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Urbanism + Landscape E-proceedings 10 ● Apr 2020

MASS HOUSING OF THE SCANDINAVIAN WELFARE STATES:
Exploring Histories and Design Approaches

Conference Report
DOCOMOMO International /
in collaboration with the Section for Landscape
Architecure and Planning, University of Copenhagen
and the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies
University of Edinburgh

Proceedings edited by Miles Glendinning and Svava Riesto

SUMMARY

The day seminar, 'Researching Mass Housing', was held at the Section for Landscape Architecture and Planning at the University of Copenhagen on 6 November 2018: the organizer was Svava Riesto. Its starting-point was to investigate how researchers can contribute to more nuanced ways of understanding the terrain of post-war mass housing, a subject too often characterized by simplistic narratives in the realm of public debate. New perspectives and insights from research can, in our view, provide a knowledge-base for future care and decision-making concerning mass housing estates, and the urban landscapes of which they form part. The speakers and attendees were scholars and practitioners in cultural history, architectural conservation, critical heritage studies, landscape architecture, architecture and urbanism – in all cases specializing on mass housing. The seminar focused on conditions in Denmark and Sweden through specific case studies, which were also set in an international and even global context. The event was a collaboration between the Section for Landscape Architecture and Planning at the University of Copenhagen and the DOCOMOMO International Specialist Committee on Urbanism and Landscape (ISC U + L).

Image on cover: Høje Gladsaxe, near Copenhagen: a multi-agency programme of 1962-6 (Gladsaxeplanen) of 1,900 flats in blocks up to 16 storeys, designed by architects Agertoft and Juul-Møller, Hoff & Windinge and Alex Poulsen. Photo: Maria Finn, 2019.

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*these articles have been peer reviewed

‘Mass Housing in the Scandinavian Welfare States: Exploring Histories and Design Approaches’ by Miles Glendinning (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, University of Edinburgh) and Svava Riesto (University of Copenhagen)

Mass housing is an almost omnipresent feature of modern cities, at any rate within the ‘Global North’. Countless people in many countries across the globe live in large-scale housing schemes, built for a large number of residents according to a comprehensive plan. An invention of the 20th century, mass housing estates relate to modern ideas of progress, growth, technological invention and improving people’s housing conditions. Yet, in Europe, where the realization of large-scale developments peaked during the 1950s-1970s, mass housing has also become a legacy of the past, associated with historical failure, outdated architectural ideals and social segregation. Simultaneously, post-war housing projects are increasingly connected to discussions about how to renovate, renew and reconnect modernist urban areas in the city in sustainable, resilient and just ways. The stigma and polarized perceptions of social housing areas in the public debate call for more nuanced understandings of large-scale housing estates. This, we argue, should involve a closer understanding of their histories, present situations and future scenarios.

Focusing on examples from Denmark and Sweden, two countries often associated with a strong welfare state system, the articles in this volume are concerned with the dynamic histories of mass housing, including their contemporary everyday cultures, materialities and future reconfiguration.

All over Europe today, there are countless projects to rebuild, renew, destroy, densify, re-evaluate and transform mass housing schemes, underlining the need for substantiated ways of dealing with this often conflicted heritage. The significance of this task is reflected in the decision to give the prestigious Mies van der Rohe award for architecture twice in recent years to projects that renovated postwar developments; (Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, 2017, and the French Grand Parc, Bordeaux, in 2019) and that postwar mass housing has been addressed in several of the most recent Venice Biennales of Architecture. Yet, although some estates and renewal projects have been elevated into these culturally elite domains, most transformation projects of post-war mass housing are driven by political, technological or economic rationales in ways that leave little room for thorough investigation of the dynamic histories, social values and spatial capacities of each particular housing project. Further, the market-driven policies and financialisation of space in European cities reinforce the need for strategies to address urban housing beyond profit. How can cultural historical inquiry, critical heritage perspectives, landscape architectural and architectural scholarship contribute more nuanced ways of understanding post-war mass housing to provide a knowledge-base for future care and decision-making?

This question was the starting point for the seminar Researching Mass Housing, organized at the University of Copenhagen’s department of Landscape Architecture and Planning in November 2018, in collaboration with DOCOMOMO-International’s Specialist

Committee on Urbanism and Landscape (ISC U + L). It focused on two Scandinavian countries, whose welfare state systems combine market-driven and social economies, but with distinct housing outcomes 'on the ground'. Each in their own way, Sweden and Denmark constitute examples of how welfare state policies and regulations in the post-war period supported large housing schemes, in Sweden with the mass production drive of the so-called 'Million-Programme' of the late 60s and early 70s, concerned with the ideal of the 'people's home', and in Denmark with the establishment of a comprehensive social housing sector – resulting in a large housing stock that faces new challenges in the present. Each Scandinavian nation followed very different models of housing, together with a continuous testing and debate between different architectural, urban and landscape models, all aiming to accommodate social welfare, individual well-being, and - increasingly – wealth. Although it is outside the scope of this event, postwar social housing provision in the other Scandinavian and Nordic countries (Norway, Finland, Iceland) shows the same picture of great diversity in the realisation of the ideal of 'welfare state mass housing', both organisationally and in built form.

A common thread in the articles of this volume is the refusal to countenance generic methods and fixed value-systems, which fail to grasp the specificities of each situation and depth of the topic. Rather, each in their own way, the articles pose questions that can unravel Scandinavian mass housing from different perspectives, and adjust the research strategies to those questions. Thus, the authors aim to augment our knowledge of the concepts, heuristic strategies and research approaches that can effectively be put to use in addressing postwar mass housing in fruitful ways. Two interrelated topics provide common threads throughout this publication: redirecting historical narratives, and exploring design strategies to intervene in post-war mass housing in the present.

Thread 1: Redirecting historical narratives

The first topic concerns the historical understanding of Scandinavian mass housing. Realizing that historiography and narration play an important role in how urban areas are understood, contextualized and assessed in the present, it becomes crucial to expand, and even redirect the historiographies and public understanding of mass housing. What historical research trajectories can be fruitful to expand the historical narratives of Scandinavian mass housing?

Historian Mikkel Høghøj proposes to interrogate how concrete mass housing became stigmatized almost right from its first construction, and thereby provides a starting point for unravelling and reversing the stigma. While the construction of this history has been subject to international studies, Høghøj contributes a detailed insight into how the polemical turn-around against mass housing took effect within Danish culture during the 1970s and 1980s. His article shows that the idea of failed concrete housing blocks not only emerged as a result of shifting architectural ideals, but that that

the critique was also tied to the re-negotiation of the very idea of the 'human subject' and 'social order' in the Danish welfare state.

The paper by Miles Glendinning expands the scale of examination of the relationship between welfare and mass housing beyond the national or European scale, into a broad global narrative with a myriad of social, political and architectural differences, varieties and complexities. On this broad foundation, he contextualises the Scandinavian experience. Often reduced to the 'silo thinking' of self-contained national narratives, this paper contributes a new, global perspective. While different countries and regions around the world attached radically different values to mass housing, in Scandinavia it was closely tied to those countries' welfare states, and their prevailing 'universal welfare model'. Although the Scandinavian approach did not reach the utopian scale and belief in top-down planning on the largest scale seen in the Soviet bloc, the same values were still prominent, and tied to an enormous improvement of living standards.

Landscapes were considered an essential value in the planning and design of large-scale housing estates in Scandinavian in the post-war decades, yet are today surprisingly understudied, and too often escape further enquiry or discussion in contemporary renewal projects. The paper by the interdisciplinary research team, Ellen Braae, Svava Riesto, Henriette Steiner and Anne Tietjen, proposes to build a new and closer understanding of the landscapes of large-scale housing estates of the postwar period, by introducing the concept *welfare landscapes*. By revisiting the open spaces of specific housing estates in Denmark built between 1945-1975 the authors examine the ideas about well-being and welfare that these welfare landscapes materialise, and how they change over time together with changing conceptions, ideas and uses. Reappraising welfare landscapes and developing approaches to understand their dynamic histories is crucial to enhance their capacities to thrive as viable welfare landscapes in the future. In doing so, the authors see welfare landscapes as potential collective values in the present and future - a theme which ties into the second thread.

Thread 2: Exploring design approaches

How can designers fruitfully intervene in mass housing in ethical ways? What roles can architects and planners hope to play in such dissonant terrain? By examining two particular housing estates from Sweden, which have not previously been much discussed in international literature, two authors develop concepts to discuss possible positioning for architects, landscape architects and planners working with mass housing, resisting the pressure for comprehensive building, demolition or other physical surgery to 'fix' problems that characterizes many urban projects.

Focusing in particular on the example of Fittja, Thordis Arrhenius proposes new and experimental ways of conceiving area preservation, beyond the intense focus on the canonical or the

tabula rasa, expanding its scope to a deeper and at the same time more strategic and wide-ranging level. Studying the work of design studio Spridd, Arrhenius identifies a strategy of 'change without change', a concept that aspires to change the public perception of Fittja rather than to introduce big physical changes. Their work was centred around opening the estate's history and future to public discussion. Arrhenius conceptualizes this as a preservation-practice that can demonstrate the political force of preservation, moving the focus from authenticity and materiality to issues of sustainability and resistance.

Heidi Kajita, in her contribution, proposes a new concept, that of *Yonder* - a catchphrase drawn from novelist Siri Hustvedt, and denoting the idea of 'between here and there'. With this concept, Kajita seeks to stimulate planners and architects, working together with users, to begin grasping in parallel the 'both-and' situation of the mass housing architecture and of their own work. In the case of Drottninghög, a large-scale housing project in Helsingborg, she identifies new practices of future-making that concern repair more than progress. Yonder practice supports and 'pushes forward' relationships, and generates knowledge in the form of thinking and discussion – instead of mere design and production of objects. The article calls for a more cautious and nuanced approach, dedicated to pushing forward the social question in a slow transformation of postwar mass housing.

PAPER 1

‘Mass Housing and the Emergence of the ‘Concrete Slum’ in Denmark in the 1970s & 1980s’ by Mikkel Høghøj (School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark)

Abstract

By investigating how modernist mass housing was turned into both an ‘object of criticism’ and an ‘object of study’ in the 1970s and early 1980s Denmark, this articles seeks to bring new perspectives to the early history of Danish mass housing. Even though the rejection of urban modernism constitutes a well-established field of research internationally, surprisingly few scholars have so far investigated how this played out in a Danish context. This article addresses this research gap by analysing how mass housing was portrayed and re-evaluated as a ‘place’ in Danish mass media and popular culture as well as within social scientific research from the 1970s to the mid-1980s. The article argues that the public rejection of Danish mass housing cannot be reduced to a question about architectural aesthetics. Rather, this process entailed a complete reinterpretation of the role in which mass housing occupied as a specific type of ‘place’ in Danish society.

