The Social City
Middle-way approaches to housing and suburban governmentality
In southern Stockholm 1900-1945
Abstract

This dissertation deals with the period bridging the era of extreme housing shortages in Stockholm on the eve of industrialisation and the much admired programmes of housing provision that followed after the second world war, when Stockholm district Vällingby became an example for underground railway-serviced "new towns". It is argued that important changes were made in the housing and town planning policy in Stockholm in this period that paved the way for the successful ensuing period. Foremost among these changes was the uniquely developed practice of municipal leaseholding with the help of site leasehold rights (Erbbaurecht).

The study is informed by recent developments in Foucauldian social research, which go under the heading 'governmentality'. Developments within urban planning are understood as different solutions to the problem of urban order. To a large extent, urban and housing policies changed during the period from direct interventions into the lives of inhabitants connected to a liberal understanding of housing provision, to the building of a disciplinary city, and the conduct of 'governmental' power, building on increased activity on behalf of the local state to provide housing and the integration and co-operation of large collectives. Municipal leaseholding was a fundamental means for the implementation of this policy.

When the new policies were introduced, they were limited to the outer parts of the city and administered by special administrative bodies. This administrative and spatial separation was largely upheld throughout the period, and represented as the parallel building of a 'social' outer city, while things in the inner 'mercantile' city proceeded more or less as before. This separation was founded in a radical difference in land holding policy: while sites in the inner city were privatised and sold at market values, land in the outer city was mostly leasehold land, distributed according to administrative – and thus politically decided – priorities.

These differences were also understood and acknowledged by the inhabitants. Thorough studies of the local press and the organisational life of the southern parts of the outer city reveals that the local identity was tightly connected with the representations connected to the different land holding systems. Inhabitants in the south-western parts of the city, which in this period was still largely built on private sites, displayed a spatial understanding built on the contradictions between centre and periphery. The inhabitants living on leaseholding sites, however, showed a clear understanding of their position as members of model communities, tightly connected to the policy of the municipal administration. The organisations on leaseholding sites also displayed a deep co-operation with the administration. As the analyses of election results show, the inhabitants also seemed to have felt a greater degree of integration with the society at large, than people living in other parts of the city. The leaseholding system in Stockholm has persisted until today and has been one of the strongest in the world, although the local neo-liberal politicians are currently disposing it off.

Keywords: Stockholm, governmentality, Foucault, land holding, leaseholding, site leasehold rights, municipal administration, housing, urban history, suburban, town planning, city planning, urban order, local press, voluntary societies, gender, disciplinary, philanthropy, Enskede, Brännkyrka, Söderort.
For my Mother, Olle

and the memory of Sven,

and of Eva
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tables and graphs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Middle-Way City</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Liberal Housing Regime</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import and Export of Housing Knowledge</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Glorious Days of Magic Houses</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I: Introduction</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aim of this Study: To Understand the City as Social</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Garden City</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Peaceful Revolution</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Anti-Authoritarian Core of the Scheme</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen’s Pedagogic Authoritariananism</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard’s Anti-Authoritarian Communities</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How to Adjust People</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmentality</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bringing About Freedom</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Cities</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method and Sources</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Research</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Outline of This Book</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II: A General Overview</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nordic Countries</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Planning as Big Business</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cottage Ideal</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm: A City on Islands</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Modern City</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Annexations</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Districts of the Stockholm Outer City</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town-Planning Politics in Stockholm</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dyad Relationship between Politicians and Engineers</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Peculiarities of Stockholm</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Struggle of the Boards</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter III: Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Decisive Break</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Outline of This Chapter</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eclipse of Direct Interventions</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enforcement of Morals</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rent Collectors</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Disciplinary Housing Discourse</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Individualistic Themes</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austerity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosiness</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Collectivistic Themes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersion</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Influence of Nature</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eclipse of the Disciplinary City</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social Housing Policy from intervention to Solidarity</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure and Change of the Disciplinary Housing Discourse</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Co-author: Paul Fuehrer, Dept. of Sociology, University of Stockholm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stockholm Housing Discourse</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Factor Analysis 1907-08</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Second Factor Analysis, 1925, 1927</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Participants of the Discussion</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An assessment of the Housing Discourse</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Disciplinary City</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category Housing</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Mixing</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Slow Expansion of the Social Sphere</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mixing of Rationalities</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Houses - Disciplinary Spatiality at a Bargain</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economising the Social City</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spatial Dimensions</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greenbelt</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Modernisation of the Disciplinary Discourse</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Influence of the Population Issue</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Modernisation of Disciplinary Spatiality and Direct interventions</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue - Quality and Quantity Housing</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Discussion</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter IV: Municipal Leaseholding as an Instrument for the Control of Urban Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social and Other Spaces</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefebvre and Abstract Spaces</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foucault and the Heterotopias</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Complexities of Landholding

Outline of the Chapter

The Creation of the Site Leasehold Rights Act

Erbbaurechts und Its Parallels

The Act and its Local Implementation

The Administrative Division

The Social City Becomes Established

Repeated Conflicts over the Economic and the Social

Site Leasehold Rights and Socialism

The Abandonment of the Administrative Divide

The Meaning of the Division

SLR and the Creation of a Social Place

The Control of the Market

The Administration of Lives

Against the SLR

The Reactions from the Homeowners

Conclusions

Chapter V: Local Papers and the Politics of Space

The Need to Read

Zones of Stability

The Swedish Press

The Peripheral Press

The Press Situation in Brännkyrka

The Politics of Space

The Stabilisation of the Local News Market

A Mature Press Structure

The Content of the Papers

The East Against the West

Enske for the Enskeders!

The Papers and the Societies

The Tramway Troubles

Summary and Discussion

Chapter VI: Governmental Rule through Voluntary Societies

Organisations as Instruments of Governmentality

Voluntary Societies in Urban Sociology

Voluntary Societies in Swedish History

The Voluntary Organisations in Early Twentieth Century Brännkyrka

Governing as a Matter of Friction

The Gravel Theft

A Stubborn Organisation

The Break-up of Unity

The Adjustment of the Associative Life
INDEX OF TABLES, FIGURES, AND MAPS.

Tables:

II:1 Districts in western Brännkyrka 83
II:2 Districts in eastern Brännkyrka/ Enskede 84

III:1 Explanation power of different subdiscourses 1907-08 139
III:2 Explanation power of different
     subdiscourses 1925, 1927 144
III:3 Average rents in the Scandinavian capitals 1930-32 185
III:4 Annual rents for apartments with certain arrangements 186

IV:1 Spatial practices 197

VII:1: Applicants in the extra kitchen issue from 1928-29,
     distributed after social status. 420

Figures:

I:1 Domains of Power within Liberal Society 45

III:1 Factor analysis of the Stockholm
     Housing Discourse 1907-08 138
III:2 Factor analysis of the Stockholm
     Housing Discourse 1925, 1927 143

V:1 City of Stockholm share of circulation of
     eight newspapers 1932 259
V:2 Aggregated circulation of the Stockholm
     newspapers 1900-1940 260
     Time durability of local papers in Brännkyrka
     and Enskede 1928-1948 273

VI: Number of members attending meetings at the Stureby
    Real Estate Owners’ Society, between 1932 and 1945. 330

VII (Wrongly indicated as VI):1 Percentage of population
    in different parts of Stockholm districts 371
VII:2 Population in leasehold and freeground settlements.
    in Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes 1913-1945. 374
VII:3 Electoral participation in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka
    and Enskede parishes Parliamentary elections 1921-1945. 375
VII:4 Electoral participation in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka
    and Enskede parishes, Municipal elections 1921-1
VII:5 Electoral participance in the leasehold settlements,
    Mun.el 1921-42. 377
VII:6 Electoral participation in private villa settlements.
    Mun. El. 1921-1942. 378
VII:7 Electoral participance in tenant’s estates,
    Mun. El. 1921-42. 379
VII:8 Percentage of socialist votes in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka,
    and Enskede parishes, Mun el 192142 380
VII:9 Percentage socialist votes in the leasehold settlements,
    Mun el 1927-1942 381
VII:10 Percentage socialist vote in the private villa settlements,
    Mun el 1927-42 382
VII:11 Percentage of socialist votes in tenants’ estates in Brännkyrka
    and Enskede, Mun el 1927-42 383
VII:12 Left-wing share of socialists in the leasehold settlements
    in Brännkyrka and Enskede, Mun elect. 1927-1942 384
VII:13 Left-wing share of socialist votes in the private villa
    Settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede, Mun elect. 1927-42 385
VII:14 Left-wing share of socialists’ votes in tenants’ estates
    in Brännkyrka and Enskede, Mun el 1927-42 386
VII:15 Difference in percentage points between male and female
    electoral participance. Sweden (parl el), Stockholm, and Brännkyrka
    and Enskede parishes, Mun el 1927-42. 387
VII:16 Difference in percentage points between male and female
    electoral participation in the leasehold settlements in Brännkyrka
    and Enskede. 388
VII: Difference in percentage points between male and female
    electoral behaviour in the private villa settlements in Brännkyrka
    and Enskede. Mun el 1921-42 389
VII:18 Difference in percentage points between male and
    female electoral participance in the tenants’ estates in Brännkyrka
    and Enskede. Mun elect. 1921-42 390
VII: 19 Factor analysis of argument types
    relating to the extra kitchen issues 1928-1929. 423

Maps:

II:1 Stockholm 1895, after William William-Olsson 79
II:2 The city districts in Stockholm 1945. 86
III:1 Hallman’s 1902 Sketch for the Expansion of Stockholm 131
IV:1 Stockholm’s land possessions 1942 226
Preface

Last week a friend told me he had recently taken his kid away from the IFK Enskede soccer team. Known since many years as a sports association that prioritises social responsibility and everybody's inclusion, Enskede now got the idea to join the commercial bandwagon and elitise even the children's sides. Outraged, my friend moved the whole side he is training to another association just a few kilometres further southwards.

This is largely a book about a kind of exceptionalism. The settlements around Enskede were once built to be somewhere where the market-dominated world would never really get. I will argue in this study that what happened there also had some influence on the ambition of the City of Stockholm to for a while itself tame the market forces. However, now much of that is changing, and the soccer team is only one example. Nonetheless it is, I would argue, important to save the memory and the experiences of every attempt that is made to something better beyond capitalism.

When I first entered the Department of Economic History at the University of Stockholm quite many years from now, I also got this feeling of something exceptional. As years went by, I learned to what a remarkable extent we have our Secretaries, Ulrika Moberg and Jane Bagge, to thank for this renowned atmosphere. All my time as a research student, UlfJonsson has been my tutor. It has been my warmly appreciated privilege to work together with a person combining professionalism with a passionate interest for just about anything that lies closest to the heart of the people he encounter. I will try to carry some of this spirit with me.

My way of thinking is of course largely a result of the academic everyday life that I have spent with a number of colleagues, whose encouragement in many instances I try to return on this everyday basis instead. A number of persons have however influenced my work profoundly, with repeated and informed readings of papers and manuscripts. These include Magnus Hörnqvist, Martin Gustavsson, Yvonne Svanström, Kristian Falk, Johan Söderberg, Bosse Franzén, Per Simonsson, Hossein Sheiban, Håkan Forsell and Camilla Elmhorn. Paul Fuehrer has even been the co-author of a part of this book (the factor analysis in chapter three, which consequently should not be taken into account for my exam). I also want to thank my assistant tutors, Johan Rådberg, Mats Franzén and Ulla Wikander for innumerable important points, and not least for the passion they made them with. I hope I have been able to take account of at least half of them. During my studies, I have had the pleasure to go to the seminar at the Institute of Urban History in Stockholm, led by the always-welcoming Lars Nilsson. I am also grateful for the generous hosting I received at the Leicester University the rainy winter 1998-1999, by Richard Rodger, Peter Clark and Evan Jones and the others, including the people hanging at the Spread Eagle. It goes as well without saying, that my way of writing is by now profoundly influenced by the editor service I have occasionally received from my friends at the feuilleton department at the Swedish daily Aftonbladet.

During the last part of my work, I had a lot of assistance from my two brother's and their mates, and from Tim and Rebecka who got me up from bed in the most charming way every morning. Akhil took on the difficult work to proof-read my English over the distance between Sweden and Germany, and did it with both patience and excellence. Julia did a fast and brilliant job with the cover. Mats Berglund took care of some computer-related problems.

The study has partly been financed by a grant from the Swedish research fund HSFR (recently reorganised), and by two years faculty financing at the Department of Economic History, University of Stockholm. So, lastly, I should also thank the Swedish taxpayers. Thanks, everybody.

On a night-bus to Länna centrum in April 2001.
Prologue

Once upon a time, they all went to Vällingby.

At the time of its inauguration, in autumn 1954, this medium-sized satellite town on Stockholm’s western fringe was already filled with curious audiences. Some 100,000 visited the opening exhibition in the first couple of weeks. Foreign celebrities and journalists would furthermore abound in the decades to come; bringing its name to fame that culminated with the 1961 Abercrombie Award.\(^1\) The 1945-52 General Plan of Stockholm, of which Vällingby was the mature achievement, was also in many ways inspired by the post-war plan for London. Soon it was published in English and it is authoritatively recognised on par with its better-known counterpart made for the British capital.

Vällingby was, however, not a genuine New Town as an autonomous settlement surrounded by a wide green belt, but more accurately a metropolitan district linked by the underground transport system. It was not built to be entirely self-sufficient. The intention was that half of its population would have their work places in the immediate vicinities while the rest would commute.\(^2\) This kind of semi-autonomy became the model for the expansion of Stockholm in the following decades, as well as for numerous districts in other countries. Vällingby continued to attract attention over the world into the 1970s.\(^3\) For a brief period, Swedish town planning had struck an accord that resonated widely.

This undoubtedly was one of the proudest moments of the Stockholm City administration, but it was more of an end than a beginning. The Vällingby high-rise centre effectively marked the end of the Garden City era in Stockholm, an alteration that had in the previous years been prepared by

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\(^2\) Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow, An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century* (Oxford 1988), 308.

dramatic shifts in the top positions of administration. Although adhering to the traditional Stockholm landholding pattern of long-term leasing of public land, the logic of planning thought was now completely turned around. Instead of using the power given by its vast land resources to spread out the built environment in a manner which in fact repudiated market logic, the Stockholm City administration would from now on encourage the erection of high-rise housing in order to take in as much rent as feasible to the municipal coffers. The units which followed, from the southern Vällingby replica in Farsta, to the quickly erected Järva districts in the north-west, deteriorated with the development of industrial construction methods into concrete suburbs of a kind that was notorious to the post-war city expansions in both West and East Europe. Consequently, the interest for Stockholm town planning also disappeared. Stockholm had experienced its odd fifteen years of fame.

A Middle-Way City

The foreign curiosity for Stockholm town planning and housing administration, probably caused as much by ambitious public relations measures as by planning ingeniousness, however dates further back than the 1950s. In fact, we will have to return to the mid-1930s to trace the origins of the Stockholm City administration’s greatest moment.

With the publication of Maurice W. Childs’ report *Sweden, The Middle Way* in January 1936 by Yale University Press, a new term for homeowning was introduced for a wider audience. This concept was the ‘Magic House’, directly citing the City administrations’ own label for a programme of erecting partly pre-fabricated cottages for the working class on the outskirts of the city. These houses were no different from the prefabs built in large numbers at various places after World War II, but arguably, the magic implied in the self-building scheme stuck for a while.

Childs, who was a determined partisan of Roosevelt’s New Deal programme in the USA, discussed the Magic Houses in the context of a feature of Swedish housing provision, which he considered even more impressive.

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5 On the Stockholm administration’s marketing efforts at Vällingby, see Ingemar Johansson, *Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria, Markpolitik, planering och byggnade under sju sekler* (Stockholm 1987), 548-9; Sax, *Vällingby*, 55.
The fact that the inhabitants of Swedish prefabs had to erect their houses themselves seemed to make the scheme an outflow of the same ideological tendencies that constituted the base for the co-operative movement. According to Childs, both were good proof that the Swedes were ‘the ultimate pragmatists, interested only in the workability of the social order’. In the absence of class conflict accords, they had via ingenious co-operative and statist interventions accomplished a middle-way utopia of ‘hot-house laissez-faire’, which seemed to be stable enough to resist the vicissitudes of an unbridled world economy. Stockholm’s housing policy, the co-operative movement and the collective bargain system, his three most important examples, became so many manifestations of a delicate balancing of intervention and initiative.

More important in the context outlined here Childs’ book following his visits in 1930 and 1933, suddenly made the policies of a sleepy northern European country, and its capital city, fiercely debated political news in the U.S.A.. Childs testified some years later how the book, a best seller and reprinted within a month of its initial publication, attracted a lot of North American tourists to Stockholm. The administration, he writes, soon had to organise a ‘social tour’ to the most important middle-way hot spots. Foreigners eager to see the new and peaceful utopia were swarming all over the place.

Undoubtedly, Childs had found what he was looking for. Sweden, and Scandinavia at large, must have lent itself easily for constructions like this. The fate of a remote and little known people on the periphery of the European mainland, which had earlier experienced mass emigration in the nineteenth century to the America, would have an irresistible touch of sentimental return. Still, disregarding the desires of the political machine to which Childs was tied, the American public could not be seduced by rhetoric alone. Indeed, something impressive had happened in this country.

While, as historian Thord Strömberg has stated, the Swedish housing situation in the twenties had ranked among the worst on the continent, it seems as if some of its programmes (at least in the most urbanised areas) were

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6 Maurice W. Childs, Sweden, the Middle Way, Yale University Press 1936, 161 (Both cit, Original it), xv.
8 Maurice W. Childs, Sweden, the Middle Way (Yale University Press, 3rd ed. paperback 1947/61), xiii-xvii.
now approaching, and in some instances, even surpassing European standards.
Childs accurately, I would argue, related these accomplishments to the land holding policy of Stockholm. Although somewhat understated, it is clear from his narrative that the Magic House and the Stockholm housing policy as a whole were dependent on the fact that Stockholm at the turn of the century had purchased large tracts of land along its borders. Furthermore, the City had not only bought this land, but it retained it in order to lease it out. It was not the only city administration to do so at the turn of the century. But while earlier relying on municipal role models like Frankfurt am Main and Letchworth, its policy had now matured enough for the industrial late-comer to become ready to turn from an importer effectively to an exporter of housing and town-planning knowledge.9

**The Liberal Housing Regime**

It must be noted that these were rather recent developments. During the first decades of the century, there was hardly anything innovative about the Swedish or Stockholm’s housing policy. On the contrary, housing was sandwiched between the dual forces of a weak economic base and a constraining liberal institutional environment. In spite of its lucky fate to escape the Great War, Sweden had during the long period of concealment experienced serious damages to its economy. Not only were large funds redirected to meet the needs of the national defence and to pay for rare imported goods. The building industry was also largely squeezed out of business by rising interest rates. These in their turn resulted from a strong upturn in the demands for extractive and heavy industrial products needed by both the Swedish and foreign (mostly German) war industries.

