrum\\_](file:///Users/heidi.kajita/Downloads/drottninghog_socdra_centrum_)

**'Yonder Product and Practice: Case Study of Drottninghög, a Post-WW2 Large-Scale Housing Estate in Helsingborg, Sweden' by Heidi Svenningsen Kajita (University of Copenhagen)**

handl\_samrad\_sbf.pdf. Downloaded December 2018.

(31) Hustvedt (2006), op. cit. pp. 33-34.

(22) The new masterplan aims to double the number of inhabitants. Plans involve introducing car traffic through the estate, demolition of a number of housing blocks and erection of new homes for implicated residents and newcomers.

(32) Evans, R. (2003). *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*. London: Architectural Association.

(23) Authors interview with Katarina Carlsson, Helsingborg in January 2015. Unpublished.

(24) Deamer, P. (2015). *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design*. London: Bloomsbury. P. wwiv.

(25) A large volume of literature on production of space has in line with Henri Lefebvre's works on the production of social space contributed to expand interdisciplinary and collaborative processes in urban developments by seeing space as both product and producer of differentiated, heterogeneous, and often antagonistic social practices.

(26) Deamer (2015), op. cit. p. 67.

(27) Deamer (2015) op. cit. p. 71.

(28) See Baeten, G., Westin, S., Pull, E., & Molina, I. (2017). Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*. Vol 49 (3). pp. 631–651.

(29) Baeten et. al, bid. (2017) pp. 639.

(30) Braidotti, R. (2012). *Nomadic Theory: The Portable Rosi Braidotti*, New York (NY) USA: Columbia University Press, 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/kth/detail.action?docID=909387>. Created July 2019. pp. 18-19.