Introduction

Today, the rise and fall of urban modernism in the second half of the 20th century constitutes a well-established narrative all over the Western World. As demonstrated in the rich international literature on the topic, modernist mass housing epitomised this development. Across Europe and in the US, mass housing estates such as Pruitt-Igoe, Sarcelles, the Märkisches Viertel, Rosengård, and the Bijlmermeer were uniformly rejected from the late 1960s onwards.(1)

However, in a Danish context studies of how and why modernist mass housing developed from being emblematic of urban modernity in the 1950s and 1960s to serving as a prime marker of societal crisis in the 1970s and 1980s are surprisingly few – especially when considering how contested these places are today. The present article addresses this research gap by examining two ways in which Danish mass housing was reappraised during the 1970s and 80s. More specifically, I analyse how modernist mass housing transformed as a particular type of ‘place’ in Danish society by being turned into both an ‘object of criticism’ and an ‘object of study’. Yet, in order to explain this transformation, certain characteristics of the planning and construction of Danish mass housing in the 1960s must be outlined briefly.

Meticulous modernism

As in most parts of Western Europe, the 1960s constituted the pivotal decade for the planning and construction of mass housing in Denmark. Since the 1930s, Danish governmental authorities had increasingly fertilised the ground for planners, yet it was not until the passing of the ‘Governmental Circular on Prefabricated Dwellings’ (Montagecirkulæret) in 1960 that the economic and technological preconditions for the production of Danish mass housing were established.(2) This circular secured funding for 7,500 prefabricated dwellings over the next four years, resulting in the mass housing plans for Albertslund, Høje Gladsaxe, Ballerupplanen, and Sydjyllandsplanen. Although these means were not utilised to construct the largest mass

housing plans in Denmark, the circular was still instrumental for the realization of these plans, as it promoted further modernisation of the Danish building industry.

From the mid-1960s onwards, the scale and comprehensiveness of Danish mass housing reached new heights. This found particular expression in the plans for Gellerupplanen in Aarhus, Vollsmose in Odense, and Brøndby Strand southwest of Copenhagen. Rather than just housing schemes, these plans were conceived as urban totalities comprising public institutions, new urban infrastructures, and various amenities for consumption and leisure. In this way, these plans echoed the utopian aspirations of the contemporary new town-movement.(3) However, when scrutinizing these plans more closely, it becomes evident that their meticulousness was, to a great extent, motivated by an emerging critique of modernist planning and architecture. Already in the first plan for Brøndby Strand, which was developed in 1962, the renowned Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen initiated the planning proposition by warning about the risk of creating 'dormitory towns' (sovebyer).(4) In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the plans for Gellerupplanen, Vollsmose, and Brøndby Strand were all reworked to meet this emerging critique. In 1971, the main architect of Gellerupplanen, Knud Blach Petersen, noted that the third stage of the plan, Holmstrup, was explicitly designed as:

A reply to the prevailing criticism of the stereotypical residential areas in the industrialised housing estates, an attempt to create a varied residential area that, with widespread green areas, could serve as an alternative to the monotonous

Figure 1: Newly constructed housing blocks from the first stage of the Gellerup Plan, Gellerupparken, 1971. Photographer: Jens-Kristian Sogaard. Image located at Den Gamle By's Photo Collection

'Mass Housing and the Emergence of the 'Concrete Slum' in Denmark in the 1970s & 1980s' by Mikkel Høghøj (School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark)

Figure 2: Newly constructed housing blocks from the first stage of the Gellerup Plan, Gellerupparken, 1971. Photographer: Jens-Kristian Sogaard. Image located at Den Gamle By's Photo Collection

single-family home developments and housing estates.(5)

This, I argue, shows how a critique of Danish mass housing was never far away in the 1960s, influencing the design of the most extensive mass housing plans from this decade. As I elaborate below, from the early 1970s onwards, this critique branched out and proliferated.

The emergence of 'concrete slum' in mass media

Although various Danish architects already identified modernist architecture as an 'object of criticism' in the 1960s, this critique did not dominate popular opinion before at least the 1970s. One channel, which was instrumental for the dissemination of this critique, was the Danish mass media. Thus, this section examines how a public critique of modernist mass housing proliferated in the Danish mass media landscape during the 1970s.

Throughout the 1960s, media representations of Danish mass housing were predominantly positive.(6) Especially, the large-scale housing plans commenced in the late 1960s including Gellerupplanen, Vollsmose, and Brøndby Strand were portrayed as emblematic of the high technological and social standards of the emerging Danish welfare society. However, already in the early 1970s media representations changed. Through new concepts such as 'concrete jungle' and 'concrete slum', mass housing was gradually ascribed new meanings. In this context, it was not just the architectural expression of the buildings that was questioned. Rather, this development

entailed a complete reinterpretation of these estates as places. Here, I wish to focus on two examples illustrating this. Targeting one specific estate – Gellerupplanen in Aarhus – these two examples reflect how Danish mass media rejected modernist mass housing by defining the estates in opposition to the rest of society. One way in which this found expression was through a depiction of Gellerupplanen as a hostile environment for children and young people.

Figure 3: The television broadcast "En kirke i beton" generated multiple angry responses from the people actually living in Gellerupplanen

In January 1974, the Danish newspaper Ekstra Bladet published two articles focusing on the ostensible links between the spatial environment of Gellerupplanen and the emergence of alcohol problems among young people living in the estate.(7) According to these articles, children and young people were particularly vulnerable to the damaging effects of the concrete environment. Among other things, this had resulted in an excessive consumption of alcohol among the teenagers in the estate:

"Beers and concrete constitute the everyday life for the young people in the Gellerup Plan. It is this collection of human-siloes in the periphery of Århus that, according to a new report, was built to accommodate the needs of the building industry rather than the people living within them. Teenagers must drink to endure the killing monotony of living with the cement-giants on all sides."(8)

Moreover, the articles emphasized how the lack of social activities on the estate had generated severe speech difficulties among the younger children in the estate. Compared to children in other parts of the city, they were more frequently referred to child psychologists.

A similar message found expression in the broadcast "En kirke i beton" which aired on Danish television the 20th of October 1978. With the grey concrete blocks looming in the background, the broadcast was opened by a set of quotes originating ostensibly from people residing in other parts of Aarhus:

"Gellerup? No one wants to live there, unless they are forced. If you bring your car to the Gellerup Plan, - then remember to lock it even though you are only gone for five minutes. A woman does not walk alone in Gellerup after 10 o'clock. Gellerup is the first place the police goes to the morning after a large coup or robbery. Notice the children – they are restless. When they become a bit older, it is likely that some of them will feel that there is something to avenge. I can tell you that much that I would rather have an arm sawn off than let my children grow up in that environment."(9)

In this way, the atmosphere of the broadcast was established, and throughout the remainder of the show, the social conditions of the children living within the estate constituted a recurrent theme. Furthermore, in both cases the criticism of Gellerupplanen entailed a certain use of emotions.(10) Instead of neutral, the spatial environment of the estate was portrayed as a catalyser for emotional qualities such as fear, desolation, restlessness, and anger. By ascribing Gellerupplanen such emotional qualities, Danish mass media not only associated the estate with a certain atmosphere but also explained the problematic behaviour of the inhabitants as an unavoidable outcome of the emotionality of the estates.

In both cases, this way of depicting Gellerupplanen generated several angry responses from inhabitants living on the estate. Besides filing official complaints to the independent press council, these responses found expression through critical articles written by various inhabitants seeking to defend both the children specifically and Gellerupplanen in general.(11) As ironically noted by an inhabitant in 1978: "We are not a bunch of concrete criminals."(12)

These two examples were just the tip of the iceberg. During the 1970s, Danish mass media recurrently portrayed mass housing estates as signifiers of social problems in the otherwise increasingly affluent Danish welfare society. In other words, these places were not only periphery of the cities, but also in the periphery of society.

The emergence of 'concrete slum' in popular culture

However, it was not only through mass media that a negative image of modernist mass housing was mediated to the Danish population in the 1970s. Popular culture constituted another channel through which this found expression.

The popular Danish comedy series Huset på Christianshavn, which aired between 1970 and 1977, is one example of this. Examining the social and cultural ruptures of the 1970s through a romanticised portrayal of life in the old working class neighbourhoods, the series was conceived in direct opposition to the modernist planning agenda of the 1950s and 1960s. Yet, mass housing was not just implicitly criticised in the show. In a number of episodes focusing on alternative housing options for the inhabitants living in the Christian's Harbour neighbourhoods, mass-produced housing estates located in the urban periphery were specifically used to illustrate the worst-case scenario.(13) In contrast to the thriving social community of the old working class neighbourhoods, these estates were depicted as places characterised by anonymous relations and even isolation. The show, however, did not target mass housing built within the social housing sector specifically, but rather the material outcome of modernist planning more generally. Nevertheless, in most cases the show visualised this through the lens of industrialised and mass-produced housing in modernist style. This suggests that the emerging critique of mass housing often intertwined with a broader cultural critique of the 'urban periphery',

UNGE DRIKKER FOR AT KLARE SIG I BETON-SLUM

Beboerne i Gjellerup-planen er end ikke alene i deres egne stuer – de hører naboer på alle sider

Nu kan du se farve-TV uden investering uden besvær uden ærgrelser

Ring 14 06 00

Figure 4: Children sitting on top of a concrete underpass in the Gellerup Plan. Cited from Ekstra Bladet 7/1-1974

and given the immense popularity of the series, it was arguably one of the most effective ways in which a critical image of modernist mass housing could reach the Danish population in the 1970s.(14)

Another genre through which a critical image of Danish modernist mass housing found expression in these years was fictional literature. In the mid-1970s, this found expression in socially critical novels such as Michael Buchwald's (1943-) *Blokland* from 1975 and Bent Haller's (1946-) *Katamaranen* from 1976.(15) In both novels, a mass housing estate constituted the main spatial setting of the storyline, and – as it was the case in Danish mass media – Buchwald and Haller specifically used children and young people to ascribe a sense of social misery to the estates. In *Blokland*, Buchwald outlined how the estate housed a broad variety of maladjusted youth groups who not only inhabited Blokland but had emerged as direct results of the estate. The most notorious group was called the 'Black leather boys' (Sortlæderdrengene). Portrayed as extremely ruthless and brutal, these repeatedly attacked innocent people and vandalised different types of property. In *Katamaranen*, the main storyline was in itself concentrated around the friendship of the two boys Peter and Thomas. In order to escape the social miseries hardship of their home – a mass housing estate located in the periphery of the city of Aalborg – they unsuccessfully attempt to sail to Sweden in a dilapidated catamaran. In the 1980s, critical depictions of modernist mass housing also found expression in the works of authors such as John Nehm (1934-) and Tage Schou-Hansen (1925-2015).(16) Whereas Nehm used mass housing to illustrate the loss of a social identity within the Danish working class, Schou-Hansen depicted Gellerupplanen as the ultimate marker of the unfilled expectations of modernity of the 1960s.

In all of the novels, yet in various ways, modernist mass housing estates were portrayed as places of poverty. While Nehm primarily focused on the impoverished social community of the estates, Buchwald, Haller, and Schou-Hansen all depicted the decline of the estates as a symptom of a societal crisis. In this way, their depiction of modernist mass housing converged closely with how the estates were concurrently portrayed through TV-series such as Huset på Christianshavn and in the Danish mass media.