To ameliorate housing crises, a national housing congress met in Stockholm in 1916 under the auspices of the charity network Centralförbundet för socialt arbete (CSA). The discussions in that congress led to a national housing remedy programme in the following year. It pressured the local and national governments to jointly subsidise the inflated building costs to the tune of one-third of the total costs. While this programme did result in the erection of some housing settlements of very good quality, mainly on the outskirts of cities, the funds actually allotted were far too restrictive to

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9 Peter Hall has argued that the 1945-52 plan was inspired by the development of Frankfurt am Main in the 1920s. See Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 308.
have more than a marginal effect on the overall amount for housing provision.\textsuperscript{10} In addition, the abolition of the subsidy programme took place faster in Sweden than in other countries in comparable circumstances.\textsuperscript{11}

In other words, the housing policy of Sweden, even after the massive influx of social democrats into the legislative and administrative bodies after democratisation in 1919-1921, involved a lesser amount of interventions than in most European countries. Part of the explanation for this may be the fact that the social democrats in Sweden only very lately acquired a programme of their own design for local government. Although one may trace a municipal socialist line of thought within the social democratic tradition all the way from the 1890s, as the historian Rolf Karlbom has showed, their first programme for local government was in fact only echoing the demands of the liberal-left tradition. Furthermore, this initial draft of 1905 was only a section of a more global statement of intentions. Their first free-standing local government programme from 1911 was drafted by Yngve Larsson, a recent renegade of the liberal party – expelled from the social democrats in 1915 for activism on behalf of the German war effort, after which he subsequently returned to the liberals. Larsson drew partly on the land reform ideas of another recent liberal to join the social democrats, the real estate councillor of Stockholm Carl Lindhagen, and partly on his own previous work for the CSA.\textsuperscript{12}

This programme was further de-radicalised during the first decade of democracy. The local Stockholm programme from 1919 and the new national social democratic local policy programme from 1928 marked a retreat from what municipal socialism there had been before, to revoke austerity measures and respect ‘business-minded principles’. This principal retreat

\textsuperscript{10} Alf Johansson, ‘Bostadspolitiken’, in Hundra år under kommunalförfattningarna 1862-1962 (Stockholm 1962), 535-536, Thord Strömberg, ‘The politization of the housing market: The Social Democrats and the housing question’, Creating Social Democracy, A century of the Social Democratic Labor Party in Sweden (Pennsylvania State University Press 1992(a)), 243. Centralförbundet för Social Arbete (Central League of Social Work; CSA) was an umbrella organisation linking charity and socially concerned organisations spreading across the whole spectrum from social conservatism to social democracy. It was founded in 1902 and took from 1903 over the publishing of the important bulletin Social Tidskrift (Social Journal).

\textsuperscript{11} Thord Strömberg, ‘Sweden’, Housing Strategies in Europe 1880-1930 (Colin G.Pooley ed.) (Leicester 1992(b)), 23.

\textsuperscript{12} Jan Lindhagen, Socialdemokratins program, Första delen, I rörelsens tid, 1890-1930, (Stockholm 1972), 179.
was not to be offset until the social democrats issued their new national local government programme in 1944, which in order to compete effectively with the widely popular communist party at that time displayed a more radical approach.13

This puts into context an important contradiction within social democratic politics. On the one hand, the social democrats, on both the national and the local Stockholm levels, fiercely resisted the abolishment of rent regulation and the central subsidisation of residential building costs. On the other hand, at the level of concrete political bargaining, they shared many common views with the liberals and the conservatives. Firstly, they seemed to have accepted the belief commonly held at the time that the fast urbanisation already at the beginning of the 1920s had come to a definite halt.14 Second, from 1921 onwards (actually from 1920 since building works in that year were down at minimal levels because of labour market conflicts), the subsidies went only to the erection of single family houses, leaving the worse off more or less unaffected by the programme. Consequently, in 1925 (counting only the biggest cities) there were more than 6,000 people at the provisional last recourse houses.15 It was only at the moment of full re-establishment of the liberal housing regime by the mid-twenties that construction picked up momentum, and the crisis could be resolved. On the other hand, the price for this was that Swedish rent levels rose to become among the highest in Europe, giving incentives to the ‘pragmatic’ line taken by the co-operative building movement, which so would arouse Childs.16

There is, in other words, no reason to talk about any particular Swedish ingenuity concerning how to effect regulations of the housing market. The examples put forward by Childs were remarkable exceptions, both of

Stockholm origin, and have to be understood by a historicising of the housing policy in effect in the national capital.

**Import and Export of Housing Knowledge**

As historians Nicholas Bullock and James Read have shown, the frequency of close contacts gives the impression that the housing and land reform movements in France, Germany, and Great Britain were effectively parts of the same movement. Nonetheless, important differences prevailed. Among them was the fact that while in France and Great Britain housing and land reform were largely accomplished on a national scale, in Germany local differences were important. Reform was until the twentieth century accomplished at the local level.

The city of Frankfurt am Main became an outstanding landholder under the leadership of its mayor Franz Adickes during the 1890s. It thereby followed the conservative *kathedersozialistische* economist Julius Faucher’s advice to the municipal authorities to acquire large tracts of land in order to dominate the land market and to limit speculation (see chapter four). These efforts were accompanied by municipal leaseholding from 1899 onwards, which was made possible by a new (or rather modernised) legal institute labelled *Erbbaurecht*, and facilitated by the foundation of a municipal mortgage institute.¹⁷

There are various reasons why Stockholm chose to copy the Frankfurt am Main concept (which was by no means more typical for the German city administration, than was Birmingham’s for England in the 1870s, or Stockholm’s was to become for Sweden). I will discuss that subject further in chapter four. For the moment, it suffices to mention the obvious similarities between the age-old traditions of local self-rule both in Germany and Sweden, in Stockholm’s case encouraged by its status as capital city and a nationally dominating metropolis. It is important to note that this knowledge was consciously imported, and in the second instance adjusted according to both what was to be learnt from foreign experiences and to the unique Swedish context.

This import took many shapes. One was the treatise of Childs’ kind; experiences from travels organised in a learned manner. According to one bibliography, between 1882 and 1907 180 texts of different kinds were published in Sweden on the housing question, and another 208 on the closely related question of social hygiene.\(^\text{16}\) The charity organisation CSA mentioned earlier held close contacts with the German Verein für Sozialpolitik and the British Fabian Society (although much less with the French counterparts in le Musée social), not to mention their Danish colleagues. Through charity, religious and also municipalist organisations from around 1910, these influences permeated into the corridors of national and local administrations.\(^\text{19}\)

The bureaucracy was itself an active knowledge accumulator. Treatises on the policies of foreign cities were submitted with propositions on any policy related to urban questions, both at the national and local levels; at least in the metropolitan cities Stockholm and Gothenburg.\(^\text{20}\) Already in 1865, the Pauperism Committee of the City of Gothenburg, in what was perhaps the first comprehensive official Swedish statement of social environmentalism, lamented about the real causes of excessive drinking habits.\(^\text{21}\)

Influences from the Haussmannisation of Paris in the 1850s were obvious in the Rudberg plan for the demolition of the Stockholm Old Town 1862 (never enforced) and the 1867 Lindhagen plan for inner-city Stockholm (except the Old Town), as well as elsewhere.\(^\text{22}\) After the French defeat in 1870-71, attention shifted to the German speaking countries. Influences came from the earlier mentioned land reform movement, as well as from architects such as Reinhard Baumeister and Camillo Sitte. The British influences came mainly through the charity network, but were also in part distributed by the German branch of the Garden City Movement. All this said, it should be noted that the resulting replication policy of the Stockholm City administration never implied plain imitation. The fact that the City

\(^{18}\) Sven E. Olsson [Hort], *Social Policy and Welfare State in Sweden* (Lund 1990), 50-52.

\(^{19}\) Lennart Lundqvist, *Fattigvårdsfolket, Ett nätverk i den sociala frågan, 1900-1920* (Lund 1997), 374-75; Agnes Wirén, *G. H. Von Koch, Banbrytare i svensk socialvård* (Stockholm 1980), 50-62; 78-112.

\(^{20}\) A case in point is the enquiry of the housing question, published by the Stockholm City Council in 1907, as Appendage No 161 1907.

\(^{21}\) Göteborgs stadsfullmäktiges handlingar (GSFH) No 15 1865, p 1-2.

consequently adapted the imported ideas to fit in with its own ambitions and traditions, not to mention political relations of strength, is a precondition for the aptitude that eventually followed. In this study, the landholding policy will conspicuously demonstrate this.

One of the most damaging comparisons ever made on the Stockholm housing policy was a parallel study of housing conditions in Stockholm and the Danish capital, Copenhagen, completed in 1903 by editor and influential liberal reformer Gerhard Halfred von Koch. The study showed that for the same money spent the Danes could receive approximately twice the living space of the Stockholm inhabitants who were hardly any worse off than the rest of the Swedes. The most important reason for this, argued von Koch, was that the Danish capital had opted much earlier for an anti-speculative municipal land policy, with a large share of municipal landholding.23

This study was an important contribution to the campaign that followed for improving Stockholm land policy. The administrative bodies formed to bring into force the new landholding regime showed no hesitation in their desire to enhance their international knowledge. They promptly sent representatives to the town planning exhibition in Berlin 1910 and a host of other exhibitions, both in Germany and Great Britain. The personnel sent out returned with exhaustive travel reports.24

However, at the same time the administration also started to exhibit its own accomplishments. The Stockholm City administration took part in the Berlin exhibition 1910, which mainly focused on urban communications, but included a garden city department as well. Booklets (in Swedish) were brought out on its policy as well as copies of the plans for its first garden suburb, Enskede, situated south of the city. For some reason, the admini-

23 Gerhard Halfred von Koch, Bostadsfrågan i Stockholm och Köpenhamn, Social Tidskrifts småskrifter i bostadsfrågan III (Stockholm 1903), 4-5.
24 Country Domains Board (CDB) Minutes 8 April 1910 §12; 3 July 1913 §6; 23 July 1915 §22; Series E IXa, Report from the building inspector; E IXb, Report from the General German City Building Exhibition in Berlin 1910; FIa Correspondance main series 11 June 1910; Real Estate Board Minutes 9 October 1920 §2. The tepid attitude to the French was demonstrated by the turning down of an offer for a lecture by the renowned social conservative reformer Georges de Benoît-Lévy in 1913. The Board however complied to purchase some of his books for the City Council Library. See CDB Minutes 29 March 1913 §18.
Stratification had chosen to display its plans at the main department and not among the garden cities. In the same year, on the request of the Stockholm City authorities, official excursions to Enskede began to take place. Plans and models of the Enskede settlement were further exhibited by the National League against Emigration in 1912 and at the international Baltic Exhibition in Malmö in 1914. An invitation to participate in the world exhibition in San Francisco the following year had, however, to be turned down over economic reasons.

Henceforth, it seems that the word about the Stockholm garden suburbs spread to an extent which made Stockholm authorities into something of a Nordic centre of garden city knowledge. They generously spread this knowledge within Sweden, to the neighbouring countries, including Russia. The Stockholm country domain’s director, Carl-Henric Meurling, participated in the international housing congress in Copenhagen in 1917. He insisted on the need to use all the instruments of town planning for the provision of cheap but quality housing. At the first Garden City Congress in London after the war, the country domain’s engineer, Axel Dahlberg, spoke on Stockholm’s behalf. Stockholm would later be represented at the land policy exhibition in Vienna in 1926, the Berlin congresses in 1931,

25 CDB Series E IXb, Report from the General German City Building Exhibition in Berlin 1910, 16; F Ia Correspondence main series, 11 June 1910. However, the official report of the Berlin exhibition only mentioned the communications exhibition from Stockholm; see Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen den allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin nebst einem anhang: Die internationale Städtebau-Ausstellung in Düsseldorf, Band II (Berlin 1913), 312-16. The town-plan of Enskede was however appended (Picture 267).

26 CDB Minutes 10 June 1910 §13.

27 CDB Minutes 15 March 1912 §24; 18 December 1913 §17; 30 April 1914 §8.

28 CDB series F Ib Correspondence main series, 25 May 1913 (Haugesund, Norway); 15 December 1913 (Luleå, Sweden); 28 January 1914 (Helsinki, Russia); 27 January 1915 (Drammen, Norway); 28 January 1915 (Gothenburg, Sweden); 12 April 1915 Halmstad, Sweden); 7 July 1915 (Kristiania/Oslo, Norway); 2 October 1915 (Helsingborg, Sweden); 14 March, 21 July 1916 (Bergen, Norway), No. 48, date unknown, 1916 (Linköping, Sweden); 18 May 1917 (Varberg, Sweden), 27 September 1917 (Malmö, Sweden), series F Id Meurling’s correspondence, 2 September 1917 (Falun, Sweden); 10 September 1917 (Copenhagen, Denmark).

29 CDB series F Id Meurling’s correspondence, speech 10 September 1917 at Copenhagen; series F V69, Manuscript Housing in Stockholm, for the Housing congress in London, delivered 12 May 1920, Real Estate Board (REB) Minutes 5 May 1920 §4.
London in 1935 and Paris in 1937, and also at the different Nordic Town Building Congresses (*Nordisk Byggnadsdag*).  

**The Glorious Days of Magic Houses**

With the passage of time, and perhaps as a response to a staging opposition against the garden city concept within as well as outside the administration, the Stockholm City administration’s attitude towards its own accomplishments slowly changed. The eagerness to learn from foreign examples was transformed into self-congratulation and pride. The first signs of this attitude may be traced to the town planning engineer Axel Dahlberg’s speech at the Nordic Town Building Congress in Gothenburg 1927, where he presented the Stockholm garden suburbs as literally a ‘a monument over, what wise municipal care for an important social matter could mean’.  

This statement contrasted starkly to the speech delivered at the same occasion by Dahlberg’s colleague, real estate director, Nils Hasselquist. He made a very academic exposition over the urban land question with a number of international examples. Still, Dahlberg’s position figures well with the 1930 decision to publish booklets about the Stockholm suburbs in German, English and French. In an internal memo Dahlberg argued that the booklets were motivated by the huge number of visitors to the garden city department at the ongoing Stockholm exhibition of architecture and manufacturing. While the booklets specifically addressed the Magic House programme which so astonished Childs, they also took pains to mention the fact that the Stockholm garden suburbs generally had ‘attracted deserved attention in other countries’. They even suggested that ‘in England such a building scheme might effectively contribute to solve their building problems in recent years.’

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30 REB Minutes 10 September 1926 §33; 11 February 1927 §26; 4 March 1927 §5; 10 May 1929 §3; 17 April 1931 §43-44 (including membership of the Internationaler Verband für Wohnungswesen); 13 June 1935 §4; City of Stockholm Leasehold Mortgage Credit Institute (SLMCI) Minutes 6 May 1931 §10; 2 June and 8 September 1937.

31 *Nordisk Byggnadsdag* 1927 (Stockholm 1928), 166. It may be noted that the speech was delivered on the occasion of an excursion to the Stockholm ‘garden cities’.


33 *Garden Cities in Stockholm* (Stockholm 1932), 9. The booklet mentions that a co-operative project had actually been started with this aim in mind, involving both British and Swedish experts. See Ibid, 10.
That was indeed a bold position from a country that only recently had gone to great extents to obtain much needed knowledge from foreign sources. This is a definite sign that something had changed in the collective identity of the Stockholm City administration. In an interview in the Swedish daily *Socialdemokraten*, February 1932, Dahlberg also alluded to the support from Werner Hegemann, the former editor of the leading German town planning journal *Der Städtebau*. He stated that Hegemann had personally confirmed that he considered Stockholm Magic Houses as the rational way to a solution of the big cities’ building problems, and that he thought that the whole of Europe would follow.\(^{34}\) The attention that resulted with the publication of Childs’ book seems only to have added to this contention. Dahlberg repeatedly underlined the international interest for the Stockholm municipal self-built houses program, even stating that ‘the small cottage is as famous as some arts of building in the great world metropolises, for example St. Peter’s Church in Rome, the Cologner Dome and the Houses of Parliament in London’. He further added: ‘when it comes to solving the housing question, we stand foremost among nations.’\(^{35}\) He was not alone in this contention. For instance, Arne Biörnstad, the director of the Stockholm municipal mortgage institute reporting on the town planning exhibition held in Paris in 1937 stated that there was really nothing there to be learned from what others had accomplished. Especially not from the French, he concluded.\(^{36}\)

It has to be underlined that none of this acclaim could be justified from a comprehensive view of the Swedish, let alone Stockholm housing situation at the time. Quite the contrary, Sweden was in the late 1930s absolved by the horrendous discovery of travelling journalist Ludvig Nordström, who in his much debated book *Lortsverige* (Filth-Sweden) literally had dug into the pathetic state of countryside housing.\(^{37}\) The findings of the governmentally appointed Population Commission and the Social Housing Inquiry added

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\(^{35}\) *Södra Förstadbladet* 22 January 1937; *Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Tidning*, No 11 1940, 6–7 (cit); *Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning* No 454-5 1938, 5 (cit.).

\(^{36}\) SLMCI Minutes 8 September 1937, Appendix. See also country domains intendent Torsten Ljungberge, in *Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidningar*, No 456-57 1938, 4.

to this awareness and would eventually trigger the rigorous post-war hous-
ing programme.

All this fuss concerned more efforts concentrated to the Stockholm area, which more than effectively solving the problems of the housing question had provided some pattern that that the post-war development later would follow. Not so much as providing the people with ample housing, the Stockholm authorities had developed techniques of social housing, or rather *social techniques of housing*. These techniques were not so much aimed to increase the number of living quarters, as to make sure that the housing actually provided would not be subject to deprivation and disturbances. If that was not enough, the time also bred the idea that housing arranged in certain ways could even make people a little better than they had been before. These findings would be crucial when the techniques needed to pro-
vide housing in really large numbers eventually would appear (as well as for the appearance of these building and financial techniques in the first place).

For some reason or another, the Stockholm accomplishments on this field became uniquely successful in their own right. Outside the borders of the existing grid-city a number of settlements were built on which great future hopes were attached. This would be a future when social concern would have a privileged position within housing provision at large. It is the aim of this book to trace the main structure of this pattern-setting social city, from the turn of the century until the end of the Second World War.
Chapter I
Introduction

A peculiar thing about Stockholm is that the inner city ends very abruptly. The grid-iron part of the city encompasses most of the islands immediately surrounding the islet of the Old Town. But across the next ring of water space another kind of city pattern is evident. The outer parts of Stockholm mostly contain International Style housing and home-owning communities. This conspicuous contrast is largely the result of conscious decisions made during the period examined in this study. Changes in urban thought around the turn of the century laid the foundations for the further expansion of Stockholm along an entirely new pattern. The city began to expand over virgin land, spreading sparsely populated districts in all directions.