'Mass Housing and the Emergence of the 'Concrete Slum' in Denmark in the 1970s & 1980s' by Mikkel Høghøj (School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Denmark)

The emergence of 'concrete slum' in the social sciences

As demonstrated above, modernist mass housing was increasingly highlighted as a spatial expression of societal crisis in the 1970s and 1980s in both Danish mass media and popular culture. Concurrently with this development, various researchers – especially social scientists – also re-evaluated the societal role of modernist mass housing in Denmark.

In a Danish context, scholars turned mass housing into an 'object of study' while the largest mass housing projects were still being built in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Seeking to explore different links between modernist architecture and social behaviour, these studies were mainly conducted by psychologists, sociologists, and architects employed at the Danish Institute for Construction Research (SBI).(17) Yet, the perhaps most comprehensive study from the early 1970s was conducted by a group of researchers employed at the Danish Institute for Social Scientific Research (SFI).(18) Focusing on seven mass housing estates, this study aimed to investigate whether the public criticism of mass housing as places of inactivity and isolation was legitimate or not. On the basis of more than 3,000 interviews with inhabitants on the seven estates, the researchers concluded that suburban mass housing estates could not be regarded as 'dormitory towns'. Although some differences could be identified between the social behaviour of inhabitants in high-rise and low-rise estates, neither of these people lived in isolation from each other nor from the rest of society.(19)

From the late 1970s and until the mid-1980s, a new wave of studies were published.(20) Compared to the studies from the early 1970s, these were more comprehensive and drew upon a wider selection of theoretical approaches. From one perspective, urban sociologists adopted the Neo-Marxist sociologist Manuel Castells' theory on 'collective consumption' to study everyday life and social relations in the modernist housing estate Hedemarken located in Albertslund.(21) From another perspective, an architectural firm adopted the American urbanist Oscar Newman's theory on 'defensible spaces' in order to critically assess the spatial and social environment of modernist mass housing.(22) Furthermore, Danish scholars also imported images of demolished mass housing estates to visualize the future scenario of Danish mass housing if no intervention was undertaken. Focusing mainly on cases from the Anglo-American world, scholars often referred to images of the demolished Tower Hill-estate in Liverpool and the iconic demolition of Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis.(23) What all of the studies from the late 1970s onwards had in common was that the researchers no longer questioned whether modernist housing estates were problematic or not. This was, in other words, no longer posed as a question, but constituted the starting of point of their analyses.

Judging from the findings above, Danish modernist mass housing was turned into an 'object of study' especially from the early 1970s onwards. These studies, I argue, did more than reflect the changes

that Danish society underwent in these decades. Rather, they demonstrate how Danish modernist mass housing came to function as a privileged observational field for the investigation of social change actively influencing the construction of social problems and poverty in the otherwise affluent Danish welfare society.

Concluding reflections

This article has examined how a criticism of Danish modernist mass housing was formulated and entrenched through various channels including Danish mass media and popular culture. Concurrently with this development – and sometimes as a direct response to the changing public perceptions – scholars also identified modernist mass housing as an object of study. Especially, social scientists approached the estates, seeking to understand how mass housing formed and was formed by social relations and interactions in the Danish welfare society.

These findings, I argue, suggest that the public rejection of modernist mass housing in the 1970s and 1980s should not be reduced to a question about shifting architectural aesthetics. Rather this development ought to be understood more broadly as one of the ways in which the 'human subject' and 'social order' of Danish welfare society were renegotiated and recast in the 1970s and 80s. In this process, mass housing estates were not just neutral backgrounds onto which the social order of society was projected. By serving both as the ultimate symbol for the megalomania of the 1960s and as an 'object of study' for social scientists, these estates actively influenced how societal problems were perceived and constructed in contemporary Danish society.

NOTES (as referenced within text):

(1) See for example: Cupers: The Social Project, Cupers: "Human Territoriality", Gold: Practice of Modernism, Gunn: "Rise and Fall", Hall: Cities of Tomorrow, Klemek: Muthesius & Glendinning: Towers, Swenarton et al.: Architecture, Wakeman: Practicing Utopia and Ward: Planning.

(2) For studies of the modernization of the Danish housing and building sector from the late inter-war period onwards, see for example: Bertelsen: Bellahøj, Ballerup, Brøndby Strand; Bro: "Velfærdsstaten og boligen"; Larsen & Larsen: Medgang og modgang; Fode: A/S Boligbeton; Gaardmand: Plan over Land.

(3) For a study of the intellectual history of the new town-movement, see Wakeman: Practicing Utopia.

(4) See Ministry of Housing: Brøndbystrand Byplan, 1.

(5) Ad-hoc udvalget: Ikke nok at bygge boliger, 4. My translation.

(6) See Skov: "Fremtidsbydelen" and Høghøj & Holmqvist: "Betonen blev belastende".

(7) Ekstra Bladet 7.1.1974: "Unge drikker for at klare sig i beton-slum" and Ekstra Bladet 7.1.1974: "10.000 må leve i slum fordi betonindustrien skal støttes"

(8) Ekstra Bladet 7.1.1974: "Unge drikker for at klare sig i beton-slum". My translation.

(9) Cited in Høghøj and Holmqvist: "Betonen blev belastende". My translation.

(10) See Høghøj and Holmqvist: "Beonen blev belastende"

(11) Høghøj: "Betonjunglens genealogi", 53-55.

(12) Aarhus Stiftstidende 8.11.1978: "TV og Gellerupparken". My translation.

(13) This, for example, found expression in the. See Huset på Christianshavn: "Vi Flytter", 06:18-10:33 & 21:08-22:35 and Huset på Christianshavn: "Hus til salg", 25:57-27:30.

(14) Agger: "Tv-drama", 157 and Nielsen & Halling: "Seeradfærd", 348.

(15) See Buchwald: Blokland and Haller: Katamaranen.

(16) See Nehm: Social mand! and Schou-Hansen: Krukken og stenen.

(17) See for example Morville: Børns brug, Morville: Planlægning, Gehl: Bo-miljø and Schjerup Hansen & Holm: Værebro Park.

(18) Kühl et al.: Boligmiljøer and Martini: Nyere forstadsmiljøer.

(19) Martini: Nyere forstadsmiljøer, 11-25.

(20) See for example Bech-Jørgensen & Thomsen: Hverdagslivet, John Allpass ApS: Frygten for vold, Agger et al.: Forundersøgelse, Agger et al.: Programoplæg, Vestergaard: Organisation af økonomi, Kirkegaard: Forbedring and Rhode & Skov: Boligområde til bymiljø.

(21) Bech-Jørgensen & Thomsen: Hverdagslivet.

(22) John Allpass ApS: Frygten for vold. Newman's work, for example, became instrumental for the liberalisation of the British housing market in the 1980s. See for example Cupers: "Human Territoriality".

(23) See for example John Allpass: Frygten for vold, 4; Agger et al.: Programoplæg, 52; Magnussen: "Byen i forfald", 174-181; Hindrup Andersen & Solgård Thomsen: Elastiske etageboliger, 6.

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'Mass Housing: Modern Architecture and State Power - A 20th Century Epic' by Miles Glendinning (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, University of Edinburgh)

Modern Architecture and State Power – a 20th-Century Epic

Today, unlike yesterday's general overview lecture about mass housing and its conservation, I want to take a specifically research and publication slant, explaining key themes of the forthcoming book I'm working on with Bloomsbury Academic Press, entitled 'Mass Housing – Modern Architecture and State Power, a C20 Epic'. As the title emphasises, the book has a double focus: the modern state, and modern architecture. It tells the story of their interaction on a heroic scale, over the past century, in generating one of the most ubiquitous modern urban development patterns.

Most dwellings built in the 20th century simply perpetuated earlier patterns, including individual private houses or informal dwellings built by the inhabitants themselves. The low or middle-income housing complexes that dominate this book are quite different. They were shaped less by individual motives than by the collective interventions of the modern state, responding to urgent political and economic pressures. And their often monumental built form broke sharply from 19th century patterns, under the revolutionary influence of the architectural Modern Movement. Mass housing developments reared up in cities across the world, from Moscow to Buenos Aires, from Toronto to Melbourne, in a vast wave unleashed by the confluence of the strong modern state and modernist architecture. And for half a century, almost all commentaries on this tide of state-sponsored modernisation were agreed on one claim above everything: that this was a phenomenon of overwhelming global homogeneity, of architectural, cultural, social sameness.

This book puts forward a very different argument. It argues that modernist mass housing, far from a monochrome desert of uniformity, was a global landscape of riotously colourful variety and complexity, responding both to the diversity of the 20th century and early 21st century state, and to the countless permutations of modernist architecture.

Even the names given to mass-housing complexes vary between languages and between countries: for example the Spanish 'polígono' is a 'conjunto habitacional' or 'barrio' in most of Hispanic America, but a 'casério' in Puerto Rico. In tackling such a vast subject, this book's approach is necessarily highly focused. It does not deal, for instance, with the experience of mass housing by its inhabitants, or evaluate its 'success' or 'failure' in solving social problems, or its moral standing in general: many active housebuilding regimes were distinctly authoritarian or undemocratic in character! Its sole concern is historical, and ambitious enough at that: to provide the first-ever global overview of what was built in this vast movement, and why – emphasising its pervasive diversity. This is a historical story of potentially epic proportions, drawing on the deepest driving-forces and anxieties of society. Its paradoxical combination of historical force and diversity arguably goes back to the initial emergence of the modern, sovereign state, and the subsequent challenge posed by the disembedding forces of the capitalist urban revolution, which provoked an increasingly interventive

stance by the state.

That growing ambition and power, in turn, spurred the emergence of distinctive institutions, functionally differentiated in typical modernist fashion, which intervened in political crises when the private market was criticised for alleged ineffectiveness, and in turn helped shape the practices of the state: in Giddens's words, 'the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices that constitute those systems'. Ultimately, state-sponsored low-income housing would exemplify this duality, as both an outcome and a vehicle of expanding state power. That circular process, as I argue in the first chapter of the book, began around the turn of the C20. Interventions were usually advocated in burning, messianic humanitarian language, extolling ideals such as 'decent housing for all' or 'homes for the people', and addressing spiritual yearnings as well as material needs.

Yet the universality of this rhetoric disguised huge disparities in conditions and expectations, disparities which occasionally surfaced by chance: in 1937, for instance, Manchester housing reformer E D Simon commented on a Soviet study-visit that '90% of the families in Moscow could improve their housing conditions beyond recognition if they could have for themselves one of those houses that are being pulled down in Manchester as unfit for human habitation'.

Yet beneath all the lofty rhetoric and massive housing-need statistics there also swirled among the ruling classes urgent, existential fears of social instability, with results that often included prioritising the housing of skilled workers rather than the 'poor', as a way of securing their loyalty. Indeed, one of the most enduring paradoxes within mass housing was the fact that, for all the talk of fighting injustice, the most effective and long-lasting housing programmes focused on somewhat better-off citizens, whereas attempts to build directly for the poorest, e.g. in the USA, often came to a premature and controversial end.

In the early 20th century the worry about instability sharpened into a fear of violent revolution, although revolutionary transformation also had positive connotations. The experience of World War I added 'total war' to this destabilising mix, and by 1945, social welfare was enshrined as an international as well as national policy goal, and the mobilising rhetoric of warfare and national emergency pervaded social policy, within planned campaigns that echoed Clausewitz's axiom that strategy 'must give an aim to the whole military action that corresponds to the goal of the war'. One the very foremost weapons in the armoury of the disciplined, 'strong state' of the 20th century was mass housing, prosecuted with military strategic organisation, trumpeted in martial slogans such as 'the war against the slums' or even 'the enemy within' - yet also shaped on the ground by tactical decision-making, formulating policy opportunistically rather than cumulatively.

During the mid-20th century, too, an equally dynamic new trans-national force, the Modern Movement of architecture and planning, was making itself felt in those areas of the built

environment claimed by the emergent 'mass' state. This architectural ideology combined an almost Leninist scientific authoritarianism, rooted in rationalist efficiency doctrines, with the poetic, prophetic writings and designs of individualistic pioneers, interpreted by the 'priesthood' of CIAM. The Modern Movement made sweeping claims of universal applicability, yet combined these with embrace of national and local variety in place-specific interpretation.

The mass housing movement was at the centre of all these developments, and hugely intensified its driving force, at the same time as broadening its scope across the world. So my book tries – at the obvious risk of incoherence - to combine a chronological and geographical arrangement. Chronologically, it presents mass housing as an epic story, in which the first precocious initiatives in a few developed countries were followed by a general explosion of activity and energy in the post-1945 decades of reconstruction and decolonisation, and a subsequent retrenchment in the old housing heartlands. Corresponding to these three phases, part A of the book presents a coordinated narrative of the build-up period prior to 1945; the quantitatively dominant Part B reflects mass housing's vastly greater breadth of scope in those years in a geographical arrangement of chapters, covering the world's chief regions of mass housing production while stressing the particular conditions in individual nations; and part C draws the narrative together again in the more uncertain years after 1989.

It was in the period covered by Part B, with the global standing of communism hugely boosted by the USSR's wartime victories, that the geopolitical structure of social provision, including mass housing, assumed its mature form. The new framework was most famously summed up in 1952 by social critic Alfred Sauvy, echoing the French 18th-century 'Three Estates', who interpreted the developed world through a binary opposition between the 'First World' (Western capitalist) and 'Second World' (the communist bloc).

Defined by its 'otherness' in relation to these two groupings was his 'Third World' of developing and non-aligned states, a category now suddenly and hugely inflated by the postwar collapse of the European empires. The arrangement of Part B of this book reflects this well-known structure, and also highlights the geo-political subdivisions and anomalies within it, including the splits within the First and Second Worlds between 'American anti-socialist' and 'European Welfare State' approaches, and between 'Soviet' and 'Chinese' socialism.

Contrary to the later claims of top-down homogeneity, by the 1960s most states of the First and Second Worlds had developed their own, distinctive patterns of social housing production, energised by strong state control and new collective values: in the Second World these focused on communist social engineering and in the First World on 'soft nationalism'. Behind the public rhetoric of housing need and social solidarity, many mass housing campaigns, with their language of combat and power, were bound up

with authoritative, patriarchal social structures and strategies of forcible intervention or segregation - including residential zoning by race or social class. But this still permitted a wide variety of financing and organizational regimes, including private, philanthropic or co-operative agencies enjoying state support (often indirectly, via taxation concessions), or direct agencies of the state itself, whether area-based (municipal or national) or functionally-based, as with the housing projects directly built by government factories and enterprises under state-socialism.

There was constant debate about the optimum targeting of state-led housing campaigns: who should be the recipients? A balance of affordability and ethical prioritization had to be struck between the poorest citizens, often displaced through coercive clearances or squatter fires, and middling income groups that could cover more of their housing costs. There was a similarly wide range of tenure permutations between the extremes of public-rental and social home-ownership regimes – including various co-operative or condominium tenures. And, as I explained the lecture last night, Scandinavian and Nordic programmes spanned the full range of these permutations.

Architecturally, too, individual countries developed their own variants of the 'universal' formulae of international modernism. Most pressing were basic choices of building-patterns, such as between high apartment blocks and single-family dwellings, or between straightforward new development on city peripheries and surgical 'slum clearance' in inner-cities. Postwar mass housing architecture was ultimately shaped by the avant-garde concepts of modernist pioneers, such as Corbusier or the Team 10 grouping, with their advocacy of dense cluster planning; but far more immediate were relatively impersonal factors such as land control, density pressures, or building-industry organisation.

On the ground, mass-housing architecture simplified and mixed together the main elite concepts, especially tall towers and slabs in open space, in countless local permutations. Many perpetuated elements from pre-Modernist phases of housing, including staircase-access 'sectional plans', adapted from 19th-century tenements into an infinitely-extensible formula ubiquitous in the postwar USSR; or the external gallery-access blocks of 19th-century philanthropic London, which mutated after 1945 into a more avant-garde variant (deck-access) and the dominant everyday pattern in the Netherlands (galerijbouw). Hundreds of colour illustrations, most specifically taken for this book, provide a visual overview of this incredible diversity.

Alongside these strong local specificities, the sub-regions of the First and Second Worlds, such as the Low Countries, the Nordic states and the Mediterranean world, also had common features of organisation and architecture: these subdivisions are reflected in the chapter-arrangement within Part B. E.g. Anglophone countries such as the USA, Australia and New Zealand all stressed state-promoted homeownership and mass slum-clearance.

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'Mass Housing: Modern Architecture and State Power - A 20th Century Epic' by Miles Glendinning (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, University of Edinburgh)

The closest satellites of the USSR, like Poland, East Germany, or Czechoslovakia – also resembled one another, even as other neighbours such as Yugoslavia and Romania diverged sharply. In particular, Yugoslavia's idiosyncratic 'self-management' political system generated often wildly eccentric built outcomes, combining Western architectural individualism and state socialist grand planning.

Within the Third World, as Chapter 14 shows, the relative weakness of many newly independent states, ensured the large-scale mobilisation process needed for mass housing only coalesced rarely, as well as in hybrid postcolonial societies such as Israel or Kuwait – not least because of the pressure by US-backed international aid agencies for 'aided self-help' as a more individualistic alternative to public rental housing. In two parts of the world – Latin America (chapter 13) and capitalist Eastern Asia (chapter 15) – distinctive region-wide housing patterns, significantly different from both the First and Second Worlds, emerged after 1945. These were shaped in Latin America by the frequent alternation of authoritarian and democratic regimes, the pervasiveness of anti-communism, and the addiction to spectacular, gestural housing campaigns, and in Eastern Asia by the Japanese-led coalescence of a new formula of state-directed developmental capitalism.

In both the First and Second Worlds, social housing programmes' very impact eventually made them vulnerable to opposition and protests, especially after the '1968' western upheavals and the 1989-91 revolution in the socialist bloc.

Figure 1 (Top): 'Towers of the Imagination' in Yugoslavia, Beograd: 'Rudo', completed in 1976
Figure 2: Organisational decentralism and architectural individualism in Yugoslavia: Novi Beograd Blocks 61-4, from 1971

From that point (Chapters 16-17), mass housing complexes became a lightning-rod for wider critiques of progress-led modernity, and accusations of top-down, alienating sameness in the former First and Second Worlds became universal – even as the new Asian 'front' heated up further.

'Mass Housing: Modern Architecture and State Power - A 20th Century Epic' by Miles Glendinning (Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, University of Edinburgh)

Although not infused with the same utopian reformist spirit as their 20th century predecessors, the programmes of countries such as Singapore, South Korea, China and Turkey accentuated the strong state formula, while radically intensifying the modernist architectural formula of massed apartment-construction in new, high-density ways. These vast achievements seem to belie the assumption that the only remaining housing options in the 21st century are 'unaffordable' free-market home-ownership housing in rich countries, and aided self-help in poor countries. Today, the concept of state-led 'progress' in housing now seems to be back on the agenda, but in a radically different form.

This authoritarian developmentalism, with its spectacular, politicised character, especially in Chongqing's frenzied building campaign of 2010-12, underlines the continuing dominance of political expediency and local governmental cultures in shaping mass housing and its 'hotspots' across the world.

Figures 3&4 1 Developmental Mass Housing in Turkey: Kayaşehir, Istanbul (TOKİ – from 2005)

Very often, especially within the west, social-housing discussions have been framed in Enlightenment terms of universal rights and ideals, such as 'the welfare state', 'solving the housing problem', 'fighting homelessness', 'housing affordability', the 'disgrace of the slums', and so forth. But what this book has repeatedly demonstrated is the uncomfortable reality that the real driving forces of mass-housing construction have often been locally-specific political processes and emergency pressures – a tendency accentuated within authoritarian states. There, the intense politicisation of 'homes for the people' has often projected a blatantly propagandist character, but the same has applied, more subtly, in democratic systems, for example in the heady rhetoric of the 'folkhem' or the 'miljonprogramm' in Sweden, or the giant gesture of Brasilia, which successively headquartered both democracy and authoritarianism.

Governments past and present have almost invariably offered 'mass housing aid' to those whose support or acquiescence they have needed, rather than those in the worst need. Since the downfall of state socialism and the decline of the post-war Western welfare state, mass-housing systems have largely been bound up with capitalist developmentalism, as well as with external factors such as demographic pressures, and that alignment seems likely to continue: as historians

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Figure 5: China: Minan Huafu Estate, Chongqing (2010-12)

Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel asked in 2015, ‘Will this be the story of the twenty-first century: welfare-state building without the welfare state?’ My book expresses no view on whether that is good or bad, but merely records the change – as with the other phases of the 100 Years War!

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Modern Architecture and State Power –
a 20th-Century Epic
Bloomsbury Academic Press (to be published 2021)

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PAPER 3

'Welfare Landscapes: Open Spaces of Danish Post-war Housing Estates Reconfigured'
by Ellen Braae, Svava Riesto, Henriette Steiner and Anne Tietjen (University of Copenhagen, Landscape Architecture and Planning)

The premises on which the Danish welfare state developed in the post-war period have changed remarkably over the last decades, and today's welfare policies have become more entangled with market-driven mechanisms (Pedersen, 2011). These changes have significantly altered the conditions for citizens to find affordable and suitable places to live, and they directly affect who provides new housing, for whom and where. In recent decades, most large housing complexes in Denmark have been provided by private developers for private owners, and have been located in growing cities where there is an influx of citizens and an emerging housing crisis. This trajectory also entails a high building percentage, which again directly affects the quantity and quality of parks, urban squares and other open spaces for residents close to their homes. New Danish housing complexes are built in ways that contrast with the large housing complexes realised in the decades following the Second World War.