Although inner city Stockholm would dominate in quantitative terms as the main receiver of population well into the 1930s, the re-development of the city into a suburban agglomeration was at that time already under way. The modernised administration also laid the foundations for development of welfare state institutions later. This dramatic difference was largely the result of conscious decisions made during the period dealt with in this book. Changes in urban thought around the turn of the century laid the foundations for the further growth of Stockholm according to an entirely new pattern. The city started to expand over virgin land, spreading low-density districts in all directions.

The Aim of this Study: To Understand the City as Social

This new idea of urbanity was slowly incorporated into the larger realms of what was at the time often labelled as social issue. The overwhelming conviction was that the way in which the city was built influences not only the health of its population, but also its behaviour. When this conviction took

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1 Gösta Ahlberg, *Stockholms befolkningsutveckling efter 1850* (Stockholm 1958), 157, Tab A.
roots, a number of responses were designed. Broadly, these responses may be divided into three different groups:

- Either to simply move the concerned population from politically vulnerable central districts to almost any other place where its behaviour had less serious consequences;
- or to increase the resources for both supervision and education – by providing better trained personnel, changing the urban fabric and upgrading equipment and infrastructure;
- or to change the urban fabric in a way that would by itself have a positive influence on the behaviour of its populace, both as individuals and as a collective.

In all three responses, changes in the urban structure are not seen as ways to influence the relations between and characteristics of things. That is, the aim is not to make it easier to defend the city, to make it more beautiful or less vulnerable to fires, to protect it from contagious diseases or to simplify transport. Instead, all these measures are taken in order to influence the relations between and the characteristics of people. They are, thus, measures of a social character.

Of course, the fact that measures are taken to influence things does not preclude that measures are at the same time taken to influence people, or the other way around. On the contrary, within a city both things and people always need to be managed. However, I argue that during the period 1900-1945 the exigency to manage people was greater than the management of things, at least within the major cities (of which Stockholm is my example). Thinking about how people behaved towards each other progressively absorbed urban thought and determined to an increasing extent how urban structures were imagined and, in the last instance, built. The city was constructed with the help of socially informed thinking, thinking with human relations in mind; it became a Social City.

The main aim of this study is to take a deeper look at this transformation, in order to provide a more specific and detailed description of it. In doing this I will concentrate on the actions taken by the municipal government – perhaps not considered as the most powerful agent of urban change, but the agent through which actions of other actors of importance were manifested. While the power of the municipal government was very limited, at least in the beginning of the period examined, it had at least something to
say about most issues. It is therefore a strategically situated instance to study in order to capture the general idea of the urban politics at that time.

This approach is informed by the theoretical tradition of studies in governmentality, that is, governing understood in the larger context of both a mentality and techniques. I will thematically chart out both the mentality – understood as restlessly changing and interacting discourses – and the governing techniques that were developed during that period. An important aspect of the approach is that neither the mentalities nor the techniques were limited to the ruling authorities. Power was always ‘spilling over’ – mentalities and techniques were unevenly transferred to all parts of society. At the same time, resistance to power was quickly understood by the most powerful, and were intentionally managed to influence the balance of power.

From the macro perspective, it appears that the changing interaction between instances of power can be broadly understood as constituting sets of relations that are possible to periodise and classify into larger categories. I propose to call this the period of social cities – a period in Swedish and even Western and Central European, and to some extent North American urban history. This label is intended to address the fact that roughly between the late nineteenth century and the end of the Second World War, urban governments were facing the dual problems of rapid metropolitan expansion (and urban poverty), and the emergence of strong organisations of the poor – otherwise powerless people. At the same time, practices arising from resistance against power were quickly understood and apprehended by the most powerful, and put into use with the intention to change the balance in the eternal struggle between instances of strength that is power.

To these two contentions a third one should be added – the dissolution of family cohesion and the questioning of patriarchal power raised both theoretically by the expanding feminist and suffragette movements, and practically, foremost by the masses of single female proletarians. The ways of handling urban change during this period had to grapple with all these emerging problems. At the same time, the period of social cities is crucial

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in the chronology of urban government. Prior to this period, the marketorces governed the cities in an almost unrestrained manner. After it came
the Fordist cities, with their interlinking between national and local housing
programmes and a monitored provision of resources for both mass pro-
duction and mass consumption (of course with huge regional and local
variations).

Before proceeding any further, I would like present a short introduction
to a strand of nineteenth-century urban thought. The introduction is nec-
essary, as it will show why the choice of the governmentality approach is
appropriate and suited for the study of the type of urban problems I just
mentioned. I will also situate the object of study – the social city – into the
larger discussion of town planning history. This is followed by an outline
of the rest of the book.

The Garden City

In the history of town planning, the early decades of the twentieth century
are known as the age of garden city planning - in Stockholm as well as in
other parts the world. This concept was recognised around the turn of the
century, partly due to the influence of the plan for the city of Chicago of
the 1870s, which included vast green areas. Chicago even carries the con-
cept ‘garden city’ in its coat of arms (with the inscription Urbs in Hortis),
and became world famous under this label by hosting a world exhibition in
1893. The Chicago influence was felt in Stockholm also when the upper
class suburb Djursholm, founded by mortgage banker Johan Henrik Palme
in 1889, was initially labelled as ‘garden city’. Even Palme had visited the
city where he was picking up ideas that were later used for planning the
villa community.

To a much larger extent, however, the garden city concept is known
through the influence of Ebenezer Howard’s book To-Morrow, a Peaceful
Path to Real Reform (1898), in subsequent editions re-labelled as Garden Cities
of To-Morrow. As it has repeatedly been put forward by Howard himself, as
well as by his collaborators, the concept has however only rarely been used

landet (B. Krän ed.) (Stockholm 1982), 22-23.
in an accurate way according to the book. As Howard originally conceived it, it denotes moderately sized, largely self-sufficient cities that are surrounded by a considerable green belt of agricultural areas, and where land is held communally. In this study, garden cities will be used interchangeably with the more appropriate garden suburbs. The main ideas of Howard’s treatise will however be thoroughly addressed at the same time.

The Garden City Association founded in 1899, mostly by members of the left liberal Land Nationalisation Society, took the initiative to build garden cities in Letchworth and Welwyn, north of London. Over the years, this association also encouraged an international movement and parallel associations in many countries. From several countries, including Sweden, municipal authorities also participated. The British branch of the association, which still exists under the name The Town and Country Planning Association, took part in the regeneration projects after the Great War and the reconstruction projects after World War II. With the exceptions of Letchworth and Welwyn, Hellerau close to Dresden in south-eastern Germany and perhaps some of the British post-war New Towns, garden city became little more than a suggestive label for what was in almost all other cases only suburban extensions to expanding cities. The garden city movement inspired and organised a large part of the early town planning professionals; although it never led them. As the British sociologists Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose point out, the rigid colonial cities formed by Western and Russian imperial powers and the North American zoned cities, provided other answers to contentions in the late nineteenth century urbanity. The garden city movement however still constitutes a good enough starting point to understand what happened in the sphere of urbanisation in this period.

The Peaceful Revolution

Ebenezer Howard himself stated that his proposal was a combination of three themes:

- the migration projects (from the cities to the countryside) advocated by the economist Alfred E. Marshall among others;

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the land reform proposals put forward in the eighteenth century, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century campaigned by the Land Nationalisation Society;

- the resurgence of utopian schemes, exemplified in Howard’s book by James Silk Buckingham’s 1849 model city of New Victoria.

The first of these themes, in-land migration with the intention to improve the health of the poor, reflects the concern at the time over falling birth rates and poor health conditions of the working class. It was argued the threats against British vitality were due not only to long hours in unhealthy workplaces, but also due to people living in crowded and congested industrial cities. However, Howard himself does not seem to be very interested in the bio-political concerns. He approaches these themes mainly by citations, merely expressing his hope that the garden cities he envisioned would ‘raise the standard of health and comfort of all true workers’.

A more substantial space was devoted to the second theme, his theories of communal land tenure, and his calculation of the extent to which municipal needs in the garden city could be met by the resources which otherwise would have been paid to the landlord as undeserved rent. The municipal authorities in a Howardian garden city would have a dramatically greater power base than in most other cities. Their position as the sole landholders would give them vast influence on most matters vis-à-vis strictly political authorities, which have recourse only to administrative statutes.

9 Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow (1898-1902) (London (without date)), 51. Cf. Ibid, 42-44. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the first garden city, Howard’s collaborator, Charles B. Purdom, published the first comprehensive report on the project in which the bio-political theme had gained importance. He defined the garden city as ‘designed with the object of showing that the development of the towns of England need not be left to chance or to the mercy of speculation, and with the further object of making town life tolerable to people who have come to hate it not merely as William Morris hated it because of its ugliness and grime, but because it is a menace to the vitality of the race. Purdom, The Garden City, v. This message was also repeated by Howard, in a short essay he wrote for the Norwegian garden city pamphlet, Ebenezer Howard & Halfdan Bryn, Havebyer og jordbruksbyer (Kristiania [Oslo] 1921), 4.

10 Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow, chapters II-V.

11 Or, rather, the co-operative association which Howard hoped would execute the financial operations involved in the purchase of the land, the preparation of the grounds and the erection of the built structures.
This brings us to the third theme. In discussing his predecessors among utopian theorists, Howard makes it clear that the vast powers of the garden city authorities must be handled and executed delicately. This contention of Howard needs to be developed upon.

**The Anti-Authoritarian Core of the Scheme**

There are more predecessors to Howard’s visions than he himself actually cared to discuss. Among them, Robert Owen is more obvious, mentioned in Howard’s book only in a quotation from the sociologist Herbert Spencer. There are roughly eighty years between the draft of the two schemes, but they are clearly linked to each other and seem to form a sequential. The theories of Owen and Howard shared a very important feature; neither of them contained any exact outline of the settlements they were proposing to build. Instead, they concentrated more on the practical measures that had to be considered to have them built in the first place. Unlike the utopians who preceded or succeeded them, this makes Howard more in conformity with the practical urban thinking that emerged during the period of social cities. In contrast to most people with similar ideas, Owen and Howard also lived to see their ideas at least partly fulfilled, and were even able to reflect on their accomplishments.

Owen’s projects range from the paternalistic proto-fordism of his cotton-spinning mill in New Lanark (close to Glasgow), to the communes he founded in the USA, and his life-long political campaigning. In Owen’s design the settlements would be villages with no more than a couple of thousand inhabitants, basing their economy almost solely on agriculture. Howard’s garden cities, on the other hand, would have as many as 32,000 inhabitants or even more. Most of the inhabitants would live from industrial production, the character about which Howard did not say much. Although the conservation of the surrounding agricultural estates according to Howard was more or less the defining feature of a garden city, the

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city’s economy would nonetheless be firmly industrial and based on long-distance trade.

Although he shared Howard’s fear of the consequences of the great industrial cities, the problem to which Owen gives priority was not congestion but unemployment and the ignorance bred by badly informed upbringing of children and by disastrous working conditions. This may also go a long way in explaining the main difference between these projects that concerned the internal organisation of the model communities.

**Owen’s Pedagogic Authoritarianism**

According to Paul Rabinow, underlying much early nineteenth century reformism was different versions of the environmentalist contention that humans are more or less the products of external circumstances. A de-centred understanding of the environment (*milieu*) as the continuous base of the variety and fast adaptability of life forms was during the first half of the nineteenth century progressively translated from Lamarckian biology to social thought. When Thomas Carlyle coined the term *environmentalism* in the 1830s, this strain of thought was already a staple in radical intellectual circles. Its basic conviction – ‘the character of man is, without a single exception, always formed for him’ – was also a main foundation of Owen’s pedagogic vision. The positivist contention of Owen’s scheme was that crime, vice, and other antisocial tendencies under a rational and informed regime could be handled without repression. Building new settlements in tune with scientific findings, and thereby providing the working class with ideal environments, could eradicate social problems. Although the main pre-occupation of Owen was a Rousseau-inspired ‘ideal upbringing of children’, he also considered how grown-up people could be withdrawn from ‘some of those circumstances which tended to generate, continue, or increase early bad habits; that is to say, undoing that which society had from ignorance permitted to be done.’ Even though he conceded that this was ‘a far more difficult task than

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to train up a child from infancy in the way he should go', Owen’s writings contain some interesting comments on how it should be done.

The measures taken must, firstly, be considered against the background of ‘a comprehensive and a minute view [...] of the existing state of the society on which they are intended to operate’. In other words, the measures must be based on scientific findings. Secondly, the reforms should be slowly but yet firmly effected, ‘so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, yet always making a permanent advance in the desired improvements’. This careful way of proceeding would, he hoped, make the use of force practically unnecessary:

By this procedure, the most rapid practical process will be obtained, because the inclination to resistance will be removed, and time will be given for reason to weaken the force of long-established injurious prejudices. The removal of the first evil will prepare the way for the removal of the second; and this facility will increase, not in an arithmetical, but in a geometrical proportion; until the directors of the system will themselves be gratified beyond expression with the beneficial magnitude of their own proceedings.

By taking such measures, Owen argued, the adult inhabitants would not be completely liberated from faults, but nevertheless be considerably reformed and more adjusted to the demands of industrial life. This last feature was important, since, as Owen conceded, reforms must be in accordance with the demands of capital accumulation. Although this was the case, he argued that industrialists would not regret taking initiatives to start reformed villages. The progress made by the workers would in most cases prove more than worthwhile for the capitalists involved. The same was true for the state: reformed subjects would simply be of more value than unreformed ones.

Although Owen later in life abandoned this way of reasoning and embraced ethical socialist ideas instead, the chain of thought he demonstrated at this point was a logical consequence of the largely patriarchal character of the whole project. As the main proprietor, Owen decided on all measures involved in the reforming of the New Lanark estate, and did not give any consideration to the sharing of profits. Actually, this followed from his environmentalism. On the one hand, he argued that once a new breed of human beings had been brought up and trained at Owenite estates, human life would be far more easily governed than before. The reformed people would not only be more honest, industrious and intelligent than what was the case in his own time. They would also have developed co-operative faculties and social spirits. Hence, the art of governing would be a much smoother task in the future and possible to hand over to almost anybody.

On the other hand, however, as things around him empirically were at the time, he dared not hand over much power to the people around him. Actually existing Lanarkians and followers of his different organisations often discovered themselves in conflict with their master over matters of internal democracy. As he conceded in a newspaper article in 1817, his own abilities for his task as reformer were also the results of chance qualities in the environment in which he had been brought up, and for which he could take no credit himself.

**Howard’s Anti-Authoritarian Communities**

Despotic tendencies like those of Robert Owen were unknown to Ebenezer Howard. It was never Howard’s intention in any way, by national jurisdiction or otherwise, to force people to move into the cities he wanted to build. It would also have been against his will to limit the growth of big cities by recourse to law. Instead, he says; ‘nothing short of the discovery of a method for constructing magnets of yet greater power than our cities possess can be effective for redistributing the population in a spontaneous and healthy manner.’ This thinking reminds us of Owen’s foresight of how ‘extraordinary result will take place without punishment or apparent

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24 Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, 45.
Owen wanted to limit the influence over these means to an enlightened elite which he would practically have under his own command, at least until people possessing the qualities he sought had been brought up and could be put in charge. In contrast, Howard’s ideas of how to organise the internal affairs of the new community were dramatically different.

As historians Stanley Buder, Robert Fishman and others have argued, the discussion about how to organise the internal relations of the garden cities was more or less the core of Howard’s theory in its original form. Howard was extremely aware of the fact that while a community can not develop out of thin air, neither can it be created by force. In his ideas of how cooperation should come about, discern how environmental and social sustainability can be synthesised.

Relying on grassroots initiatives in an attempt to escape the vicissitudes of both capitalism and centrally controlled socialism (as he had met it in the bestselling novel by Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward 2000-1887), the politics of Howard have been presented as a moderate form of anarchism. It was certainly moderate since it involved no other communal ownership of the means of production other than the communal land ownership. His society would, he thought, be fundamentally reformed only by the introduction of some simple rules – a way of thinking that reminds us of the single-tax formula of the American land reformer and one of Howard’s inspirers, Henry George.

In order to conform to the level of taxes (‘rate-rents’) that the inhabitants were prepared to pay, the expansion of municipal governance should proceed with utmost care and under full control of the taxpayers. Howard devoted much effort to the issue of keeping the costs of municipal governance to minimal levels. At the same time, it was his contention that the tasks of the municipal government could be expanded to also include measures against excessive capitalist exploitation – both of workers and

26 Buder, Visionaries and Planners, 75; Robert Fishman, Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century, Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier (New York 1977), 93-94.
28 Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow, 70-88, 90-5.
consumers – as well as against excessive use of drugs. Political institutions would, in other words, restrict the freedom of the market forces to an extent beyond what the social liberal orthodoxy advocated at the time. Howard wanted both limitations on government and its extension into new fields of action at the same time in order to check capitalist exploitation. This double-edged strategy was to be handled by the introduction of a new element into the chain of thought: an enlightened leadership.

The leadership he had in mind would not, however, be similar to that of Owen and the whole preceding utopian tradition. Howard argued that introducing a governing elite would only be tantamount to the introduction of centrally governed socialism. Instead, he relied on a more limited power of the elite. He hoped that through a conscious effort to recruit not only socially minded individuals, but also whole branches of organisations, and to convince them to move to the settlement, it would be possible to form a nucleus of people who could bring about a change in the spiritual outlook of the inhabitants with only arguments and deeds. The minority would, however, not have any extraordinary means at their disposal. Elections to the municipal authorities were to take place strictly abiding to the principle of one person-one voice, irrespective of gender.

As the urban historians Peter Hall and Colin Ward point out, the anarchist Pjotr Krapotkin (another model village visionary), was the only ‘continental’ theorist who seemed to have had any serious influence on Howard (probably because the Russian noble was also a London resident in 1880s). While greatly inspired by Henry Spencer’s evolutionary optimism, it is clear that Howard experienced a need to tame this developmental rush with practices of mutual help. The authoritarian traditions in utopian thought were, as mentioned, symbolised in Howard’s work by Buckingham’s utopian city, as well as by the experiences of the failed communist

29 Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, 96-103.
30 Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, 105-106.
31 Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, 94. It may be noted, however, that Howard could not avoid a slip of the tongue by announcing that the administration should still be ‘in the real interests of the whole community.’ (140, my ital.), thereby putting the emphasis on democratic procedures in doubt. On Howard’s egalitarian view on women’s political participation, see Meryl Aldridge, ‘Only demi-paradise? Women in garden cities and new towns’, *Planning Perspectives* Vol 11:1 (1996), 24-25.
community Topolobampo in Mexico in the 1880s. He stated that the garden city inhabitants would not, as in Buckingham’s vision, be ‘held together by the bonds of a rigid cast-iron organization’ but would instead enjoy ‘the fullest rights of free association’.