Post-war housing in Denmark was realized in close relationship with a continuous debate about welfare, housing and landscape/open space. From the 1950s onwards many estates followed a green urban ideal, while others were later realized with a higher density and open spaces inspired by pre-modern cities or villages.

Today these multiple open spaces on post-war housing estates stand as markers of historical urban ideals (and alternatives to current ideals), while also providing potential values and spatial resources in the present. These are not static or essential values; rather, the uses and understandings of the open spaces of post-war housing estates, as well as their materialities, have changed throughout their lifetimes, and today face significant changes with countless renewal, reconstruction and renovation projects.

The open space, and in particular the green open space, played a significant role in 20th-century mass housing. In Denmark, with the construction of the welfare state after the Second World War, these landscapes were directly associated with ideas of social welfare and well-being related to citizens' health, morals and ethics. We therefore suggest calling the open spaces of the post-war welfare city 'welfare landscapes'. These welfare landscapes of social housing were iconic in terms of attempting to counteract all the shortcomings associated with the dense, socially unjust, aesthetically outdated and slummy housing that had arisen from late 19th- and early 20th-century urbanisation processes.

In the materialisation of European national welfare politics, architecture and planning played a prominent role, aiming to ensure good living conditions for all citizens (Swenarton et al. 2015). Social housing in particular became a cornerstone of these efforts, and millions of Europeans now live in various forms of post-war social housing. In Denmark today, 17–20% of the whole population lives in social housing (Rogaczewska et al. 2017). A significant number of these residents live in mass housing complexes from the post-war decades, and especially from the building boom of the 1960s and early 1970s, when open spaces played a core role in the design on multiple

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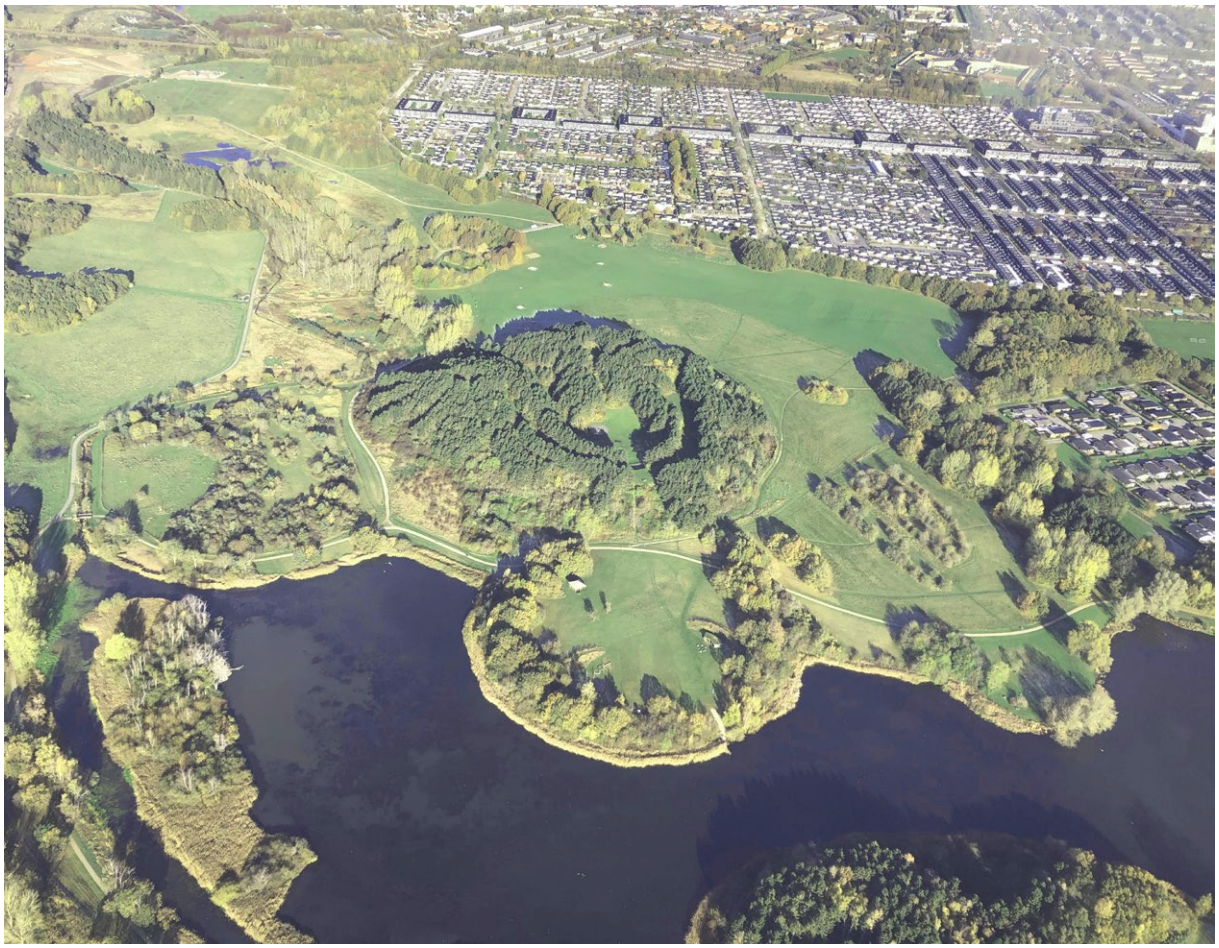

Figure 1 Many estates were carefully designed as part of larger landscapes with vast park system to which residents had access. Albertslund Syd social housing (1963-1969) to the back right of the picture, was planned together a new town centre and the park Vejleådalsparken as part of a new-town-development to the west of Copenhagen.

scales. Particular to many estates from this period is their carefully designed common open spaces spanning from shared gardens to large lawns, small gardens, urban squares, playgrounds, car-free pedestrian paths, and large-scale park-systems adjacent to the housing estates.

Yet surprisingly, beyond canonical architectural histories, little knowledge exists about the open spaces on these social housing estates – that is, about welfare landscapes. As in many other countries, Denmark's large-scale housing from the1950s- 1970s is connected with negative public discourse. This has most recently been expressed in the Danish government's 'ghetto list', which identifies social challenges on numerous housing estates across the country. The government has responded to these challenges by instigating national policies that force residents to move out, demolishing buildings, densifying the estates by building on their landscapes, and introducing private ownership over some of the homes. While these policies, along with countless other renovation and renewal projects in recent years, have given rise to public debates about how to manage the buildings, the landscapes of such estates are

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Figure 2: Particular to many post-war housing estates is their carefully designed common open spaces spanning from shared gardens to large lawns, small gardens, urban squares, playgrounds, car-free pedestrian paths. This picture shows the large shared park in the newly built Farum Midtpunkt to the north of Copenhagen, in 1977.
©Henrik Fogh-Møller

still a terrain vague in the discourse. In effect, the landscapes of post-war housing estates are often changed radically without further enquiry or discussion of the specificities of those landscapes.

In response, we contend that their existing landscape-architectural and spatial qualities may be a valuable resource for the future development of these landscapes as welfare landscapes. In the Reconfiguring Welfare Landscapes research project, we explore new ways to revisit the open spaces of social housing estates in their own right, with their own histories and as part of a larger urban landscape. By doing so, we aim to understand what ideas about well-being and welfare these welfare landscapes materialise, and how they change over time together with changing conceptions, ideas and uses. We assume that the answers to these questions can guide social housing estates' development and their capacity to be welfare landscapes in the future, providing meaningful and sustainable landscapes for living.

Sparse research attention to post-war welfare landscapes

Danish social housing from the post-war decades was often planned in a close collaboration between planners, architects and landscape architects (Woudstra 1995). This interdisciplinary tradition is often highlighted in research and may explain why a great number of these estates are considered to possess unique architectural and spatial qualities, and why they serve as important architectural references internationally (Boye 1948; Hiort 1952; Woudstra 1995; Treib 2002).

Recent international research in architectural history has interlinked with new theories of the socio-politics of welfare states, revealing the need to develop analytical strategies that bridge architectural and sociocultural research to better understand the relationship between architecture and welfare (Avermaete et al. 2011; Mattson et al. 2010; Swenarton et al. 2015). Also, in Denmark, there has been an emerging interest in understanding postwar architecture and urbanism in relation to the welfare state (Bendsen et al. 2012; Bæk Pedersen 2005; Sverrild 2008).

The landscapes of post-war housing estates have received relatively little attention (Swenarton et al.

2015; Wolf & Kirchengast 2014:3; Krippner et al. 2014; Harwood 2000). This is surprising in light of the historical significance and sheer quantity and extent of these landscapes. Further, recent scholarship has pointed out that the landscape qualities of large-scale social housing are more significant to contemporary local residents than the built structures (Wolf & Kirchengast 2014; Kroppedal 2007). This calls for new knowledge that explicitly focuses on the open spaces of social housing estates. Our assumption is that welfare landscapes constitute culturally rich material precisely because they are particular expressions of the complex relationships between private and (semi-) public, and between the individual, the collective and the state, thus allowing the inherent ambiguities of the welfare project to become visible (Creagh 2014; Avermaete et al. 2011; Nielsen 2008). Such knowledge, we believe, can substantiate how, why and whether we may preserve, maintain, change and reuse such landscapes in the future. Hence, our Reconfiguring Welfare Landscapes research project aims to develop and prototype generative spatial readings of these landscapes, which in turn have the potential to inform further studies and to ensure the best possible future reconfiguration of these spaces. This will help us to uncover how the spatial qualities of post-war architecture may be aligned with changing cultural practices, and with the concerns and values of the present. To do this, we work with landscape architecture in an expanded theoretical and methodological field. We thus seek answers to how we can understand the histories and spatial qualities of post-war social housing landscapes as a point of departure for considering their possible futures.

Changing premises

Cultural ideas about social welfare and individual well-being have changed over time. Immediately after the Second World War, the substantial quantity of new mass housing was an adequate answer to the housing shortage, and the way it was undertaken was a clear response to the poor living conditions in industrialised cities, which had small, crowded apartments in densely built and polluted environments (Bjørn et al. 2008; Dirkinck-Holmfeld et al. 2013; Beck Danielsen et al. 2014; Kvorning et al. 2012). However, the need for physical rest at weekends after long hours working in manufacturing jobs gradually diminished.

During the 1970s, women also began to go out to work, while children would spend their weekdays in a nursery or kindergarten. Moreover, the starting point during the early post-war decades had comprised cultural homogeneity (in terms of both ethnicities and family structures) and Modernist universalism – both of which were subsequently challenged. Modernism was rejected from within; cultural homogeneity was challenged from without, particularly by immigration from outside Europe. The latter peaked in the 1970s with the arrival of invited guest workers, many of whom came to live in affordable social housing areas alongside the socially vulnerable groups placed on these estates by municipalities. Subsequent periods of low employment, social neglect etc., have led to the current situation where many Danish social housing estates are perceived as the locus of

multiple social challenges.

Besides the questions of decay mitigation and ongoing maintenance, the maintenance of an ever-evolving 'designed nature' is a particularly challenging endeavour. On the one hand, plants need care, which also entails their gradual replacement. Some species evolve fast; others work more slowly, such as the trees that have finally attained the size and aesthetic impact envisioned decades ago by the architects and landscape architects. However, one of the changing premises with the greatest impact is climate change. Hitherto in Denmark this has been perceived as a matter of changing precipitation patterns, leading to a quest for large open green spaces to retain and percolate storm water – a quest that has pointed towards the welfare landscapes of social housing estates. Moreover, increasing attention to globally decreasing biodiversity is starting to affect ideas about what a beautiful landscape is, aesthetically contesting the layout of many post-war social housing estates' landscapes.

Examining space – how to approach the concept of spatial quality?

If post-war housing estates are material structures where ideologies of the 'good life' have been concretely materialised, they are phenomena that bridge architecture and culture in a very direct way. To unravel how this relationship was first established and later transformed and challenged, we require a theoretical framework that can grasp such dynamic relationships. With its conceptual triad of materiality (form, structure), practice (creation, uses) and discourse (representations, ideologies), and its fundamental drift towards understanding how space itself is produced and reproduced, the proposed research draws on French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's (1991, 2003, 2004) relational conception of space. With regard to the green open spaces of the post-war housing estates in question, this offers an approach that considers these structures as meaningful cultural products, takes seriously the socio-material production and gradual alteration of these spaces over time by their many users, and critically examines the way they continuously foster a cultural imaginary in and through representations.

To navigate this overarching theoretical framework, we introduce three analytically operative themes. These themes allow us to reveal the slippages and paradoxes reflected in the welfare landscapes. They also point to those landscapes' future reconfiguration, focusing on central aspects such as multiple and related scales, the concept of welfare, and the status of post-war social housing estates as potential heritage objects.

Spatial Connections and Relations: Rethinking Dichotomies. Urban theorist Neil Brenner (2014:15) argues in line with Lefebvre for a new form of 'urban theory without an outside'. He thus urges us to rethink traditional dichotomies such as urban centre versus suburb, natural landscape versus cultural landscape, community versus privacy, expert versus layperson, and built versus unbuilt. Traditional centre-periphery relationships (among others) are challenged because suburban social housing estates are increasingly embedded

in urban regional structures. This prompts an enquiry into how welfare landscapes attest to these new relationships, and how their spatial qualities may be described in light of dissolving dichotomies (Sieverts 2003; Viganò et al. 2012). By focusing on the green open spaces of welfare housing as both 'built' and 'unbuilt', 'culture' and 'nature' etc. (Spirn 1998), we may consider how can we understand welfare landscapes at the intersection of traditional theoretical dichotomies, and how we can allow new connections and relationships to become visible.

Welfare Open Space: Green Spaces as Community Markers. Equal access to green open spaces is a dogma of modernist urban planning (Sørensen 1931; CIAM 1933): besides providing sunlight and fresh air, green open spaces are seen to ideologically inspire a healthy life (Wagenaar 2004). This follows a long tradition of European thought, whereby green urban spaces become universal symbols of liberty and equality, mirroring a collective and humanistic proposition for a new and better life (Worpole 2000; Bolt & Lund 2009). This was heavily reinforced after the Second World War. Regarding housing estates as neighbourhoods, or even as projected and 'imagined communities' (Andersson 1983), the design of green open spaces enfolded certain ethics and morals. It therefore concerns the question of what formal qualities, practices, programmes, values and narratives are embedded in welfare landscapes – and also how we can articulate the ethical demand that they be spaces held in common by many people.

Heritage as Sense-Making: Reappraising Welfare Landscapes. Today, many post-war Danish housing estates are crossing the 50-year legal threshold for consideration as heritage in the traditional sense: as objects for preservation. But when it comes to these estates' open green spaces, we face the challenge of 'preserving' dynamic contexts rather than static objects (Arrhenius 2012; Riesto 2018), and of abandoning the nature-culture dichotomy that underlies most established heritage practices (Riesto & Tietjen 2018). If we consider heritage as a process (Roymans et al. 2011) that is not only about the past but also about 'caring for the future' (Harrison 2015), heritage-making becomes an activity with huge potential to sustain meaningful living environments (Fairclough 2009). Regarding housing estates' landscapes as contributing to human well-being (as is implicit in the European Landscape and FARO Conventions), we may enquire into what meaning-making processes occur in welfare landscapes, how people reappropriate them, and what future roles these open spaces may possess.

Empirical grounding – why three iconic cases?

The project revolves around three case studies, internationally renowned (Kirschenmann et al. 1977) and landscape-architecturally significant housing estates situated in different locations in the greater Copenhagen area: Bellahøj (1951–1957), Albertslund Syd (1963–1968) and Farum Midtpunkt (1970–1974). This selection covers the decades of construction, prototyping and realisation during the roughly 30 years (1945–1979)

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'Welfare Landscapes: Open Spaces of Danish Post-war Housing Estates Reconfigured'
by Ellen Braae, Svava Riesto, Henriette Steiner and Anne Tietjen (University of Copenhagen, Landscape Architecture and Planning)

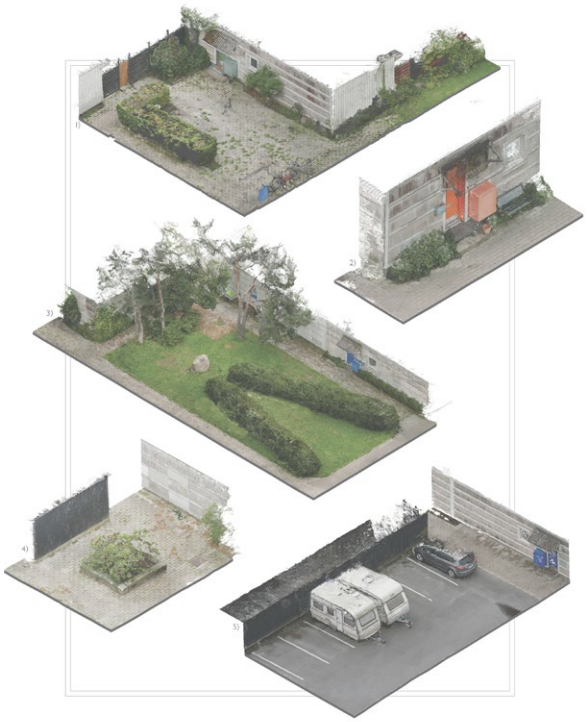

Figure 3: Five examples of open spaces in Albertslund Syd: extracts from photogrammetric point clouds
1) Square partly fallen out of maintenance.
2) Dwelling entrance furnished with bench and planter.
3) Local resident and land art artist Mikael Hansen's unauthorised redesign of square.
4) Rhododendron planting in disused sandbox.
5) Long-term parking of caravans.
© Asbjørn Jessen.

when most Danish social housing estates were built (Tietjen, 2010; Bæk Pedersen, 2005). They also attest to the ambiguity of Danish architecture which is internationally acclaimed and yet also faces problems related to material decay, changing social life and a bleak public image. All three are therefore undergoing urban renewal, representing three different phases: planned (Bellahøj), in progress (Farum Midtpunkt) and completed (Albertslund Syd). Furthermore, they represent three well-known modernist housing types: the park settlement (Bellahøj), a low-rise carpet settlement (Albertslund), and a terraced megastructure (Farum Midtpunkt). Using the cases as empirical stepping stones in combination with our theoretical framework, we explore new methodological terrain relative to landscape architecture, challenging outdated views of landscape architecture as preoccupied with aesthetics and ecology (Meyer 2000). Instead, we trace the idea of spatial quality. This central yet vaguely defined precept of landscape architecture and planning practices is only graspable in a relational and integrative manner that encompasses uses, users and the material structures themselves (Khan et al. 2014), thus elaborating our relational

Figure 4: The social housing estate at Bellahøj (1951–1957) highlights a transition in green ideals: from the ideal of escaping to nature, to the desire to live in it. The green open spaces became more than a metaphor, not only for healthy living, but also for a healthy residential life.
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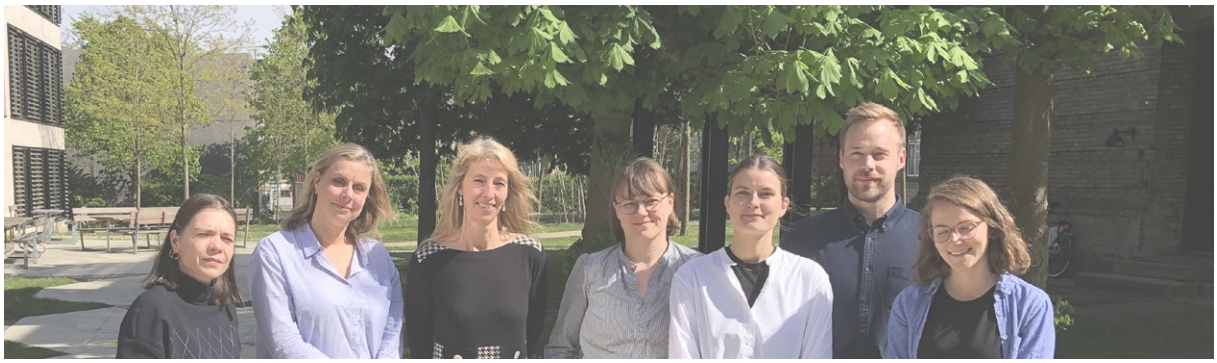

Figure 5: The researchers in the project. From the left: Anne Tietjen, Svava Riesto, Ellen Braae, Henriette Steiner, Lærke Sophie Keil, Asbjørn Jessen, Kirsten van Haaren

spatial framework. Expanding landscape architecture perspectives from urban theory, heritage studies, cultural history and architectural philosophy will help us to unfold the three theoretical themes and reveal the paradoxes embedded in welfare landscapes. While these paradoxes are central to the welfare ideological programme, we contend that they may also allow us to point towards meaningful future reconfigurations.

Bringing theory into practice – how we work

The project is hosted by the Section for Landscape Architecture and Planning at the University of Copenhagen, the institution which launched the first landscape architecture education in Scandinavia in the early 1960s. It is known for its role in substantiating the development of the post-war welfare city and its many green open spaces (Hauxner 2003). To build on this foundation while also ensuring disciplinary renewal, the team of researchers contributing to this project has both a strong grounding in the discipline of landscape architecture and a broader interdisciplinary embedment. While the PI and three young PhD fellows are all trained as landscape architects, the three subproject leaders (SPLs) contribute other disciplinary and methodological perspectives.

The first subproject, Materialising Welfare, focuses on how welfare landscapes materialise in and around post-war social housing estates as socio-material assemblages. Drawing on new materialism, especially actor-network theory, it examines how relationships between materialities, welfare politics and spatial design are constituted, and how they change over time, with a focus on the role of non-human things. This subproject is led by Anne Tietjen and includes a PhD project by Asbjørn Jessen.