There was nothing self-evident about this radical democratic vision. Paralleling this view, but probably unaware of Howard’s efforts, the German politician and author Theodor Fritsch (1853-1933) had already issued a pamphlet called *Die Stadt der Zukunft, Die neue Gemeinde* (The Future City, The new community, 1896). Disregarding the number of similarities between the two plans, the political content of Fritsch’s book was radically different. Both started out from dissatisfaction with contemporary cities, and saw a solution in communal landholding, both to ruthless exploitation of nature and to the economic necessities of community bases. However, while Howard went through great efforts to explain the preconditions of social solidarity, Fritsch mostly concentrated on the technical aspects of town building. Instead of the liberal city’s expansion left more or less to chance (as it appeared), he proposed a pre-planned (although still complicated) urban pattern where the city would be divided into a large number of zoning districts in a spiral form pointing to the organismic mentality that was clearly discernable in his thoughts. As the urban historian Axel Schollmeier points out, this complicated pattern turns one’s associations to the Renaissance-style architecture of power that was developed in the early modern absolutist states. The ‘*Gemeinde*’ that was to be founded within this structure was based on hierarchy rather than co-operation. This obviously constituted the foremost means to check disorder allegedly caused in the big cities not by capitalism itself but, as he put it, by ‘the advancing foreigners, especially from the east’ that he thought could not be integrated into a desired *völkisch* community. There is class segregation also in Howard’s scheme, but it was not stretched to the same extremes as in the scheme formulated by Fritsch (who, otherwise, is mostly known as the author of numerous anti-Semitic pamphlets).

It may as well be argued that Howard’s focus on community building is based on a wider vision, which reminds us very much of the positivist ambitions to create social solidarity by amalgamating scientific rationality and religious devotion. During his stay in the USA in the 1870s, Howard turned towards spiritualism and illustrated this in an unpublished 1892 sketch of the main structure of his thoughts. This sketch recorded by his biographer, Robert Beevers, is labelled as ‘The Master Key’ and contains three parts. The aims of reform are illustrated in the lever of the key, spanning different issues from land reform to old age pensions. The means, on the other hand, are illustrated in the wards, which are divided equally between ‘A New City on New Land’ and ‘Experimental, or Object-Lesson Method’. The link between the means and ends is the barrel, consisting of the formula ‘Science: Religion’. While this might indicate an ambition to create an all-encompassing social ideology of Comtean or Durkheimian dimensions, the ultra-democratic means proposed provided a guarantee against totalitarian ambitions.

It is well known that Howard’s ideas stemmed out of discussions within the free-thinking London charity movement, and were developed over several years of slide show lectures at the meetings of philanthropic associations all over the country. It was obvious that Howard’s objective was to create an alternative society inhabited by alternative people, and constitutes another similarity to Owen’s project. They had both set their minds on not just the reform of outward conditions, providing exemplary settlements for communities of producers outside the big cities, but also on reforming the inner qualities of people. Owen’s ambitions were less specifically oriented, aiming as they were at the eradication of prevalent levels of ignorance and prejudices.

35 On the religious background of Howard’s project, see Buder, Visionaries and Planners, Ch 1.
36 Omitted as ‘Parts cut away’ are ‘Parliamentary Method Attack on vested interests’, ‘Interference with liberty’ and ‘Overcentralisation’.
Howard’s ambitions can be traced through the characteristics of the human nature, which he hoped would be released as soon as better conditions were provided for humankind. On the one hand, he argued that human beings are self-seeking creatures, desiring to enhance their own enjoyment and well-being. On the other hand, he concedes that humans are also ambitious and anxious to make a mark of their own in the world surrounding them. This is quite close to the Victorian liberal mainstream thinking. But Howard adds a specific collectivist contention: ‘concerted social effort will achieve far better results in enjoyable commodities for each member of the community than can possibly be achieved by ordinary competitive members’. The task of the garden city in respect to each of its inhabitants was, therefore, to convince them of the advantages of cooperation and all its virtues, while still respecting and effectively liberating the individualist character he regarded as inherent in each human being. What he proposed was not socialism understood in the vulgar sense as subjection to the will of the state, nor the ruthless individualism bred by contemporary capitalism, but rather the creation of a responsible Social Individualism.

These two ways of approaching the problem of order within exemplary settlements, the authoritarian and the co-operative, can be labelled as the Owenite and the Howardian ways. With respect to the approach towards individual citizens and their integration into new social formations through subject formation, they relate to disciplinary as opposed to governmental practices. That is, on the one hand, to the influence that is forced on individuals through spatial and organisational arrangements, and on the other hand to the influence that arises in the encounter between self-interest and certain power configurations. I argue that the history of model settlements ever since has been a story of oscillations between these two poles. It must be understood, however, that the Howardian way was a later invention, and not possible prior to the creation of a whole range of thought systems and techniques concerning a more informed way of handling social disturbances, which had developed during the course of the nineteenth century.

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40 Beevers, Ebenezer Howard, 35-36.
How to Adjust People

Owen and Howard thus provided two different answers to the conundrum of liberal modernism, which is the problem: how to adjust people’s motives and behaviour to the modern world (i.e., to the demands of exploitation through administered industrial production). Over the century or so that divides them in time, they agreed that a reform of society could not be restricted only to material provisions. Equally important was to educate people to fit into the complicated networks of concerted action that were formed through the expansion of capitalism, urbanisation, and imperial state building. In a way, they both posed the problem of freedom not as an absence of outer checks, nor as the fulfilment of one’s potentialities in a certain context, but as a vehicle of the conduct of conduct within modern society. As the British sociologist Nikolas Rose puts it, freedom in this respect is ‘not the negation of power but one of its vital elements’.

At this time it became one of the most important tasks for the reproduction of society and its power relations to educate people in practising freedom in approved ways, without threatening either the order of society at large or fellow human beings. This concept of freedom, derived from the French historian Michel Foucault, is close to how the German-British sociologist Norbert Elias understood the long process of civilisation which lead to the creation of the inner-directed, self-controlled modern subject. As Nikolas Rose proposes, we may trace the transformation of the subject of the Ancien Régime – i.e., the moral subject of habit, into the subject of normalisation (and discipline) – during the nineteenth century, which towards the turn of the century was once more changing into the social subject of governmentality. And during the most recent decades, in its turn, is followed by the autonomous subject of innumerable choices.

41 That is, really in neither of the meanings of the word brought forth in the celebrated essay by the historian of ideas Isaiah Berlin, where ‘liberal’, negative freedom is contrasted to ‘Hegelian’ positive freedom – the freedom to develop one’s potentialities within a state encouraging its subjects to each make a contribution to its development. Cf. Isaiah Berlin, ‘Two concepts of liberty’, Isaiah Berlin, Four essays on liberty (Oxford 1969).
42 Nikolas Rose, Inventing Our Selves, Psychology, power, and personhood (Cambridge 1996), 98.
44 Rose, Governing the Soul, xviii (and at least, he adds, in the English-speaking world).
Governmentality

The shift in the practices of power which will be analysed here, broadly conceived, went from a direct and visible exercise of power to indirect measures by stealth, more or less. In order to create a model of these changes, I have turned to some developments in Foucauldian methodology. During the last decade of his life, the French historical philosopher Michel Foucault was working on a dual project. On the one hand he wanted to develop a conception of subject formation which made it possible to escape the confines of the ‘society of normalisation’ that seemed to be the main finding of his 1970s work. On the other hand, he had an urge to connect the ethics that resulted from this with a complementary concept of power relations, which could account for human action in a less circumscribed way than his earlier studies seemed to allow.\[^45\] The first of these endeavours is clearly visible in the last books he published, the second and third parts of the *History of Sexuality*, and in a host of interviews given before his untimely death in 1984. The second part of the project was until the end of the 1980s little known outside the circle of his students and closest collaborators, although visible in some interviews and reports. It first reached a wider audience when the publishing of parts of the lectures that he had held at the Collège de France was initiated in the 1980s.

Starting with the same distinction as in his study of the penal system in *Surveiller et punir* (1975) – that is, with the transformation from a visible, costly and negative economy of punishments, to an invisible, productive and positive system of discipline – his approach in the 1978 and 1979 lecture courses was directed towards the art of government itself. While he explained the creation of the disciplinary and carceral societies only involved portions of the realms of human existence, however distinctive they may be – that is, the penal system, the military, the industrial production sites, and the worlds of medical and psychological treatment, as well as education – it had been accompanied by a more profound change in the universe of governing itself. This change, which he analysed by a close reading of political tracts from Machiavelli to Adam Smith, was apparently running parallel to the development of industrial and imperial capitalism. It was distinguished by abandoning the ambitions of absolutist states to rule na-

\[^45\] Citation from Lecture 2: 14 January 1976, *Critique and Power, Recasting the Foucault-Habermas debate* (Michael Kelly ed), (Cambridge Mass 1994), 44 (Orig ital).
tions solely by political control, to a demarcation into specified fields of the spheres of political and economic action; where economic prosperity relied on the ability to refrain from political intervention in the economic field. In the whole process, the foremost end of governing changed from prolonging the state itself (i.e. the Crown) to a focus on its subjects; namely the population, whose prosperity in its turn would strengthen the state. A general framework was established through what Foucault labelled as bio-politics, which was directed towards the population as a whole, and through disciplinary systems directed at individual bodies. At the same time, and still within the realm of disciplinary power techniques, a completely new field for power relations was created: the social.

The originality of Foucault’s approach is not so much to be found in his interpretation of the shift in political theory, from mercantilist and cameralist state philosophy to liberalism, as in the range that he gives to the latter concept. Liberalism is, in Foucault’s interpretation, not a political philosophy (or ideology), so much as a mentality and a way of thinking (and thus practising) the art of governing. By contrasting Scottish liberalism (Smith and Ferguson) with German Polizeiwissenschaften, Foucault creates the image of an art of ruling at a distance. This way of governing involved careful measures intended to have indirect rather than direct effects on its objects, as distinguished from the old rule by an omnipresent and omnipotent police. It is for this way of dealing with the problems of macro power that Foucault uses the concept governmentality (gouvernementalité).

The area for these interventions, informed by methodologically reformed systems of knowledge, is what is usually called Society – another notion that was developed at this time. As Foucault explains, it was not until the direct and negative ruling by law became too expensive that society with its complicated ‘natural’ laws had to be found and made the object of inquiry:

What was discovered at that time – and this was one of the great discoveries of political thought at the end of the eight-

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46 An authoritative guide through the themes developed in these courses is Colin Gordon, ‘Governmental rationality: an introduction’, The Foucault Effect, Studies in governmentality (Burchell, Gordon, Miller ed) (Hertfordshire 1991). Apparently, it was Foucault’s intention that his findings during these years would be published in book-form as (in English translation) ‘The government of one’s self and of others’, see Gordon, ‘Governmental rationality’, 2.

eenth century—was the idea of *society*. That is to say, that government not only had to deal with a territory, with a domain, and with its subjects, but that it also has to deal with a complex and independent reality that has its own laws and mechanisms of disturbance. This new reality is society. From the moment that one is to manipulate a society, one cannot consider it completely penetrable by police. One must take into account what it is. It becomes necessary to reflect upon it, upon its specific characteristics, its constants and variables. 

It should carefully be noted that it was the idea of Society, and not society *per se*, that was ‘discovered’ at this time; the idea was given extra weight by the use and fast development of statistics. Furthermore, knowledge was produced and used by a mass of more or less extra-governmental, but still powerful, experts linked to the empirical sciences—doctors, hygienists, engineers, architects, social workers, philanthropists; to mention just a few of these groups. Equally important was the mass of publicists who popularised their findings, and through the public sphere made them as the foundation of governmental power. At the centre of attention was the family, the smallest of the collectivities on which the new type of ruling was focused, now transformed from the model of rule into its instrument.

For the specific forms that these deliberations take in the course of historical development, the different ways in which people are made subjects to different arts of government, Robert van Krieken introduced the con-

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cept proto-governmentalisation. As the British anthropologist Denise Riley underlines, the social can never be confined only to the empirical existence of so and so many institutions, organisations, theories and concerned individuals. It has also a very important existence as the background for ideals and projections both over the present and over the future of a reformed society. The softening of the borders between both the public and the private brought a revival of traditionally ‘feminine’ areas connected to reproduction and monitoring of families. It opened the opportunity for a number of women to enter the new semi-public fields of intervention. Needless to say, women at the same time became the prime objects of these interventions.

As Nikolas Rose has pointed out, the social had around the beginning of the twentieth century become a ‘kind of “a priori” of political thought’ in all industrial core countries – and perhaps, as David Scott proposes, in some of their colonial possessions as well. The term denoted ‘all strategies and schemes for a calculated administration of life, for “the conduct of conduct”.’ That is, in the French historian Jacques Donzelot’s interpretation, the social became the sphere for legitimated intervention by governmental apparatuses. To this must be added that the social should also be seen as a field for contests — about what it really is and over the distribution of resources provided to its inhabitants. This interpretation seems to concur with Foucault’s view that it is the consensus over the idea about society’s existence that sets the crucial limit over the extent to which a liberal government can consider it as appropriate to intervene:

55 Denise Riley, ‘Am I that name?’, Feminism and the category of ‘women’ in history (Houndmills/London 1988), 49-51.
The idea of society enables a technology of government to be developed based on the principle that it itself is already ‘too much’, ‘in excess’ — or at least that it is added on as a supplement which can and must always be questioned as to its necessity and its usefulness.

**Bringing About Freedom**

The objectives of governmental rule may be summarised by travestying Jeremy Bentham, as artificially organising things so that people following their own self-interest will do, as they ought. That is to say, what is at stake is neither disciplining in its simple sense (i.e. by supervision), nor the negative rule of law (i.e. power by punishment), but a third form of power which Foucault considers as a point of interaction where ‘technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself and, conversely, where techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion’.

Of course, the brutal negative power of pre-capitalist (or pre-governmental) governing never completely vanishes, nor do the blocked and overwhelmingly asymmetric power relations of disciplinary institutions (or, for that matter, the imperatives of the market). However, what the liberal art of governing does is to establish a space where the individual is not only ruled or disciplined, but also interacting with the systems of rule through ‘techniques of the self’. The individual makes choices and pursues motives that are not forced on to her by ideological or repressive measures, but in the individual’s own self-interest. The individual is, in other words, both reflecting on the power structures influencing her, and discovering own ways to respond with possibilities to link to the individually constructed life, and how it will influence other people around. Aban-

62 Bell, ‘Biopolitik och incestens spöke’, 325.
demonstrating the perhaps unintended picture of a carceral and panoptic society, Foucault in his late seventies’ lectures presented a more complicated and refined way of looking at power:

> It seems to me that we must distinguish between power relations understood as strategic games between liberties – in which some try to control the conduct of others, who in turn try to avoid allowing their conduct to be controlled or try to control the conduct of others – and the states of domination that people ordinarily call ‘power.’ Moreover, between the two, between games of power and states of domination, you have technologies of government – understood, of course, in a very broad sense...

This broader sense of governing would, he continued, include ‘the range of practices that constitute, define, organise and instrumentalise the strategies which individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other.’

> It must be emphasised that this rule of freedom is still a way of rule that implies power relations. The knowledge available to the individual in working and pondering on herself is generated within the power-knowledge nexus. Furthermore, the individual is circumscribed by the instances of law and discipline. Still, the positing of the individual as equipped with inherent capacities for action and pleasure, which can be deducted in Foucault’s work, makes the individual’s reaction to the consequences of unequal power relations possible. It also provides a basis for the well-known Foucauldian contention that wherever there is power there is resistance (although not always successful). Where there are conducts

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that need be there are also dissenting counter-conducts. On the other hand, the individual is not only the object of power relations, she is also part of them as well and her actions, consciously or unconsciously, obstruct other people’s intended actions.

As mentioned, Foucault arrives upon the discourse on the birth of the social when discussing the separation of the state and the economy in liberal thought. This leaves us with three spheres of action: the state or the juridical (sovereign), the economic, and the social. As my discussion of Foucault’s different conceptions of power should have brought forth, the social is divided into the spheres of discipline and of governmentality, or interactive strategic actions conducted by subjects who are to a limited degree free to act upon themselves as well as upon others. As the French historian François Ewald suggests, governmental or liberal political thought seems to be the dominating pattern of political thought of all capitalist societies. It may, however, be hidden under the guise of anti-sovereign ideology.

Drawing upon the British historian Mary Poovey, I suggest that these spheres could be understood as domains. That is, both as sets of representations and of institutions guided by rationalities specific to the forms of power that are performed within each of them in isolation. As sets of practices began to be understood as inherently ‘social’ or ‘economic’, these conceptions guided the establishment of rules and institutional bodies such as nursing regulations and managerial boards. It can be added that different power groups may consider it to be in their interest to expand the range of their respective domains, in order to include new aspects of human conduct and interaction. Simultaneously, it may as well be suggested that many kinds of conduct and interactions be covered by more than one, or by several, of these domains of power. While it may be argued – and by all means felt by women and men – that in these cases power practices are mutually reinforcing, it may at the same time be the case that the different

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practices at a certain moment may contradict and mutually weaken each other.

![Figure I:1: Domains of Power within Liberal Society.](image)

Thus defined, spatiality also becomes an important property of the social. This change in thought is fundamental and important for town planning. As the Australian sociologist Andrew Barry shows, Foucault discussed both how eighteenth-century cities became privileged areas of reform, and provided models for how reforms should be carried out in the rest of the territory. During the last century or so of the age of absolutist states, the city in political thought became a symbol for the physical infrastructure that had to be created for the state to prove the strength for survival when exposed to intensified economic and military competition. The territory over which the state had to rule was to be understood as one entire city, and the functions of police – a word which at that time had much broader connotations than law enforcement per se – were to be implemented to

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make human intercourse, or rather communication and assembly of people, as smooth and effective as possible. This is a strategy which very much reminds us of the famous Haussmannisation of Paris and other cities from the mid-1800s onwards, and it seems as if it still dominated town-planning, at least in Stockholm, by the turn of the century. In terms of political thinking, however, it was replaced already in the early 1800s by another conception of the population and its set of regularities. Housing reform, as Nikolas Rose argues was, and still is, an important instrument of reform of human behaviour:

Reform of dwelling houses and public institutions, planned patterns of boulevards and streets, public gardens and squares, sewers and running water, street lighting and pavements – this was not just a ‘civilised architecture’, but the calculated use of architecture in the service of well regulated liberty. Public peace was to be maintained not through an exhaustive code of sumptuary laws and prescriptions, but through shaping the conduct of free individuals in the direction of civility.

By recourse to this ‘calculated administration of shame’ as Rose labels it, the authorities could manage the conduct of not just so and so many individuals, but in fact of ‘the collective health of the community’. For instance, the nineteenth century city administration could change the intimate behaviour of a large portion of the population within a surprisingly short period by installing modern sanitation equipment. The allotment of recreational grounds and parks is another asset of huge importance in this type of indirect ruling. It is important to note that this was a productive power, to use another Foucauldian key-word – urban thinking was man-

\[71\] Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism* (Bristol 1991), 11-17.
\[76\] Ibid, 115.
\[77\] Rose, ‘Towards a critical sociology of freedom’, 220.
aging order through the implementation of facilities which were serving more practical and if you will mundane purposes as well.

Social Cities
This brings us back to the relation between Owenite and Howardian strategies of pedagogic urbanism. I argue that the co-operative ambitions found in the garden city tradition should be seen as a conscious decision to develop a ruling strategy that is congruent with the expressed ambitions of the project – that is, in bringing about profound but peaceful social transformation. In a governmental fashion, Howard seems to have believed that for a community of co-operating individuals to develop, it needed to be left alone to a large extent. Excessive intrusions into community life would destroy the cohesion he wanted to create. On the other hand, he was well aware that if the settlement was left to itself too much, it would soon become victim to the powers of the capitalist market, and the cohesion would be destroyed. Measures had to be taken, but in a diligent and balanced way. As already mentioned, it was more or less his contention that the most appropriate overarching means was communal landholding.

The chapter in Howard’s book which has the name Social Cities is actually not concerned with how to rule people, but with the ruralising effects that garden cities would have, since they would convince city inhabitants to move out from congested inner city quarters to garden city conglomerations. It has to be understood that Howard’s vision, traced back to his earliest sketches, was not the singular garden city but conglomerations of several cities, each surrounded by a green belt and connected to the others by quick transportation technique (rail bound, as the standard was in the 1890s). The conglomeration that he sketched in the earliest edition of his book, but for unknown reasons omitted in following editions consisted of six garden cities surrounding a slightly larger central city. Within an area as large as contemporary London County, it would contain about a quarter of a million people as its maximum density. This spaciousness was not there for its own sake but was meant as an instrument for the creation of a new kind of humanity. Apart from this, the people living there should be left

78 Osborne & Rose, ‘Governing the city’, 747.
79 Howard, Garden Cities of To-Morrow, 147-50.
alone to develop their society as they wished. This vision may seem modest, but the effects he was hoping for were nothing of the kind.

Method and Sources

One of the problems of writing urban history is that it becomes unavoidable to traverse disciplinary boundaries that divide the academic enterprise. It is self-evident that the way I treat some of these disciplinary traditions is superficial and less than adequately informed. I try to deal with this problem of relative scientific amateurism by basing my enquiry throughout the study on a certain analytical tradition, the governmentality approach presented above, on which the usefulness of my results will consequently rely.

The study will mainly be concerned with political discourse understood in a broader sense than what is usually the case. Taking into consideration that discourse is presently a widely used and often misunderstood concept, I should add that it is in this study understood in its Foucauldian sense. Discourses are consequently social facts, meaning empirically – inductively – disclosed regularities of meaningful utterances. This is to say, it is the structure of these regularities that is the main object of study.

Two other Foucauldian concepts should also be explained. The first one is subjectivity, which draws on the double meaning of the French noun le Sujet, denoting both someone equipped with agency, and someone being made the subject of others’ will. Subjectification is, consequently, both about developing capabilities for agency, and arranging these capabilities so that they conform to others’ will. This is also the reason for the fundamental distinction between the negative power of punishment and the positive, productive power of discipline or governmentality. While the former, negatively, takes something away, the latter positively provides something – capabilities, integration – at the same time as it subjectifies people. The other concept is pastoral power, which is tightly connected to Foucault’s understanding of premodern power rationalities. Pastoral power is developed out of the Christian tradition of making people speak about themselves, and foremost about the ways in which they have sinned. The tight connection between truth, and the striving to make people speak

the truth, and power, is fundamental in western religious power rationality, which formed part of the old juridical system, and which is continued in for instance the relation between the Doctor and the patient.82

The largest part of the investigation is based on the material from archives of the Real Estate Office of the City of Stockholm administration, as well as on the archives of its predecessors and affiliates. Because of the sheer volume of material and the considerable time period covered, I have had to further restrict my investigation to those documents that directly relate to decisions taken by the Real Estate Board (or its predecessors), while omitting other documents relating to the growing number of sub-committees. Perhaps the most important consequence of this is that my coverage of the day-to-day administration of the settlements deteriorates somewhat as I approach the end of the period examined here. In particular, I may have lost some nuances with regard to the relation between the administration and the individual settlers (see chapter VII). It is my impression, however, that sooner or later all the important changes were brought to the highest level. Consequently, they are included in the study and traceable to their origins. Only a further meticulous study can confirm or refute this claim.

To some extent my chapters on organisations and the individuals of the social city settlements draw on the same archives. However, the main component of these chapters and the chapter on local newspapers is based on other sources. The local newspapers have been used as a source of information not only about the structure of the press discourse, but have also been a source for the study of the local organisations. Another print source has been the organisations’ documents, from both political and residential organisations. Unfortunately, none of these press structures have survived, and it is therefore not possible to obtain sources relating to their organisational whereabouts. On the other hand, I have been in a more fortunate situation with regard to the local political and residential organisations. Most of the archives belonging to the former have been donated either to the Stockholm City Archive (Swedish acronym: SSA) or to the NGO-funded Library and Archive of the Labour Movement (ARAB). The archives of the latter are in most cases still in the custody of the surviving organisations and have generously been put at my disposal by the different organisation boards. It goes without saying that the quality and

82 Dreyfus & Rabinow, *Michel Foucault*, 173-78
comprehensiveness of these private archives can not be compared with the publicly funded collections, but the general impression is that they have been carefully created and monitored. I regard this not only as helpful in my own research, but also as one of the admirable features of how the game of power was played in the social city.

Previous research

The Swedish housing debate started in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when a wealth of articles and pamphlets were produced and partly funded by the philanthropic Lorén Foundation. This discussion was more or less summed up in Gustaf Steffen’s book *Bostadsfrågan i Sverige ur sociologiska och socialpolitiska aspekter* (The Housing Question in Sweden from Sociological and Social Policy Aspects, 1918). It was the first thorough sociological treatise of its kind in Sweden. The book was, however, the last work done in the tradition of liberal paternalism. When the next major work was written in Alf Johansson’s historical chapter for a governmental housing inquiry published in 1945, the perspective had changed completely. This chapter (later updated and expanded as a chapter in a jubilee volume issued by the Swedish League of Municipalities) is instead a Whig history of the road towards the post-war welfare state policy of large state credits and extensive regulations. The triumphal tone which dominates in this work is also common in the works of former administrators: Axel Dahlberg’s *Trädgärdstad* (The garden city) (1959) and Göran Sidenbladh’s *Planning for Stockholm* (1983).

83 Rut Liedgren, *Så bodde vi, Arbetearebostaden som typ- och tidsföreteelse* (1961) (Stockholm 1981), 42-43. According to the Thunberg & Herlitz bibliography on social issues, 180 pamphlets and books were published dealing with the housing question between 1882 and 1907. Most of the 208 books or pamphlets dealing with the related subject of social hygiene may be added to these, see Olsson [Hort], *Social Policy and Welfare State*, 50-51.

84 The ideas of the early housing movement have been analysed in two doctoral theses: Rut Liedgren, *Så bodde vi; and Kerstin Thörn, En bostad för hemmet, Idéhistoriska studier i bostadsfrågan 1889-1929* (Umeå 1997).


also imported the triumphal tone into the academic realm (naturally with a greater degree of problematisation) in two recent articles.

Broadly speaking, a large number of works on the changes in the urban landscape in this period have been published in the recent decades. Most of the general works try, as I do in this book, to explain the changes occurring in the early twentieth century as a result of a long development beginning in the early nineteenth century. A case in point is Thomas Hall’s impressive comparative history of the planning of European capital cities which concentrates on the latter half of the nineteenth century. Most Swedish works on the urban forms are biographies of certain outstanding personalities, mostly architects but also politicians and administrators. Critical works within planning research have generally followed the path proposed by Henri Lefebvre and Françoise Choay at the end of the 1960s – that is, contrasting regularistic planning with that view of planning that takes greater notice of human scale and popular demands. Another trend

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For a general overview of Swedish planning research in the beginning of the nineties, see *Perspektiv på planering, Frågeställningar och frontlinjer inom planeringshistorisk forskning* (Thomas Hall ed.) (Uppsala 1991).

91 Françoise Choay, *The Modern City, Planning in the 19th century* (New York 1969); Henri Lefebvre, *The production of Space* (Oxford 1991); Johan Rådberg, *Doktrin och tätet; Lennart Thorslund, Humanism mot rationalism, Mora 1890-1970, Om två förhållningssätt och deras betydelse i småstadens planeringshistoria* (Uppsala 1995); Birgitta Ericson & Britt-Marie Johans-
The Social City

has been to chart urban history as an example of the carceral society presented by Michel Foucault – that is, a built environment intended to function as an instance of discipline.92 The study at hand departs from the latter approach in that it relates to an understanding of power which to a larger extent is relational, but where a closer account will be given to the resistance and strategies of the objects of power.

This dominating view is put aside for a detailed description in the wealth of local studies that feature as parts of works with more encompassing aims.93 There are only few written works that attempt to go further and actually question the dominant views by systematically using local studies. The most ambitious attempt in this regard is made in a study by the historian, Sten O Karlsson, which combines the history of a special kind of workers’ housing in Gothenburg with the conflicts at the political level between the social democrats and the construction workers.94 Yet another attempt is the book by Peter Billing and Mikael Stigendal on the southern

son, Bostadsbygandet i idé och praktik Om kunskaper och föreställningar inom byggsektorn (Lund 1994).

92 Sten Gromark, Fängslande arkitektur, Om den disciplinära beplatsens födelse i franskt 1800-tal, Reflexioner kring arkitekturens betydelse och den europeiska modernismens förhistoria (Uddevalla 1987); Paul Rabinow, French Modern; Tord Jacobson, Välviljans förtryck, En fallstudie av allmännyttig bostadspolitik (Lund 1991); Thomas A. Markus, Buildings & Power, Freedom & control in the origin of modern building types (London/New York 1993). A related work is Kirsi Saarikangas on the inner structure of the Finnish post-war cottages, Model Houses for Model families, Gender, ideology and the modern dwelling, The type-planned houses of the 1940s in Finland (Helsinki 1993).


Swedish metropolis of Malmö, which is inspired by the French-British régulation-Fordism-school. At the international level, I will often return to Helmut Gruber’s monograph – on the Austro-Marxist rule in Vienna in 1920s until the fascist take-over in 1934 – as well as to some of the works of the Chicago school.

Although the present study does not explicitly intended dwell on housing issues, it nonetheless covers the period when housing became an important feature of urban politics. At the international level, there was for a while an intense debate aiming to explain both the differences and the appealing similarities within the course of (western) European housing policy. Colin G Pooley, M J Daunton, Michael Harloe, Anne Power, Alexander Davidson, and Clemens Zimmermann are just some of the participants in the debate. In this context, it has become increasingly clear that the question of inter-relations between the strategies at different levels has been hidden behind the narrative up to the increasing post-war governmental involvement in the provision of housing. This may have increased the interest for more knowledge of the earlier forms of housing policy, where neither of the paths was taken and the ideological content underpinning subsequent developments will become more visible. Especially the housing reformers of the core countries have been subject to a number of distinguished analyses, which significantly underline the importance of ideology (or discourse). This approach has also inspired some social constructivist

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95 Peter Billing, Mikael Stigendal, Hegemonins decennier, Lärdomar från Malmö om den svenska modellen, (Borås 1994).


98 I.e. Enid Gouldie, Cruel Habitations, A history of working-class housing 1870-1918 (London 1974); Nickolas Bullock & James Read, The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and
analyses that discuss how characterisations of low-status neighbourhoods have impacted on their material development. The wealth of works about the garden city tradition that were released during the late eighties and the nineties relate to the same trend, as they are seen as one of the alternatives to the Fordist social housing that was eclipsed under austere policies and neo-liberal ideological re-directions. Another parallel development is the discussion led by the Canadian historian Richard Harris, on the less planned and more diverse sub-urbanisation that took place earlier and simultaneously with the more famous garden city developments.

It is interesting to note how different the responses to the housing issue actually are – not only between countries but between cities as well. It will be argued in this study that one of the most influential determinants in this regard is the land policy – an issue where experiences in different contexts lend themselves well to comparisons. The landholding issue has also been an important source of differences within the studies devoted to the City of Stockholm. Studies of Stockholm’s development as a city has mostly been performed from two approaches: the urban ecologist approach, derived from the early works of the Chicago school which concentrates on the influence of topological factors and landholding patterns.

France 1840-1914 (Cambridge 1914); Clemens Zimmermann, Von der Wohnungfrage zur Wohnungsverwaltung. Die Reformbewegung in Deutschland 1845-1914 (Göttingen 1991).

99 Slums (S. Martin Gaskell ed) (Leicester 1990); Alan Mayne, The Imagined Slum, Newspaper representation in three cities 1870-1914 (Leicester 1993).


102 This includes William William-Olsson’s early Huvuddragen av Stockholms geografiska utveckling 1850-1930 (Stockholm 1937); Lennart Améen, Stadsbebyggelse och domänstruktur,
ond approach is a tradition of far greater extension that concentrates on
the influence of planning authorities. In both these approaches the bi-
ographical works on influential people and the autobiographical works
written by people active in the city administration during the period under
study should be mentioned. There are also a few and thorough general
works dealing partly with the subject of this book, or at least with its pre-
history.

Of contextual interest are studies on the formation of the Swedish social
state, and the political changes in the development of representative de-
svensk stadsutveckling i relation till ägoförhållanden och administrativa gränser (Lund 1964); Inge-
mar Johansson, Den stadsöra storstaden, Förortshindning och byggelseomvändning kring Stockholm
1870-1970 (Stockholm 1974); Ingemar Johansson, Stor-Stockholms byggelsehistoria, Mark-
politik, planering och byggande under sju sekler (Uddevalla 1987).

103 Foremost among these is of course Yngve Larsson’s monumental triology: På marsch
mot demokratin, Från bunddragad skalan till allmän rösträtt 1900-1920 (Uppsala 1967); Mitt
liv i stadsinset, I, Från fävände till demokratisk ordning; II I tjänst hos denna stolta stad (both
Stockholm 1967). Works with a more specific range may of course also be counted
among these, such as Bertil Asker, Stockholms parker, Innerstaden (Uppsala 1986); Arne
Dufwa, Trafik, broar, tunnelbanor, gator (Uppsala 1985).

104 Rådberg, Doktrin och tätber, Folke Lindberg, Växande stad, Stockholms stadsfullmäktige
1862-1900 (Stockholm 1980); Thomas Hall, Huvudstad i omvänding, Stockholms planering och
utbyggnad under 700 år (Jyväskylä 1999); Häkan Forssell, ‘Kommunal bostadsproduktion
och den betryckta majoriteten, Studie över socialdemokratisk bostadspolitik i Stock-
holms stad 1919-1924’, (Unpublished Department of History, University of Stockholm
Third semester thesis, Stockholm 1994); Ingrid Hammarström, ‘Urban growth and
building fluctuations’, Growth and transformation of the Modern City (Ingrid Hammarström,
Thomas Hall ed) (Stockholm 1979), Kerstin Bodström, Marken, makten och bostäderna,
Markanvisning inom mark- och bostadspolitiken i Stockholm (Stockholm 1994). There are of
course also a couple of general works on the history of Stockholm, which are of interest
here, such as: Åke Abrahamsson, Ljus och frihet till näringsfäng, Om tidningsväsendet, arbetar-
rörelsen och det sociala medvetandets ekologi – exemplet Stockholm 1838-1869 (Stockholm 1990);  
Alan Pred, Lost Words and Lost Worlds: Modernity and the language of everyday life in late nine-
teenth-century Stockholm (Cambridge 1990); Jane Cederqvist, Arbetare i stryk, Studier rörande
arbetarnas politiska mobilisering under industrialismens genombrott, Stockholm 1850-1909 (Stock-
holm 1980); Uno Gustafson, Industrialismens storstad, Studier rörande Stockholms sociala,
ekonomiska och demografiska struktur 1860-1910 (Stockholm 1976). A few among these are
also taking as their subject the exact area focused in this study, that is the settlements
around Enskede in southern Stockholm: Anja Tikkanen, ‘Gamla Enskede – milstolpe
för markpolitik och bostadsplanering i Stockholm; Ståndpunkter, överväganden och
planer i samband med Stockholms stads förvärv 1904 av Enskede gård’ (Unpublished
Department of Geography, University of Stockholm Third semester thesis, Stockholm 
1992); Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark, Villabebyggelse i Sverige 1900-1925, Inflytande från
utlandet idéer förverkligande (Lund 1971); Ulrika Sax, Den vita staden, Hammarbybören under 
femtio år (Stockholm 1989).
mocracy. A related work is on the Swedish homestead policy and the founding of garden colonies and gardening culture in and around major cities. During the 1990s, an increasing body of literature has appeared, written by both academic researchers and journalists, which questions the intentions of the welfare state and tries to disclose the motives rooted in the ambition to control the lives of others. My study aims to present a more balanced view, wherein these strategies are seen as part of the general transformation of the forms of subject formation.

**An Outline of this Book**

In the next chapter, I will give a general overview of the political and geographical conditions in Stockholm. The chapter will also situate the development of Stockholm within an overall history of the international garden city movement.

Chapter three provides an overview of the discussion preceding as well as after the introduction of the garden suburbs in Stockholm. I will highlight the disciplinary housing discourse that motivated the efforts of the municipal administration and point out some of the divisions that occurred during the process. Certain of these features were a direct consequence of the land policy adopted in Stockholm during the first decade of the twentieth century. The chapter will also provide a brief description of the garden suburb programme and its off-shoot in Stockholm from the turn of the century until the end of the Second World War.