The next subproject, Practising Welfare Landscapes, examines the social housing estates as lived spaces. It questions the socio-material relationships of specific landscapes, from the original ideas about architecture's effects on residents' social life, to everyday contestations over issues about communality/individuality and flexibility/control, up to present-day renovation plans. This subproject is led by Svava Riesto and includes a PhD project by Lærke Keil.

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Figure 6: This project investigates the role of landscape elements, e.g. fences and plantings, in a Danish welfare landscape. By focusing on the relationship between use and materiality, the project contributes to a nuanced understanding of a welfare landscape as lived over time, beyond polarised perceptions of social failure or success. © Lærke Sophie Keil.

The third subproject is called Welfare Imagined: Landscape as Common Ground? It elaborates on conflicting discourses about the social housing estates, looking at the original ideas behind the projects in relation to their current-day reception and their potential reuse and re-narration. The subproject is led by Henriette Steiner and includes a PhD project by Kristen van Haeren.

With this research project, we will provide two kinds of result that will contribute to knowledge about 21st-century mass housing. First, we will deepen the understanding of the relationship between welfare and landscape in post-war mass housing, and of how that relationship has changed over time. Second, we will develop new research approaches and methodologies to grasp the complexity of spatial quality in post-war social housing estates from a past, present and future perspective, and on a more generative level to sustain the underlying conception of landscape – including the landscapes that accompany mass housing – as something that evolves in a space-time continuum.

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Note:

Reconfiguring Welfare Landscapes is a four-year project (2016–2020) with 6.4m DKK in funding from

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the Independent Research Fund Denmark. It is hosted by the University of Copenhagen. The project group includes UC researchers PL Professor Ellen Braae, SPL Associate Professor Anne Tietjen, SPL Associate Professor Henriette Steiner and SPL Associate Professor Svava Riesto, and UC PhD fellows Asbjørn Jessen, Kristen van Haeren and Lærke Sophie Keil. The project is supported by an advisory board consisting of Professor Anne Whiston Spirn (MIT), Professor Tom Avermaete (ETHZ), Professor Rodney Harrison (UCL), Professor Thordis Arrhenius (KTH) and Professor Paola Viganò (IUVA). https://ign.ku.dk/english/welland/

PAPER 4

'Restoring the Public: The Case of Fittja Suburb' by Thordis Arrhenius (School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology KTH)

Restoring the Public

Architects are no longer are solely occupied with making the new from scratch but also with making the new out of the past. This relates fundamentally to a shift in our contemporary understanding of spatial and material resources. A central effect of global capitalism is the pressure of change. Urban patterns and building programs are increasingly becoming redundant, demanding change to accommodate new functions and identities. Indeed, driven by contemporary concerns with scarcity and overflow, the building stock is constantly altered. In this situation, architects are progressively concerned with adjusting and reprogramming what is already there. This in turn raises a new urgency for contemporary architectural culture to start addressing the pressure of change in alternative modes. Preservation offers such an alternative and has, in that sense, won a new relevance for architecture that goes beyond saving its canon of buildings.

People's Palace

A contemporary ongoing project by the Swedish architectural studio Spridd exemplifies a new engagement in preservation from the architectural field. The project is neither advocacy for or a protest against preservation, nor the acting out of any paranoid position of "preservation is overtaking us" (Koolhaas and Otero-Pailos 2014), but rather suggests, in its complexity, how cultures of preservation can be explored in intriguing and novel ways in today's changing field of architectural production.

In 2013, Spridd won the Nordic Built Challenge idea competition for finding a new solution for the sustainable renewal of social housing stock ("Fittja People's Palace" 2013). Their case study of Fittja, a run-down 1970s housing estate in the municipality of Botkyrka, suggests employing strategies of preservation as part of the renewal scheme. With its indistinct, anonymous architecture and urgent need of modernization and technical

Figure 1 Fittja Housing Estate, Botkyrka Municipality
Courtesy Spridd, Photograph by John Håkansson

upgrade, Fittja is not, however, a conventional preservation site. No outstanding historical value was identified, nor were a unique set of buildings at risk of being lost. To the contrary, the repetitious housing units built with prefabricated slabs are ubiquitous in this period of mass housing in Sweden, Europe, and beyond. Built as part of Sweden's ambitious housing program that began in the mid-1960s, they have been, along with their European counterparts, harshly criticized for their low architectural quality and blamed for the social segregation that marks this period of public housing.

The urgent call and expectation for Fittja, then, was for renewal and change, not preservation. Indeed preservation is often looked upon with scepticism by both developers and architects when social housing areas, such as Fittja, are to be renovated and upgraded, as any historical values identified in the fabric forestall possibilities of change and alteration. Economic constraints for the renewal, determined by the competition program of Nordic Built Challenge and the municipality's objective of keeping housing rents low, did not however allow for the excesses of total reconfiguration and identity change that tends to be the solution when architects are called upon to "turn around" postwar housing developments. For example, Frédéric Druot and Lacaton & Vassal's Tour Bois-le-Prêtre in Paris and Hawkins & Brown and Studio Egret West's Park Hill in Sheffield are ongoing, successful examples where "architecture," in the form of new spatial organization, material, and colour schemes, is brought in to generate change - change that in turn introduces new temporalities of "befores" and "afters," creating discontinuities and ruptures rather than continuations.

One intriguing aspect of the Fittja People's Palace project is that it specifically challenges this temporality by introducing an element of resistance to the overwhelming pressure of change and renewal characterizing the market-driven housing polices of today's deregulated European welfare states.

With an objective of contributing to an economic and socially sustainable solution for public housing, Spridd's strategy was to look again at the already there, to identify existing values rather than suggest alterations. Meticulously documenting the housing development, from the history of the welfare-state housing programs to the system and variations in the construction to the condition of each individual apartment and housing block, Spridd identified spatial and programmatic values worth preserving and emphasizing. Documenting and drawing the material fabric of the run-down estate at a level of detail never before attempted for such mass-produced housing, Spridd carefully visualized the spatial and material qualities of the estate without suggesting radical changes. The extensive survey resulted in a proposal for a modest, low-cost renovation and technical upgrade that is hardly noticeable and was based on reinstating—rather than altering—lost qualities of the welfare state's housing scheme. Services and features of the housing development, long devalued or neglected, such as traffic separation, direct access to garage parking, communal playgrounds and gardens, laundry facilities and

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Figure 2 Axonometric of Fittja Housing Estate
Image Courtesy Spridd

Figure 3 Section of Fittja Housing Estate
Image Courtesy Spridd

recreation areas, were upgraded and reemphasized, along with well-planned kitchens, bathrooms, and generously sized floor plans—all identified as qualities specific to welfare-state housing schemes.

Behind this plan of “change without change” was a strategy of trying to change the public perception of Fittja rather than the housing estate’s design and to open up the estate’s history and future to public discussion. Spridd’s main “design” for Fittja was innovative curatorial strategies that made evident the value of the housing estate and argued for its preservation. Their project was first implemented in an exhibition area in one of the leftover spaces of the communal area that was part of the renovation. There, the project was communicated on different scales, from drawings and scale models to a full-scale mock-up of one of the apartments. Participatory workshops and public events took place, ushering Fittja toward becoming something liked, something desirable, and something talked about, instilling a sense of pride in its community. Further, to raise awareness of public housing

and alter its image, Spridd organised, together with local young people, an exhibition of the Fittja People's Palace beyond the direct locality of the housing development, including international biennales and similar public events (among them the 4th Moscow Biennale of Architecture, 2014; Venice Architectural Biennale 2014; and Shenzhen Bi-City Biennale of urbanism and architecture 2015), thus increasing the attention paid not just to Fittja but to this whole forgotten and disregarded period of welfare-state housing.

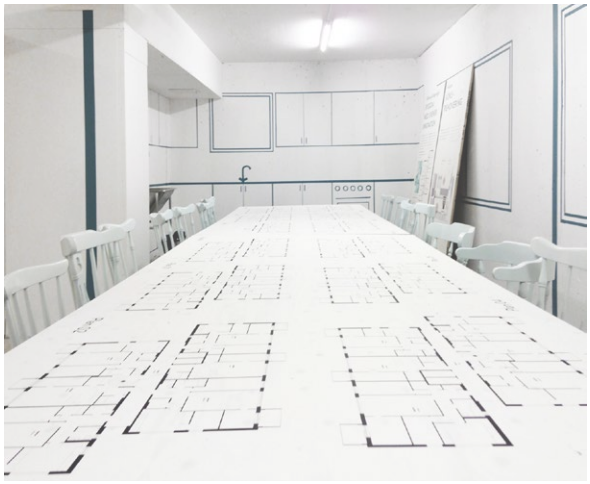

Figure 4 Exhibition Space K2 in of Fittja Housing Estate, showing table with drawings: kitchen in background. Image courtesy Spridd, Photograph by Klas Ruin

Figure 5 Exhibition Space K2 in Fittja Housing Estate, showing model. Image Courtesy Spridd, Photograph by Antonius van Arkel

Figure 6 Fittja People Palace Exhibition at La Biennale di Venezia - 14th International Architecture Exhibition. Image Courtesy Spridd, Photograph by Mikael Olsson

Dust to Gold

By judging and evaluating the conditions of the existing fabric, writing its history, and documenting its evolution, Spridd acted in Fittja as preservationists rather than architects. More crucially, they acted as preservationists without an evident object of preservation at hand and without any local heritage legislation to relate to. In this heritage vacuum the monumentalising and curatorial aspects of preservation were explored to make a nondescript housing estate step out of the shadow of mass-produced, long-dismissed architecture to become a site representing material and cultural value.

The recasting of the Fittja housing development as a preservation site reveals the political and societal potential of preservation as an alternative to a market-driven architecture of change. Treating Fittja's housing scheme as a crucial historical monument, a palace in fact, involved a nearly alchemical experiment of transforming dust into gold. The space needed for that experiment

to take place was one of representation. Indeed the power of architectural representation, the image, should not be underestimated in this alchemical experiment. The visual representation of the housing estate in classical (almost naive), perfectly drawn axonometrics and sections elevated Fittja from just one of many suburbs to something special, something with potential cultural value.

Writing on the history of architectural representation, Helene Lipstadt (1989) identifies the power of the architectural drawing, exhibition, and publication in making architecture public in the general and original sense of the word. Lipstadt argues convincingly that it was only through the emergence of an architectural press and the architectural exhibition in the late-nineteenth century that architecture opened up to public inquiry and judgment. On display Fittja, became public in a double sense: documented and exhibited, it entered the public discourse on housing, and its future as public housing was opened up as a subject for debate among an audience beyond the immediate circle of client, developer, and local occupants. The exhibition of drawings, scale models, and mock ups reinvigorated discussions of the status of public housing today. This publication of Fittja in drawings, exhibitions, and debates shows how preservation, though firmly based in the material, the physical, goes beyond brick and mortar (or, in this case, the concrete slab) to become, in a general sense, a curatorial activity.