In chapter four, I will discuss the genesis of this policy and the institutional peculiarities that resulted from the import of German solutions and

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legal concepts. I will also trace the fate of the municipal socialist content of these institutions through a series of fierce attacks from liberal forces in vain trying to expand market competition in the economic field.

The above chapters mainly describe what the municipal administration was doing. The following three chapters five, six, and seven will look at the flip side of the coin: the inhabitants of the garden suburbs, and their relation to the municipal authorities that governed them. The chapters are organised according to aggregation levels. Chapter five analyses the newspaper market, where the spokespersons dealt with here provided differing definitions of the areas implied. It is argued that the newspapers are the fundamental assets of urban life. But the papers made for the urban fringe where the garden suburbs were situated differed, in some important respects, from what has generally been said about urban newspapers during the period studied. They were also an important instrument for defining local identity – and the relation with the municipal authorities. Part of the reason for this was their strong connections to different organisations prevalent in the area, which is taken up in chapter six. To a great extent, the social qualities intended by the municipal authorities were spread and upheld by voluntary and interest organisations of various kinds. At the same time, however, these organisations also became the channels of different interpretations of what garden suburb living should be and also agents of economic contentions against the interests of the municipal authorities. Doubtless to say, they were important agenda setters for the rigid gender system, which showed a remarkable and possibly unique persistence in the garden suburbs.

The kind of moderate dissent that they represented was also prevalent at the level of the individual inhabitants that chapter seven discusses. The chapter examines the different ways to accommodate the very particular physical outlook of garden suburb housing and the contradictions between garden suburb ideology and the demands of metropolitan expansion. This chapter also provides a general overview of how the population related to the different political currents, and to the extent it showed any signs of the social solidarity which the garden suburbs were meant to implement.

Chapter eight gives, apart from a brief summary, an overview of what this period in the history of Stockholm has left for subsequent developments on both local and national levels.
Chapter II
A General Overview

The radical democratic practice of the howardian way of social governmentality is bound to meet resistance in any society where power is unequally distributed – be it from the state or the market. It is well known, Howard’s own visions were soon dashed to the ground by economic realities. In order to convince prospective stock holders to invest in the first garden city of Letchworth, he had to give up his idea that the land development company should be chaired by representatives elected by the inhabitants.1 The initiative was passed over to paternalist industrialists and officials, who unsurprisingly had little understanding for the vision of self-governing communities. Regular appeals to the British co-operative congresses between 1900-1909 met equally slack response – in fact, the co-operative alternative to regular capitalist financing never materialised.

Howard was principally against engaging in party politics on a national level. At the same time, his relations to those political movements that probably were closest to his aims, that is, the Fabian circle of intellectuals and the Labour party, were distant bordering to hostile.2 Although his project had been presented as ‘common sense socialism’, paradoxically, it was embraced by industrialists (looking for solutions for corporate cities) and conservatives while the socialists largely turned their backs on it.3 With the exception of a few, the early inhabitants were mostly liberals rather than socialists, and particularly the trade union activists who had first moved to the settlement soon left.4 Howard finally joined the Independent Labour

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3 Peter Hall & Colin Hard, Sociable Cities, The legacy of Ebenezer Howard (Chichester etc. 1998), 30, Peter C. Gould, Early Green Politics, Back to nature, Back to land and Socialism in Britain 1880-1900, 85-86.
5 Beevers, The Garden City Utopia, 119.
Party in 1917, but it was actually his successor, the Fabian Frederick Osborn, who would guide the movement into the realm of national politics in the 1930s.

The garden city company at Letchworth thus became something like a standard land development corporation working with limited profit margins (which would still take decades to accomplish), and handing over the construction of buildings to other companies. Howard also had to give up the 999-year leases that would have made it possible to raise rents at regular intervals and to make them accommodate municipal need. On the other hand, a desperate suggestion to start selling the plots (coming from the paternalist industrialist and garden city board member, W H Lever), was avoided in the last minute. Instead, the sites were leased for 99-years at rates that turned out to be far below subsequent market value. The Company control was stronger in the next garden city, Welwyn, half way between Letchworth and the London railway station King’s Cross. Most of the houses in Welwyn were built by the company itself, and the board exercised firmer control over the building pattern. On the other hand, it encouraged segregation and the town finally became for all practical matters a middle class commuter suburb. Even Howard himself – who earned his living as a stenographer in Westminster – had to commute daily to the metropolis he wanted to eradicate.

As Howard personally disclosed, many workers in Letchworth employed in the factories attracted to this well-ordered community, had to commute by bicycle from the surrounding villages. The Unwin/Parker-designed houses that were approved by visitors from all over the world were far too expensive for the workers. That the workers had to be content with sub-standard housing situated in traditional villages (with traditional pubs), pointed to a feature that was to be persistent in this period.

Perhaps, this was of lesser importance in the end, since the garden cities were primarily instruments of campaign. Their symbolic value exceeded the practical value they could fulfil. Already in October 1903, even before a

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single brick had been laid, two hundred journalists were taken to the recently acquired Letchworth site. Two years later, in the summer of 1905, more than 60,000 visitors are believed to have passed by the site. With Letchworth and Howard’s book bringing world fame to the garden city movement, it could spread to other countries as well.

The German movement, founded in 1902, deliberately chose the English libertarian variant over the ideas derived from Fritsch’s pamphlet. At the same time it soon became firmly connected to the establishment circles. Gartenstadt (garden city) and Arbeiterkolonie (worker’s settlement) soon became synonymous concepts, and even the most well known among them, Hellerau, was completely dependent on a single employer. The concept was soon connected to the urban reform movements and their demands for a more controlled expansion of the rapidly growing German cities. Another issue which soon emerged was how the garden city concept could be used for a Kolonisation of the less densely populated eastern parts of the country. This later tradition was effective throughout the nazi period, when ‘garden cities’ of a sort were planned for the German appropriation of conquered countries in Eastern Europe.

What is better known is how the related tradition of garden suburbs was used in the expansion of Frankfurt am Main under the influence of Ernst May after the Great War. Raymond Unwin would himself incorporate the concept social cities into the more encompassing discussion of regional planning. This town expansion variant of the garden city concept soon became popular, and was for instance found – in plans or in reality – in Sofia, Vienna, and Brussels. This was also the same for the French garden city, manifested in the sixteen garden suburbs in the inter-war period, built

11 Johan Rådberg, Den svenska trädgårdsstaden (Stockholm 1994), 69.
around Paris under the administration of the Office de la Seine, chaired by Henri Sellier.

The British movement had in 1906, after some years of hard resistance to the idea, also expanded its activities in promoting garden suburbs. A year later it changed its name to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and with the introduction in 1909 of the German-inspired Town Planning Act, it increasingly concentrated on advisory missions and propaganda. This broadening of aims was at first also visible in the membership of the organisation. Membership rose from 1,300 in 1901 (of which 101 vice presidents) to 2,500 in 1903, and 4,200 in 1909. However, in 1912 the membership had decreased to 1,600. During the war years, it continued to fall below 500 members, indicating not only the human losses in the mud of Flandres and Gallipoli, but an organisational crisis as well. On the one hand, the organisation was torn between propagating garden city ideals and working for better town planning in general; and on the other between building the second garden city, Welwyn, founded in 1919, and its propaganda aims.

All this led to a redirection of initiative towards the international movement. The French branch, from the start divided between the social conservatives of Musée social, a philanthropic circle of intellectuals, and the municipal socialists of the possible fraction around Henri Sellier (1883-1943), were perhaps the ones that at the outset had best understood Howard’s communal ambitions. The socialists in particular warmly embraced the community building ambitions of the early days of the movement. In practice, however, the French movement was almost as concentrated on technical aspects as the German, and when Sellier was elected as chairperson of the international movement in 1923, it merely confirmed its absorption into the town planning establishment at large. Only a year before the Dutch

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architect, H P Berlage, had been elected as vice president. Little interest also met the campaign, the last of any importance that Howard led as president of the organisation, to create a multinational garden city in Belgium in order to manifest a will to international co-operation. The British regeneration program (‘Homes Fit for Heroes’) furthermore proved to be weaker than most of the parallel programmes in other countries, partly because of the country’s distance from the East and Central European revolutions. All this meant that the initiative for a decade and a half passed over to the continental planning movement. It was not until the end of 1930s, and the preparations for what in the end became the reconstruction programme for London, before the English with their massive New Towns programme would regain the lead.

The Nordic Countries
Little is known about the garden city movement in the Nordic countries. Howard’s book is not translated to any of the Nordic languages. Bearing in mind the strong affiliations between the Nordic countries and Germany before the war, it is quite probable that the German translation of 1903 was more important for the Nordic reception than the original in English. The early Nordic garden suburbs were thus mostly attempts to control the extension movements of the major industrial cities, which expanded at a pace relatively even faster than in their German counterparts. For instance, this holds good for the Viinikka garden suburb founded in the 1910s in the south part of the industrial town Tampere, south central Finland. The settlement was intended mainly for a working class population engaged in the munitions industry supporting Russian war efforts. It was preceded a year earlier by the Kulosari settlement near the provincial capital of Helsinki, which was built more or less with the same aims. Both provided cottage housing in a spacious and green environment.

22 Buder, Visionaries and Planners, 143.
23 Swenarton, Homes Fit for Heroes, 77-87; 191-93.
24 Hall & Ward, Sociable Cities, 47.
The single most important characteristic of what was considered as garden cities in the Nordic countries seems to have been the concerted planning effort, which contrasted to the unregulated plotland communities that had spread outside the major cities at the end of the nineteenth century. According to a 1928 map of the Norwegian capital city Oslo, this included diverse communities like the middle class Vindern, Ullevaal and Sogn in the north of Oslo, and the industrial suburbs Etterstad and Ekeberg in the southeast. In other words, the concept of garden cities related more to the growing influence of professional planners, than to any movement with radical social reforms on its agenda. On the other hand, especially in Norway, there was also a strong tradition of company-built model cities. They were sometimes inspired by the garden city theories and situated especially in isolated areas close to mining or hydropower plants. Rjukan, built by Norsk Hydro in 1907, and Eidehavn founded five years later, are among the most well-known examples of this characteristically Nordic type of ‘garden cities’. There are Swedish examples of this concept as well, such as Kiruna, built for the LKAB iron mine in northern Lapland, and parts of Älvdalen in northwest Dalecarlia.

However, this is still not the whole story. Although it was eventually transformed into technical patterns, when the garden city ideology at first reached the Nordic countries, it nonetheless did so within the realms of the more or less radical reform movements. The City Council of the Norwegian capital Kristiania (renamed as Oslo in 1924) was due to the early introduction of universal suffrage already in the 1910s greatly influenced by socialist Arbeiderpartiet (The Labourers’ Party). In 1911, a general supervisory board for housing questions was established, and from 1912 onwards the municipality started to build housing settlements under its own regime. Between 1915 and 1930, 82 percent of new housing was built by the municipality, of which 20 percent in garden suburbs.

It was the ambition of the municipality that the garden suburbs, in accordance with Howard’s founding ideas, should be built by co-operative societies. This ambition mostly failed and instead the municipality built the suburbs itself, after which it handed over the administration to an estate soci-

ety. Best known among these settlements are: Ullevål Haveby (built between 1915 and 1922) and the close-by Tåsenlökka which were soon inhabited by middle-class settlers.

Holtet Haveby (or the ‘Red Garden City’) on the other hand was built with municipal assistance by the left-oriented co-operative society Fagforeningenes kooperative Bolig- og byggeselskap (The Co-operative Housing and Building Society of the Trade Unions). This suburb was also built on leaseholds and managed by a council where deputies appointed by the inhabitants in 1934 finally replaced the trade union representatives. The settlement was soon deprived of its green-belt area, but as the Norwegian historian Michael Hopstock concludes, the left-wing origins of the members of the building society was a guarantee for this quite close adherence to Howard’s original communalist ideas.

Denmark was the only Nordic country which actually had a garden city association, Dansk Haveboligforening, inspired by a book written by the attorney Frederik Christian Boldsen, who also became the chair of the association. Boldsen had during the first decade of the twentieth century thoroughly studied the English garden city projects, and left his occupation as attorney in 1911 to fully devote himself to the housing question. His book Haveboliger i Danmark for de mindrebemiddele Samfundsklaser (Garden Housing in Denmark for Social Classes of Lesser Means) was published in 1912. In 1919, an association of co-operative housing societies (FAB) was established on the Garden City Association’s initiative, once more with Boldsen as its first chair. This larger association encouraged the establishment of affiliated companies, led by prospective inhabitants. The aim was to build new settlements based on co-operative entrepreneurship. In just a few years, 11 subsidiaries were founded and together built more than 1,200 apartments of different kinds. The best known of these was the garden suburb Studiebyn in Gentofte borough, immediately north of Copenhagen, built in the early 1920s. The settlement was conceptualised as a kind of exhibition town and its houses were mostly in English style, drawn by 23 different handpicked architects. In all these settlements, power was shared between the FAB and the local boards – although the board in Studiebyn

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achieved somewhat more autonomy. A co-operative garden suburb, Fredriksborg, was built between 1915 and 1920 in another part of Greater Copenhagen.

The first mention of any importance of Howard’s visions in Sweden seems to have been an article by author Gustaf Siösteen, which appeared in the journal *Social Tidskrift* in 1903. It was the most important journal of the Swedish middle class reform movement at that time. Siösteen’s article was obviously inspired by the inauguration of the Letchworth project mentioned above, and related a distorted view of Howard’s book as describing the building of well-ordered suburbs. Eighteen months later, the editor of the journal, G H Von Koch, gave a more correct view. This article seems to have been of great importance for at least some of the reformers. Howard’s ambition to ‘build new cities, garden cities’ was warmly embraced. During the establishment of the concept within wider circles approximately during 1903-1907, it became popular foremost within reformist spheres oscillating between left liberalism and social democracy, frequently with a small influence of rural conservativism. On a closer look, it is obvious that what knit this group of people together, as in both Britain and Germany, was mostly the interest for land reform. This perspective included both agrarian reformers such as Per Jönsson-Rösiö and the Georgan Johan Hansson, and urban intellectuals like Anna and Carl Lindhagen, G H von Koch and Jenny Bergqvist. They all shared common interest in the influence of nature, and their desire to use land reform as a general anti-monopolist instrument.

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29 Börge Höilund, ‘Studiebyn og KAB’, *Studiebyns Huse og Godtfolk, En haveby gennem 75 år* (Copenhagen 1996), 7-12.
30 *En haveby bliver til* (Fredriksborg 1975), 1.
31 *Social Tidskrift* Vol 3:2 (1903), 48-52.
32 Elisabeth Stavenow-Hidemark, *Villabebyggelse i Sverige 1900-1925, Inflytande från utlandet idéer förverkligande* (Lund 1971), 217. von Koch’s article was published in *Social Tidskrift* Vol 5:1 (1905).
33 *Social Tidskrift* Vol 5:1 (1905), 2. In Swedish (Orig ital): ‘bygga nya städer, trädgårdstäder’.
It seems that the first among the professional town planners to take a serious interest in garden city ideas was the architect Wilhelm Klemming. In a lecture given in 1907 he explains how by chance he had found Howard’s book the year before, and relates its content to the issue of park building in Stockholm. In 1907, the Sittean architect, Albert Lilienberg, just before he acquired the position as town engineer in Sweden’s second city, Gothenburg, wrote a series of articles in the daily *Svenska Dagbladet* under the heading *Framtidsstaden* (the Future City). The articles expressed a decidedly organismic view of town development, and were closer to the Fritschean formalistic variant than to the liberalistic view associated with Howard (however, neither of them were mentioned). Lilienberg expressed views that were especially close to the German land reform movement. It was his ambition that the further development of Swedish cities should be more characterised by spacious and green environments.

The totalitarian influences in the tradition got their perhaps most pronounced expression in a novel by Karl-Erik Forsslund, one of the most influential authors within the circles close to the workers’ movement at the time. In a narrative largely caused by irritation over the disruption of countryside life by modernisation, in 1906 he presented a derivation of Howard’s project, *Skogsstaden* (The Forest City). However, it was clear that the aim of this city was less to contend the expanding metropolises, than to be a place where life would be firmly encapsulated from the buzzing activities of modern cities. The families would lead an encapsulated life, dispersed in single houses protected from view; and instead of religion, they should be engaged in a motley mixture of the arts, music, and astronomy. They would be protected from the hazards of the market, each should have his due for his work’s worth (women were confined to the hearth). On the other hand, the expanding public sphere accompanying modernisation and democratisation, should more or less be eradicated:

Nevertheless, all these numerous societies and meetings may themselves become a liability. They may split and divide instead of uniting. They should all be dissolved – and united

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37 Karl-Erik Forsslund, Göran Delling, *En lefnadshistoria i två böcker*, II (Stockholm 1906), 172-186.
into only one. To the Unity Reich! There, everything will by itself and together with all be realised which now loosely and widely spread is written on the standards of the different Orders and Societies.

It is arguably not possible to drift much further from the original vision of Howard. But at least Forsslund’s version shows that the community effects of garden cities were among the topics actually entertained at the time.

As Johan Rådberg, the Swedish historian of architecture has shown, the 1920s became the grand era for garden cities in Sweden. At this time, however, most of the earlier radical ideas had vanished. The garden cities became increasingly associated with the attempt to build high quality housing for ordinary people, associated with the governmentally subsided projects of the early twenties. From then onwards, garden cities were synonymous with spacious, moderately dense, and green districts, situated mostly on the outer periphery of small or middle-sized cities.

The Swedish garden city, or more correctly garden suburb, was generally less urban than its German counterpart; but on the other hand less monotonous than the British ones. Different kinds of houses were often mixed, preferably in open settings. For economic as well as traditional reasons most houses were also constructed of wood. For a while, the garden cityscape became more or less the standard of a renaissance for the less-than-metropolitan cities in Sweden. It reached the apex when it was manifested politically in the governmental report Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder (Practical and Hygienic Housing) issued in 1920, and professionally in the Town Planning exhibition in Gothenburg in 1923. Nonetheless, these architectural accomplishments have to be understood within the framework of a changed institutional and political context.

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Town Planning as Big Business

In March 1904, the Stockholm City Council decided to buy a major piece of land outside its boundaries in order to prepare a less dense type of expansion. This decision has to be understood in context of the problems that emerged with the old town planning practice. These problems, in their turn, have also to be understood against the background of international influences that determined how they were comprehended.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the French State initiated what could be seen as most successful and well known attacks against the remaining pre-industrial districts of the European metropolises. While broad boulevards were stretched through old blocks and alleys in central Paris, the poor who previously lived there were now forced to either share the contracted space remaining in the blocks left behind or be displaced to the expanding fringe districts.