Preservation Is Now

Spridd's project is one example of how preservation has become an expanded and experimental field for contemporary architecture. Preservation has become a way to practice architecture outside the dominant field of corporate or star architecture. At first glance, this experimental attitude might seem like an anomaly in the field of preservation, which has been circumscribed by regulatory practices since its beginnings in the late-eighteenth century. As a result, historical sites and landscapes are today among the most controlled areas of architecture. The presence of national heritage legislation and strong local pressure groups conditions most preservation projects, large or small, and on an international global level the legacy of the 1964 Venice Charter still dominates the preservation debate.

As preservationists, Spridd productively used the regulatory discourse of preservation to confront the assumed opposition between preservation and architecture, between pastness and contemporaneity. Inventing new monumentalities and values, they reframed or even reinvented architectural projects on which to act—putting, in some sense, preservation to work. On a more fundamental level, this restoration of a "public palace" shows the political force of preservation, how it goes beyond questions of authenticity and materiality to issues of sustainability and resistance.

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PAPER 5

‘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.’ (1)

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(2). 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,(3) 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

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' (4) 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' (5) 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' 6), 'terrain vague', (7) 'vague space', (8) 'junk space',(9) 'slack space',(10) 'the creative user',(11) 'weak place'(12) and so forth. My considerations into yonder products and practices agrees with

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.(13) The form given to the empirical accounts accumulated during this fieldwork are inspired by anthropologist Daniel Miller's ethnographic portraits.(14) 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

PAPER 5

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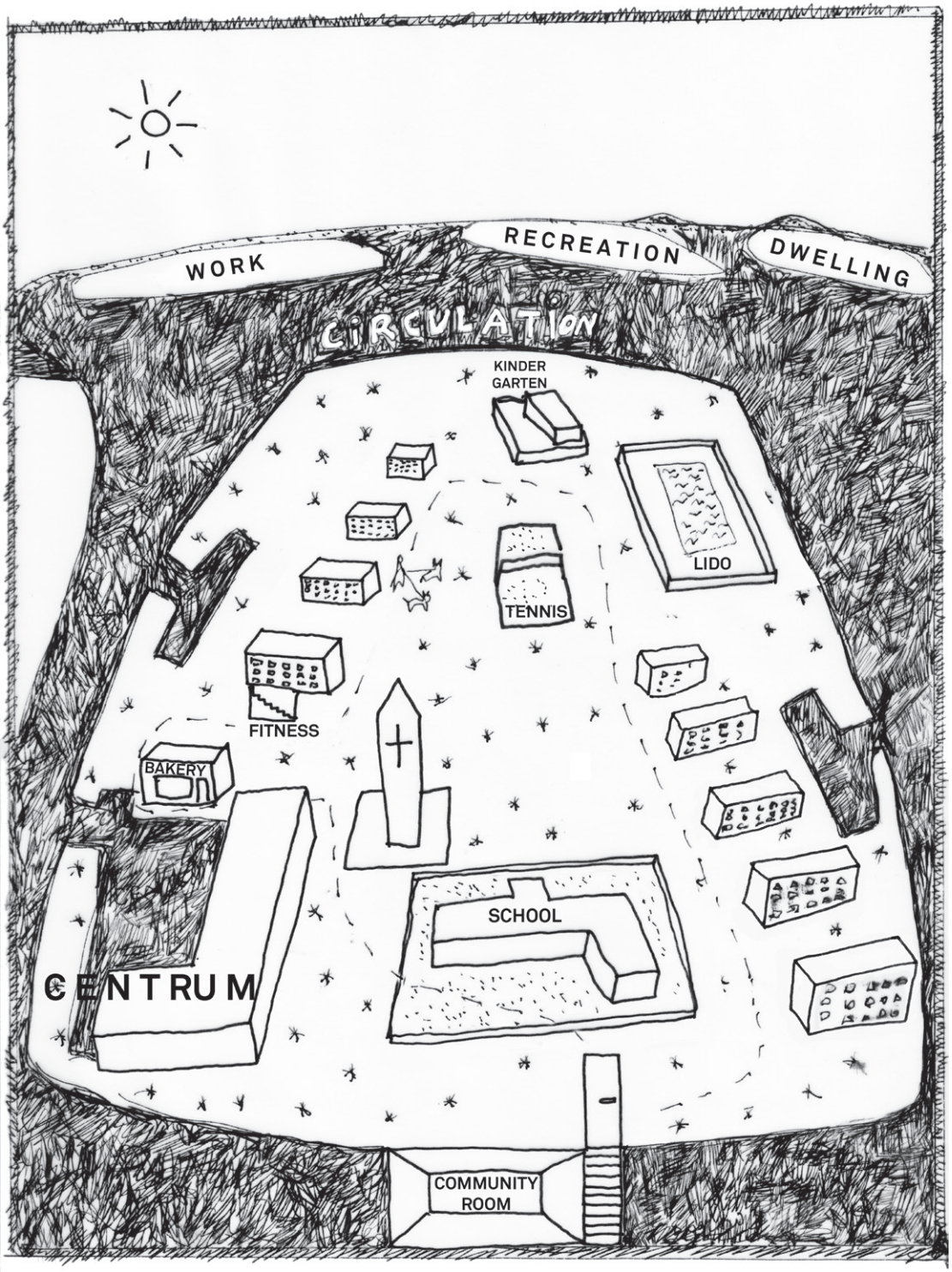

Figure 1: In 1965 the Swedish government set a goal to construct one million new dwellings over a ten-year period in the report Höjd Bostadsstandard (Statens Offentliga Uttredningar 1965:32). In this famously named Million Programme, there was an emphasis on raising living standards by means of coordinated 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.

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.' (15)

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 Helsinborgshem 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.(16) 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.' (17) Today, the estate's green structure and the path system are considered to be key primary structures of both the original masterplan and in the current plans for transformation that make use of and extend these structures by opening, linking and densifying. (18)

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

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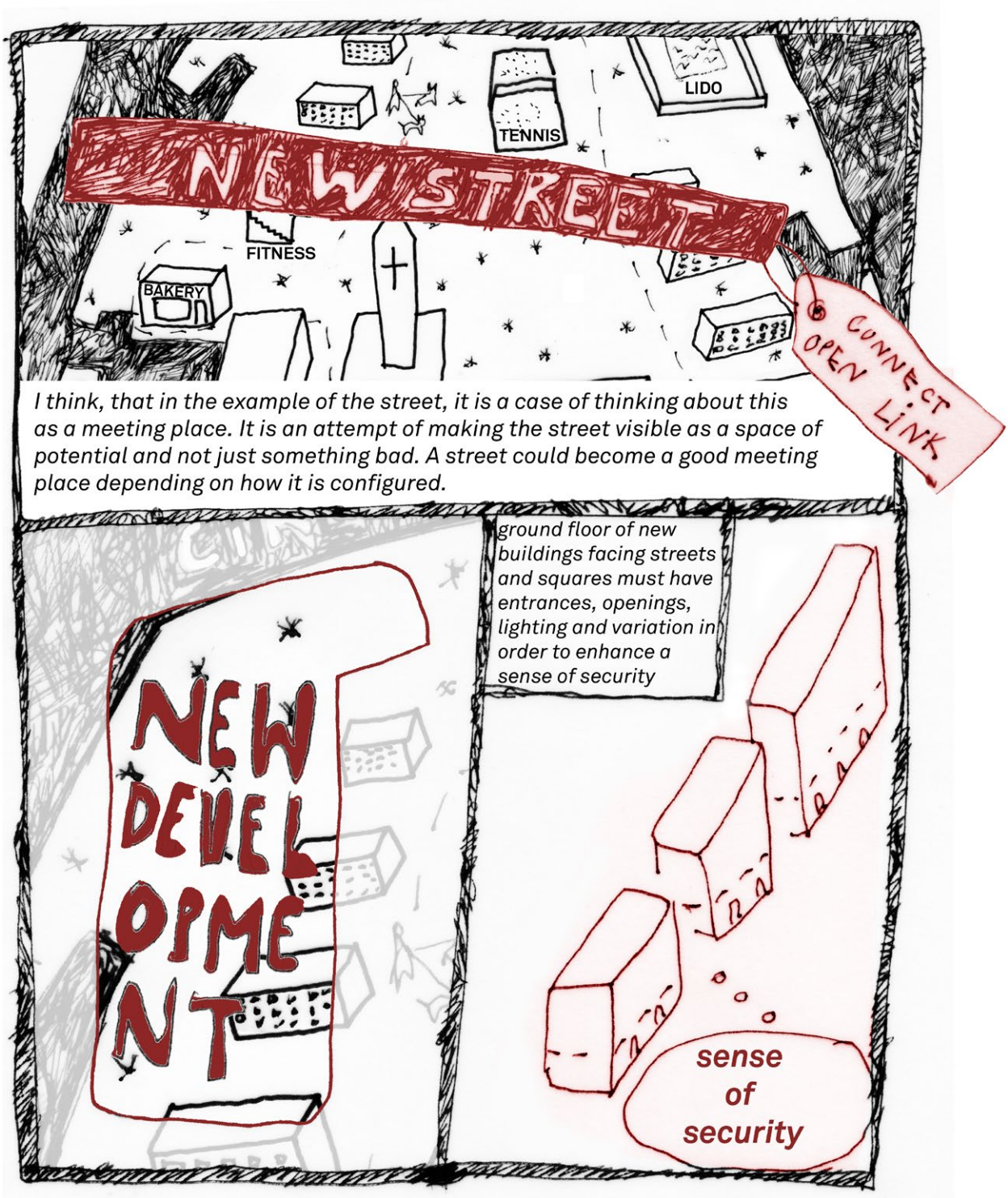

Figure 2: Space of potential. Illustration by author.
In the transformation of Drottninghög the planners address different scales. The estate at large is broken into smaller areas separating new development sites from clusters of buildings that will be renovated. New streets are introduced through the 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.

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.(19) 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'.(20) 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.(21) In the dialogues that Carlsson and her colleagues

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 (22) 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.' (23)

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

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.'(24) 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.(25) 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.'(26) Pervasively, she writes, architectural work concerns 'not how to do things right but how to find the right things to do.'(27) 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.(28) 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.(29) It is crucial to underline that the optimistic

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'.(30)

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

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.'(31)

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

being it atlas-like masterplans, renderings, reports, drawings and so on, are not buildings as architectural historian Robin Evans reminds us,(32) 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.

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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 obser-vation 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 efter-krigstidens storskala-boligbebyggelser i brug. Ph.D. dissertation. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture and Design.

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(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/planpro-grammet/. 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 awere 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.

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handl_samrad_sbf.pdf. Downloaded December 2018.

(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.

(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.

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

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Docomomo E-proceedings 10 • April 2020

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FORMATTING
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ORIGINAL GRAPHIC DESIGN
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Miles Glendinning & Scava Riesto (eds.),
MASS HOUSING OF THE SCANDINAVIAN WELFARE STATES:
Exploring Histories and Design Approaches
Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh
ISBN: 978-1-912669-18-9

THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH
Edinburgh College of Art

ISBN no. 978-1-912669-18-9