The City of Stockholm had already in the 1880s started to purchase large tracts of land within its administrative boundaries for urban development. This practice had nothing to do with housing policy, but was called for by the largely ineffective expropriation laws. To start with, the Building Act of 1874 that made town-planning compulsory for every town had not been decided by the Parliament, but by the Government (the Royal Majesty) only. Because of this, its legal status was circumscribed and could be overruled by civil acts inhibiting effective handling of business. In particular, the expropriation law of 1866 was very generous to the real estate owners, who without much risk of their own could put the city authorities in very difficult positions. The fact that the Stockholm City was never granted any state subsidies for town planning measures was a further incentive for the practice that was introduced at this time. Instead of waiting for the implementation of the plans, the City tried to purchase large areas in advance. The idea was that it could later sell parts of the land as building sites for a profit that would cover the cost of the whole operation – repeating the practice introduced in Paris a couple of decades earlier.

Over time, this buying-and-selling-type of town planning developed into an enormous business enterprise with a turnover of some 84 million crowns (about £7000,000) between 1880 and 1913. Such a sizeable business could not exist without accusations of speculation, excessive risks, and inflating the municipal budget. However, all these purchases, large as they were, had been conducted within the boundaries of what is presently known as the inner city – that is, the Old Town and the malmar (districts) that are situated on the surrounding islands and shores. Apart from these, only minor purchases for special purposes, such as municipal hospitals and water reservoirs, had been made in the surrounding boroughs.

The influence of the French experience was long lasting, although in Stockholm the planning experiences of the Russian province Finland and of neighbouring St Petersburg, were probably of equal importance. The British and German town planning introduced new ideas around the turn of the century. The Hobrecht plan of Berlin (1858-61), the plans of the Danish capital Copenhagen and several other north European cities, shared with Stockholm the feature that left the city centre largely unchanged. This was an important feature that had implications for the future.

In 1895, Per-Olof Hallman’s travel report in the journal Teknisk Tidskrift (Technical Journal) introduced to the Swedish audiences Josef Stübben, the German architect and urban theorist, and Camillo Sitte the Austrian architect. Sittean views were already referred to by C. A. Söderlund in 1896 in an extensive proposal to the Stockholm City Council. Hallman’s disciple, Albert Lilienberg, developed both Sitte’s views about picturesque townscapes and Stübben’s views about class-integrated settlements just after the

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46 Thomas Paulsson, *Den glömda staden, Svensk stadsplanering under 1900-talets början med särskild hänsyn till Stockholm. Idéhistoria, teori och praktik* (Stockholm 1959), p 64. For a broader public Sitte was introduced by Fredrik Sundbärg, in an article in the journal *Ord & Bild* in 1897, see Hans Bjur, *Stadsplanering kring 1900*, 79-81.
Chapter II – A General Overview

It was part of the nature of these town-planning ideas that they were most easily implemented on the fringes of rapidly expanding cities, where there was an abundance of land, and housing demand was strong enough to motivate large-scale projects. The best achievements of both Hallman and Lilienberg were projects of this sort, often financed by co-operative societies.

Perhaps due to political reasons this influence barely reached the French public, and to an even lesser extent the Anglo-Saxon world. However, there was also a substantial reason for this – large-scale urbanisation was during this period mostly a North and Central European phenomenon. The French and British cities were mostly preoccupied with slum sanitation and suburbanisation as means to cope with the consequences of the earlier process of urbanisation. The latecomers to industrialisation, instead, had to come to terms with the incessant expansion of their cities associated with the centralising tendencies of the imperialist stage of capitalism. The author of the Berlin plan, James Hobrecht, was criticised for what became known as the ‘Berlin illness’ – that is, the building of endless districts of high-density tenement blocks of five to seven or eight storeys. These large corridor houses (Mietskasernen in German or hyreskaserner in Swedish), were conspicuous in the whole German sphere of influence, and were found to be both aesthetically repulsive and morally and hygienically dangerous (which is an aspect that I will discuss further on). The radical counterculture of the time also embraced the vague fear and antipathy that was voiced against the tenements (which in reality were seldom of the corridor type, but had internal staircases leading only to a limited number of apartments on each storey). The critique was ultimately accepted in the professional circles, and as Rudolf Eberstadt the German economist emphasised in his widely read Handbuch der Wohnungswesen (Primer for the Housing Sector) in 1910, the tenements were especially badly suited for small apartments where the

48 Bjur, Stadsplanering kring 1900, 139-40.
49 Paulsson, Den glömda staden, 95-142; Rådberg, Den svenska trädgårdsstaden (Stockholm 1994), 86-89.
51 Hall, Planning Europe’s Capital Cities, p 197.
52 Brian Ladd, Urban planning and civic order in Germany, 1860-1914 (Cambridge 1990), 231.
congestion effects would be even more pronounced. The German town planners were largely preoccupied with these problems. To solve them, however, they turned to their British counterparts.

The Cottage Ideal

Ever since the beginning of housing reform movements around the middle of the nineteenth century, there had been two contending ideas about how to proceed. One was the large-scale housing project derived from Fourierism and Saint-Simonism. The *Cité Napoléon* in Paris and the *Phalanstaire* in Guise where workers lived and worked collectively under supervision are well-known examples. The second was derived from the British tradition of low-density building and emphasised the single-family house as the ideal material structure for the pursuit of enclosed family life. This caused occasional protests from, among others, the German architect Joseph Stübben, who argued that single houses could never become a realistic alternative for the large mass of workers and the poor. The own home was the preferred alternative among the German housing reformers of the early twentieth century. Stübben alluded to the theory that Europe was in fact divided into two separate areas – single houses dominating the western and northern parts and the high-rise buildings dominating the southern and central parts. In Sweden, however, the English view of architecture received a proper presentation first in 1911, in the comprehensive book *Hus och hem* (House and Home) by August Brunius. Through the influence of housing reformers, this ideal was at that time already firmly established.

The cottage ideal implies a drastically different townscape from the one dominating most inner cities. Instead of urban fringes, the new areas would be suburban and divorced from the main body of the city in one way or another. As F. M. L. Thompson, the historian emphasised, the tendency of increasing city populations at a specific point of time to start establishing

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56 Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark, *Villabebyggelse i Sverige*, 34.
themselves in suburbs is not in any respect self-evident. The ‘natural’ way for a city to grow is what Eberstadt once called the ‘centrifugal’ process; that is, a progressive drive outwards as land values closer to the city centre increase. In other words, the expansion would proceed according to a pattern experienced by most continental cities until then. However, suburbanisation can also be viewed as a relief from market dictates. As the Swedish geographer, William William-Olsson, showed the only significant moments of stagnation in the Stockholm rent levels have occurred during intensive periods of suburbanisation. It amounts to overstating things to infer from this that rising rent levels actually caused the suburbanisation that took place. Easier to prove, but probably even less correct, would be to argue, like the American urban historian Robert Fishman, that suburbanisation is actually for all that matters a manifestation of middle-class ideology. More pragmatically understood, the reasons for suburbanisation are probably as diverse as the suburbs themselves. There were a number of other solutions to solve the problems of urbanisation at the time. The building of suburbs was, it must be emphasised, only one of the steps that were taken.

Nonetheless, what happened around the turn of the century indicated a completely new vision of urbanity. For the first time, vast distances were considered as an inherent part of urbanity. As Robert Fishman notes; the old Walking Cities inherited from the pre-industrial period were in most cases far smaller than what was actually necessary only to provide the inhabitants with feasible walking distances. Proximity had been a vital characteristic of urbanity, even long after the need of defence was no longer in place. The provision of mass transport was only one factor bringing forth

58 Linn, Storgårdskvarteret, 68.
59 William William-Olsson, Huvuddragen av Stockholms geografiska utveckling, 1850-1930, (Stockholm 1937), 86.
60 Robert Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias, The rise and fall of suburbia (New York 1987), 8-9. As he adds on the next page, the possibility to make profits by turning cheap agricultural land into expensive plots, added an economic incentive.
63 Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias, 20.
this change in the outlook of urban administrators. As Verner Segebaden, the chair of Stockholm’s Finance Board expressed this:

The castle walls no longer border the boundaries of the cities. Because of the means available, distance is also not so important. It is therefore quite natural that everyone seeks to get out of the dark, clustered older districts into where there is sun and air, preferably to some place where nature is untouched. No doubt, the ideal for housing will to a greater degree be the own home in the periphery of the cities.

Stockholm: A City on Islands

According to the oldest surviving documents, Stockholm was founded in 1252 during the massive late-mediaeval upsurge in European urbanisation. At that time, it was nothing more than a small castle on a strategically situated islet serving as the outer lock of the Mälaren lake district in east central Sweden. During the thirteenth century, a town spread beneath the widening castle walls, and was soon integrated into the Baltic Hanseatic trade network. Only when Sweden, with the help of Hanseatic troops, broke away from the Danish dominated Nordic union in 1523, were the conditions ripe for a second phase of the development of the town. With the Vasa Kingdom (1523-1809) came internal peace, and Stockholm slowly began to spread outwards taking the first leap from the central islet to the neighbouring islands and shores.

Compared to the rest of Europe at this time the Nordic region was underurbanised, which is why it was particularly important for the state to pro-

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64 Stadsingenjörskontorets tjänstememorial till Drätselnämndens första avdelning, Vol 131, p 787 (Segebaden 23/1 1907), Archive of the street and real estate office (GfkA). In Swedish: ‘Sedan städernas områden ej numera omgärdas af fästningsmurar, och afstånden, på grund af de hjälpmedel, som numera stå till buds för samfärdseln, ej spela någon roll, är det ju helt naturligt att hvar och en, som kan söker sig bort från de mörka, hopgyttade äldre stadsdelarna ut till sol och luft och helst dit där ursprungliga naturen är så mycket som möjligt oberörd; och idealet för bostaden kommer otvifvelaktigt att i allt större utsträckning blifva det egna hemmet i städernas periferiska delar.’

65 Thomas Hall, Stockholms förutsättningar och uppkomst, En studie i medeltida urbanism (Stockholm 1973).

mote urbanisation through land donations and privileges. This policy proved crucial especially for Stockholm, which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries received donations from the state comprising most of the north and the west region (presently the northern and western parts of the inner city). These domains, which surrounded the main city, were mostly former possessions of the Catholic monasteries. They had been closed down after the national conversion to Lutheranism in 1527, after which the Crown confiscated the property. These possessions were instead used as estates for families belonging to the Swedish and imperial nobility (mostly in the northern and the western parts) and for the military (mostly in the northeast and east); in both cases as a means to foster national integration. South of the town, however, the huge island Åsön was (and remained) the property of the burghers, where cattle were bred and gardens were maintained for the provision of food to the town. As latter-day archaeological investigations show, very few of the houses in this outlying district were made of stone, a fact that testifies to the low class character of its inhabitants.

When the western district of the main town perished in a fire in 1625, Renaissance-style gridiron blocks replaced it. Many of the artisans who had lived and worked there joined their less fortunate colleagues by moving to Åsön. The topography of the island, which from the north meets with two steep precipices, and the valley in between them, the continuation of the gravel ridge that runs north-south through the whole region, made a decisive mark on the segregation pattern. A grid plan was enforced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where on the ridge, and westwards behind one of the precipices, wood houses were replaced with upper-class gentry’s villas. The labouring classes were forced either southwards or higher up on the hills.

The northern island presents a topography that almost reflects the image of the Southside. Here, flat shore meets where the ridge rises high, and

67 Marianne Råberg, *Visioner och verklighet I, En studie kring Stockholms 1600-talsplan* (Stockholm 1987), 36
71 Marianne Råberg, *Visioner och verklighet*, 68.
before its modern-time demolition, effectively divided the island into a north-northwest, and an eastern part. During the impressive building projects of the seventeenth century, which quadrupled the population of Stockholm from 15,000 to 60,000 inhabitants in a couple of decades, the shores were covered with either baroque estates or military establishments. A gridiron town plan was imposed on this part of the town also, although divided in two by the ridge. The northern shore was an independent town between 1602 and 1635 when it was effectively annexed to the city.

The industrial and proletarian character of the southern district at Åsön was from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards further strengthened by the establishment of state-supported manufactures. However, this did not mean that it monopolised poverty. The sparsely populated Johannes and Adolf Fredrik parishes on the north edge of Norrmalm (the Northside) as the north shore was called, were just as impoverished as the south parts of the Katarina and Maria parishes on Åsön, which comprised Södermalm (the Southside). However, the impoverished came from different groups. While the poor in the south part of the city were deprived proletarians, in the north they were to large extent (former) servants and servicemen’s families. In the middle of the nineteenth century, just before industrialisation, this situation was even more pronounced.

**The Modern City**

With industrialisation, and the second wave of dramatic expansion from the last quarter of the nineteenth century and a hundred years onwards, the poorest districts in the north-eastern part of the city were transformed into middle-class tenant’s blocks. Working class neighbourhoods were now beginning to form a characteristic ‘horseshoe’, stretching from the north-western periphery over Kungsholmen – the large island to the west of the old town, which transformed from a mostly agricultural to an industrial district during the 1800s – and across the Southside. This pattern, which increasingly coincided with large tenements and high density, already emerged in the 1860s and was firmly established by the 1890s. Map II:1 illustrates this pattern with a traditional indicator of class divides in Victorian society: the number of children compared to the number of women (thus estimating both the number of servants and size of families) within

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what is now the inner city. By the turn of the century, the Central Business District left the old town and expanded into the Klara and Jakob districts along the shore of Norrmalm and inwards. The horseshoe was characteristic of Stockholm’s period as industrial production centre and was most pronounced during the first decades of the twentieth century. From the nineteen-twenties onwards the middle stratum slowly started to strengthen their grip over the inner city.

The second leap ran from the inner city islands and north shore to the surrounding mainland boroughs: Danderyd in the north and north-east, Bromma and Spånga in the west and north-west, Brännkyrka in the south and Nacka in the south-east (see map II:2). Bromma and Brännkyrka, where most of the municipally monitored settlements were situated are of most interest for this investigation. Both were divided from the city by waterways: Bromma bordering to the still partly deserted Kungsholmen district, Brännkyrka to the mainly proletarian Southside. Bromma and Spånga had from early on been characterised by a large number of noble estates, housing important parts of the Swedish ruling elite. The Stockholm City authorities would during the first decades of the twentieth century entirely purchase some of these estates for housing purposes, such as Åke-shov, Hässelby, Ålsten, and Ulvsunda. To a large extent, these areas were later filled with villa settlements where the new municipal and governmental elite of the democratised state found their semi-rural refuge away from the traditional upper-class areas in the north and northeast. However, a number of New Town settlements including Vällingby were built especially in Spånga.

Brännkyrka, on the other hand, had to start with a different topographical outlook. While Bromma is mostly characterised by large fields, early on prepared for agricultural purposes, Brännkyrka has with its many hills and ridges been of lesser use for such activities. Most of the estates in the borough have consequently been of less importance than the ones in Bromma, and were occupied mostly by affluent peasants and their cottagers. A number of estates were created during the seventeenth century, including Långbro, Sätra, Västberga and Älvsjö in the north-western part, and

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73 William-Olsson, *Huvuddragen av Stockholms geografiska utveckling*, 72-81; 115-16.
Sjöända/Sköndal, Skarpnäck and Örby in the eastern and southern parts. The difference between these and the affluent peasant farms such as Enskede, Ersta and Östberga was not very significant. Enskede particularly earned a reputation for advanced agricultural methods during the nineteenth century. When the borough around 1870 economically became a part of the Stockholm region, the high level of subdivision of landholdings implied that the pattern of built environment became very varied. From the moment when the southern railway was opened in 1860, activity was largely concentrated to the western part of the borough and especially to the Älvsjö and Liljeholmen stations, around which both housing settlements and industries soon started their expansion. The eastern part of Brännkyrka would largely remain agricultural until after the turn of the century when the municipal projects started, but the western parts quickly turned into an area littered with what Richard Harris (and for that matter, the Stockholm contemporaries) labels as unplanned suburbs.

The second leap was in other words made somewhat hesitantly and haphazard, dominated in its initial steps by the less fortunate inhabitants of the town; much the same as it was in the first leap. However, this would soon change and a top-down approach would take precedence.

**The Annexations**

The parklands of northern and southern Djurgården were the latest administrative acquisitions of the City of Stockholm, and had been annexed to the town in 1868. In comparison to Sweden’s second largest city, the harbour town Gothenburg by the North Sea, the administrative area of

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Map II:1 Stockholm 1895, with the Southside in the South, Kungsholmen in the west, and the Northside in the north, bordering to the affluent Östermalm district.

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The Annexations
The parklands of northern and southern Djurgården were the latest administrative acquisitions of the City of Stockholm, and had been annexed to the town in 1868. In comparison to Sweden's second largest city, the harbour town Gothenburg by the North Sea, the administrative area of Stockholm was by the end of the nineteenth century very circumscribed. Between 1868 and 1883, Gothenburg had annexed large parts of its periphery, and the further incorporation of Örgryte and Lundby boroughs in 1906 and 1922 respectively, made it look as parts in a continuous sequence. Judging from arguments put forward during the inquiries of the early 1900s, Stockholm hesitated partly due to its unwillingness to share the social responsibilities for the shanty suburbs that had started to grow outside its boundaries.

As graph II:1 shows, the population density within the inner city increased during the last part of the nineteenth century, after which it stagnated. This indicates the turn-about in town the planning thought discussed earlier. The population increase was accompanied by rising rents, which tended to force some of the inhabitants beyond the city boundaries. The unplanned and often shabby suburbs that were built outside the city limits were regulated only according to permissive rural municipal laws, which explains why mid-nineteenth century mortality rate rates in these pockets continued well into the twentieth century. Already in 1885, a parliamentary town planning

79 Richard Harris, Unplanned Suburbs, Toronto’s American tragedy, 1900-1950 (Baltimore/London 1996), 10-13. This process is described in some detail in Karna Rödemölle, Från Brännkyrka till Söderort åren 1870-1950, En förortsgeografisk studie (Uppsala 1968); Ingemar Johansson, Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria, 234-265.
80 Ingemar Johansson, Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria, 72.
81 Karlsson. Arbetarfamiljen och det nya hemmet, 58.
83 Ingemar Johansson, Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria, 234-265.
committee had discussed this problem without results. In his reservation to this enquiry, the road construction engineer, J.G. Richert, emphasised that the regulations of the Haussmanist 1874 Building Act had forced parts of the urban expansion out of bounds. Indirectly it had caused the establishment of disastrous shantytown environments – labelled as *kåkstäder* (Shackle Towns) in Swedish. As the British housing historian Colin G Pooley notes, the Swedish lack of regulation in this field was comparable only to some of the least developed Mediterranean countries within Europe.

Still, the solution to the urban problems was sought outside the City’s administrative boundaries. While the British industrial villages had been swallowed by growing industrial cities during the nineteenth century, paternalist utopias such as Bourneville and Post Sunlight – both situated at a comfortable distance from the urban centres – were beginning to set a new standard. Noiciel close to Paris which was built for the employees of Gustave Menier’s chocolate works, and the Krupp colonies in the Essen region in Germany, were other examples from the 1870s. Around the turn of the century, these influences had reached Sweden also. Strömslund that is close to Trollhättan in western Sweden, was founded in the 1890s and put great emphasis on modern hygienic ideals; as did Husquarna close to Jönköping in central Sweden, and Holmsund close to Umeå by the Baltic Sea in the north.

Already by the end of the 1870s, communities of a similar sort were founded in the surroundings of Stockholm. Gustafsberg in Nacka, southeast of Stockholm, dates from the 1820s and consequently belongs to the proto-industrial *bruk* tradition. The first modern industrial suburbs around Stockholm were Sundbyberg in Bromma in the northwest of Stockholm, and Liljeholmen at the northwest edge of Brännkyrka just beyond the inner

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84 Hans Bjur, *Stadsplanering kring 1900*, 226.
city, both founded in the 1870s. Neither of these provided any example for hygienic reformers – in fact, quite the contrary. Instead, Duvbo in Spånga further northwest of Stockholm around the turn of the century inaugurated the new generation of well-planned workers’ communities, founded by a Christian philanthropic organisation in co-operation with a number of affluent companies and even guaranteeing a measure of influence for some handpicked workingmen board members.

The Districts of the Stockholm Outer City
The main part of this study will be devoted to the southern parts of the city – what until 1913 was the Brännkyrka borough. The settlements in this area were largely separated into three clusters, differing according to building period, main character, and the landholding system. The part that was first urbanised was the Liljeholmen industrial area in the northwest corner of the borough. The oldest part of this settlement was already built in the 1870s, and during the last decades of the nineteenth century, slaughterhouses, and metal and chemical industries moved there – owing to the proximity to the city, while avoiding the regulations of the town planned area. Low quality housing was quickly erected directly by the factories. Around the turn of the century, various attempts were made to improve the quality of housing. New villa and cottage districts were built both south of Liljeholmen, in Gröndal, and at a distance in Örby, across the woods south-east of the older settlements. At the same time, grid-city districts were also being built close to Liljeholmen, in Aspudden, Midsommarkransen and Tellusborg – resembling on a smaller scale (largely three stories) the inner city districts.

When the Enskede garden city, the neighbouring slaughterhouse and the new cemetery were built in the early twentieth century, a large forest separated this district both from the districts around Liljeholmen and the Örby villas – and even so from the upper class refuge of Södertörns Villa Town in the southernmost part of the borough. Another difference was that Enskede was (as will be further discussed in chapters three and four) built on leaseholding land, while the other settlements were built on private land. During the next decades this pattern would grow stronger: around the Enskede garden city in the eastern part of the now former borough, mu-

90 Thomas Lundén, *Om staden, En Stockholmsgografi* (Lund 1999), 155.
nicipally monitored settlements on leaseholding land were built. The only exception was Ersta/Stureby, situated between Enskede and Örby. In the rest of the area, land largely remained private. However, since the City administration took over some bankrupt land developers in the 1920s, during the 1930s the land leaseholding rights also became common in the western part of the district. This was especially so, when from the mid-1930s onwards the whole area began to be filled with tenement settlements.

Another peculiarity is that the names Enskede and Brännkyrka have a number of different meanings. Enskede was from the outset a peasant’s farm, purchased by the City in 1904 to be used for housing sites. Enskede Garden City (Swedish: *Enskede trädgårdstad*, now Gamla (Old) Enskede), and some other districts in the vicinity, were named after this farm (the main buildings still stand and are used for community purposes). Enskede also became the name of the new parish, which from 1931 comprised the eastern part of the former Brännkyrka borough (the districts on leaseholding land, as well as Stureby and Södertörns Villastad). Brännkyrka on the other hand, was the name of the borough, which until 1913 comprised the whole southern part of Stockholm. Between 1913 and 1931, it was basically an ecclesiastical parish covering the same area. In daily parlance, however, already at this time the name Brännkyrka increasingly became connected with the western part of the parish – the older settlements, the industrial areas and private sites. Today, there are a number of parishes in the same area.

It should also be underlined that Stockholm in 1916, as already mentioned, annexed Bromma to the west of the town. This area was and remained largely industrial and working class in the north and contains as mentioned affluent villa communities on leaseholded land in the south.

In tables II:1 and II:2, the main districts of southern Stockholm are assembled, after (main) building period, situation and land holding system:
Table II:1 Western Brännkyrka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Main Building Type</th>
<th>Main Building Period</th>
<th>Land Holding System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liljeholmen</td>
<td>Industrial settlement</td>
<td>1880s-1910s</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gröndal</td>
<td>Villa settlement</td>
<td>1890s-1900s</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midsommarkransen</td>
<td>Tenements</td>
<td>1900s-1910s</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tellusborg</td>
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Town-Planning Politics in Stockholm

Changes in the outlook of the city had to go through the municipal administration. This does not necessarily mean that this administration at this point was very powerful. On the contrary, it had been handicapped on two occasions during the course of the nineteenth century, both by the decision of liberal national laws of landholding that largely overruled the local statutes, and by the privatisation of the greater part of its donated landhold-
ings. Furthermore, the planning power that remained was handled by a complicated administrative structure. In order to comprehend how this structure worked, the basic features of the Stockholm City administration will now be briefly discussed.

**The Dyad Relationship between Politicians and Engineers**

The late nineteenth century state was in many respects tied up by the relations to vast civil and economic networks, organising a considerable part of the bourgeois and middle classes (closer to the end of the century, also the female parts). Networking was important in the external relations of governing bodies. Policy formation within the formalised and strong public sphere of the Stockholm City Council was also practised largely via informal networks. Until the 1910s, there were actually no political parties in the Council. Loyalties shifted and were frequently subject for decision even during the debates. One could state it that the municipal power structure was subject to two forms of clientilism: within the administration between personnel of influence; and between these persons and the politicians making the formal decisions (who were themselves organised into formalised groups and tied to external networks).

The Stockholm municipality was led by the City Council, composing of 100 amateur politicians recruited from the city’s ruling elite, although supplemented with a handful of reliable representatives for the less fortunate classes. In practice, however, power was shared between two administrative bodies. On the one hand there was the *Beredningsutskottet* (the Working Committee) led by the Governor General until 1904, which prepared the agenda for the Council. On the other hand, there was the *Drätselnämnden* (the Finance Board), where the state had no representation, and where long-term strategies could be worked out – often influenced by the voluminous investigations conducted by full-time administrators. During the rapid expansion from approximately 1875 onwards, the Finance Board delegated some of its responsibilities to new boards, such as the Population Accounting Board of 1876; the Country Domain’s Committee/Board of

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91 In 1920, Beredningsutskottet changed name (and structure) into Stadskollegiet, and Drätselnämnden was regrouped into Finansroteln. Although it must be emphasised that these changes went far deeper than just the names, I will in this study consequently use the same English names, that is, the Working Committee and the Finance Board.
1907/08 and the Town Planning Commission of 1909 (board from 1921). These committees and boards were generally less tied to the old liberal ideas of the ‘night watcher’ municipality than the financial centre of the municipality was.

It was not until the late nineteenth century that municipal investments became an important question for the political left. Until then, the most important debates revolved around the costs of implementing the regulation plan. Basically, there were two camps: the expansionists who gathered around Albert Lindhagen, chairman of the municipal Town Planning Committee that had submitted its rescript in 1867; and ‘sparsambetsvennerne’ (the Friends of Austerity), a loose coalition of mostly merchants, artisans and left liberals, led by the head of the Real Estate Owners’ Association and liberal, C. A. Söderlund. Of course, the arguments differed – real estate owners tried to influence the pace and direction of the regulations, while artisans and radicals were more concerned about the fact that the proportional municipal taxes were an extra burden for people of less means. Even the publicist and astronomer Hjalmar Branting, perhaps the most influential leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party (founded 1889) and from 1907 its chairperson, was closely associated with the austerity camp. From 1888 onwards, he became an active member of the Municipal Society of Stockholm, which was led by the austerity liberals Carl-Fredrik Palmstierna and Johan Ohlsson, but later also influenced by the social liberal current.

It was not until 1892 that Branting and the social democrats started to voice their demands for forceful municipal interventions; or, in other words, ‘municipal socialism’. In March that year the social democratic daily Socialdemokraten published a manifesto which both (as before) criticised the municipal authorities for wasting the City’s money on luxurious official buildings and demanded an expansionist municipal policy focusing at this particular moment mostly on the working conditions of the municipal workforce. Influences from both the French and the English experiences in municipal politics were evident. These experiences had been given some attention in the party-affiliated newspapers from 1889 onwards, and re-

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92 Larsson, Mitt liv i stadsburet, 8-23.
93 Folke Lindberg, Växande stad. Stockholms stadsfullmäktige 1862-1900 (Stockholm 1980), 335; 413.
94 Folke Lindberg, Växande stad, 439-40.
ported by, among others, Branting himself. As soon as he was elected as the first social democratic deputy of the Swedish Parliament in 1887, Branting proposed the opening of voter registration rules for the municipal councils – however, without much success. It was not before 1903 that the first social democrat entered the City Council on a liberal list.

The leader of the expansionists, Albert Lindhagen, a well-educated jurist with significant political talent, had chaired the municipal regulation committee appointed in 1866. Their rescript submitted in 1867 was put together mostly by Lindhagen in co-operation with the engineer Fredrik Wilhelm Leijonancker (who was also a member of the Committee), while the rest of the members seemed to have been consulted only to a limited degree. This dyad relation, between a jurist politician and an engineer, became a pattern for several decades. Those amateur politicians governing the City made it even more important to have good relations with the major financiers, and also with the administration. Due to the absence of an effective expropriation law, the regulation measures were extremely complicated and expensive, and could not be effectively executed without the cooperation of the political and administrative practitioners of the City.

These structural features partly explain why the power at the time of Lindhagen’s death in 1887 shifted to a municipal bureaucrat, Moritz Rubenson, the City Council’s secretary since 1867. He had for a long time worked together with Lindhagen and was also a member of the above-mentioned 1884-85 parliamentary Town Planning Committee. Rubenson also co-operated closely with Herman Ygberg, who was appointed as town engineer in 1884 (but had in fact at that time held the post for several years due to the prolonged sick leave of the town engineer in charge, Rudolf Brodin).

Ygberg had assisted Rubenson at the parliamentary Town Planning Committee (and eventually also took part in another committee that actually succeeded in bringing forth a Town Planning Act in 1907).

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96 Selling, Esplanadssystemet, 10.
97 Selling, Esplanadssystemet, 13.
98 Selling, Esplanadssystemet, 52, Lindberg, Växande stad, 2
99 Lindberg, Växande stad, 411-12.
100 Mörner, Ljus och Luft, 53; 99.
101 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 70-71.
two bureaucrats knew very well the need to firmly establish their proposals among the two most powerful financial and political families in the city, the Wallenbergs and the Palmes. In his last will written in 1899, Mortiz Rubenston was very generous towards Ygberg and showed his gratitude.

Since on the one hand the town engineer had to guard the City’s interests by paying as low prices as possible for the land needed for regulation measures, on the other hand he still had to strain the meagre resources of the City Treasury. He soon had important enemies. He had to face the real estate owners (in 1885 37 out of 100 members of the City Council), and also the liberal left. During the 1890s however, when the Governor General Gustaf Tamm practically made the dyad into a triad, Ygberg’s propositions almost never failed.

Edvard Liljewalch, who replaced Tamm as City Council and Working Committee chair in 1904 (when the state gave up the Governor General’s right to chair in the City Council), retired in 1906 and his successor, Per Henrik Hedenblad, made no success as a politician. At that time, the housing reformers had for three years been active in the City Council. They could show as result the vast land possessions in the south and the west of the city which were purchased during the years 1904-05 (the main joint accomplishment of Ygberg and Liljewalch). Ygberg also carried the responsibility for map surveying in the new areas, and showed his good sense of flexibility in making excellent Sittean town plans, distanced as far as possible from the regularism to which he had been accustomed during his work with the inner city.

When the Country Domain’s Board that had the responsibility for developing these areas was appointed in 1908, something strange happened. A year earlier, Carl Lindhagen, a left-liberal jurist connected to the philanthropic networks had been appointed to the chair of the interim Country Domain’s Committee. He demonstrated similar talent for political networking like his father before him – Albert Lindhagen, who had chaired the 1867 Town Planning Committee. It was on his suggestion that Ygberg was

102 Mörner, Ljus och luft, p 45; 78; 137. Over time, however, a somewhat adversial relation began to build up especially between Ygberg and the Palme family, see Mörner, Ljus och luft, 29
103 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 151.
104 Mörner, Ljus och luft, p 35-47.
105 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 30.
106 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 120.
appointed to this committee. This was extraordinary since administrative personnel otherwise were never appointed to the political and literally amateur bodies of the municipality. This was a brilliant move according to the rules of municipal policy making, and made it possible for Lindhagen and Ygberg to form a new working coalition. Their dyad lasted even after the latter’s retirement as town engineer in 1914 at the age of seventy, until his death in 1917 when he was still active at the Country Domain’s Board.

The Peculiarities of Stockholm

Therefore, it seems that the changes in town planning studied in this book, initially at least did not call for a new basic mechanism of municipal policy making. In fact, the clientilist system appears to have survived, at least partly, into the democratic era. However, on the visible political scene, a dramatic struggle had begun. During the early years of the twentieth century, the structure of the City Council started to change as a result of both the socio-economic changes in the city, and the political developments on the national level. The housing question seems to have been instrumental for these changes, and although representatives belonging to all political camps accepted the demands of the housing reformers, at the same time these demands provoked resistance from many of the defenders of the old system. For some years, there was an overall agreement among the majority of the deputies for increased spending. At the same time, the reformers, beginning in 1903, started to strengthen their position during a sequence of elections. At this time, half the Council stood for election each year. Previously, because of the restricted and unequal franchise, the willingness to take part in the election had been quite limited among the great majority of the city inhabitants. Now, however, it now started to increase as some left liberals and even social democrats were elected.

The backlash came in 1908 when some of the radicals lost their seats, and from 1909 onwards when class antagonisms increased following a general lockout and strike. A distinct radical (liberal and social democratic) camp began to form the opposition to the forces of reaction. In the election of 1908, the left had 12,952 voters as compared to the 7,835 persons who

108 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 131-37.
voted for the right – but because of the graded voting scale, received less than half of the votes. In 1910, the election campaigns were completely administered by party organisations linked to national organisations.

The years of 1910-1920 were increasingly characterised by hardening of political contentions, where the alliance of reformers in the Council was firmly held under control by an alliance of the moderates linked to the national Conservative Party (Allmänna valmansförbundet). The election reforms of 1909 (when the 100 grades voting scale was replaced by a scale of where each person could have up to 40 votes) cost the Conservatives their absolute majority - 58 seats of the 100 seats in 1910 to 45 seats in 1911. But they recovered to 50 percent again in 1913, and in 1917 won as many as 62 seats. With this, the conservative backlash was completed in the Stockholm City Council – largely helped by events on the national and international scenes. The universal franchise (for men in 1919, women in 1921) would bring absolute socialist majority in the Council for the rest of the period investigated here.

During the period 1900-1914, the municipal taxes approximately doubled, because of simultaneous expansion in several fields. In 1909, the City Council appointed a special enquiry into the practice of long-term loans that presented its results in 1913. By that time, however, the council had on its own initiative reduced the amount of its budget financed by loans from 29.5 percent at its peak (1909) to 12.5 percent (1913). In 1912, the City Council also decided that all larger propositions for municipal building projects should be presented as special propositions before the council, and not be taken by the special boards themselves. From 1916 onwards, the left parties had to approve the austerity policy presented by the conservative majority. Only the municipal budgets of 1917 and 1918 ended with minor deficits, and already in 1919 the budget showed surplus again – a surplus that would increase over the coming years of social democratic rule. This line of action was confirmed with the new municipal programme taken at the social democratic national congress in 1928. Although

110 Larsson, På marsch mot demokratin, 276-82.
112 Larsson, På marsch mot demokratin I, 312-20.
inspired by the liberals, the old programme of 1911 had demanded far-reaching socialisation measures. The programme of 1928 instead emphasised austerity and responsibility, as well as businessmindedness (affärsmötsighet). It expressed views that at least at the level of principles were not at odds with those of the non-socialist camp.

From the introduction of universal franchise in 1919-21 (which more than doubled the vote bank) until 1950, the social democrats held the majority in the City Council. During the first few years, however, this was because of technical circumstances, discriminating against the non-socialist parties who in fact had a slightly larger number of voters (the turnout was still low, just around 50 percent). From the end of the 1920s onwards, the socialist majority was pretty secure, with the social democrats gaining 55 out of the 100 seats in 1938. By means of collective recruitment from the local unions, the party rapidly increased its membership — in Stockholm only from 26,237 in 1921 to 84,201 in 1940. The Finance Board, however, was for a couple of years led by a conservative deputy, who had to defend a moderate tax increase against fierce attacks from radical social democratic and communist deputies. The Real Estate Board responsible for housing and land development was, between 1919 and 1924, led by Carl-Henric Meurling, the nominally un-political and practically left-liberal former real estate director, who administered the abolishing of the war-time rent control and the introduction of the largely market-led housing policy of the early 1920s. This power sharing was part of the package introduced to limit the consequences of democratisation and universal franchise. Another part of this package was the rule that demanded qualified majorities for the taking of loans and for the onset of ‘projects of considerable size’. Together, these rules were instrumental in keeping the socialist majority of the municipal council in place, at least before the social democrats in the 1930s established a considerable power base on the national level as well. Because of this, the housing policy of Stockholm in this period was more rather than less market-oriented compared to other cities at the time.

Although social viewpoints had been voiced earlier on, not least by the social democrats and left-leaning career liberals, their breaking point arrived

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113 Larsson, På marsch mot demokratin I, 356-57.
114 Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset I, 180-81.
115 Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset I, 205.
116 Yngve Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset, II, I tjänst hos denna stolta stad (Stockholm 1977), 372.
at the dawn of the First World War. On the one hand, the proletarian revolutions in eastern and east central Europe exacerbated old fears of the dangerous classes and motivated publicly engineered projects such as the British ‘Homes Fit for Heroes’. On the other hand, the professionalisation of the social sector accelerated, leading to conflicts over the kind of ideas that should be guiding its practitioners. In 1919, Svenska stadsförbundet (The Swedish League of Municipalities) had expressed its view that the authority of amateur politicians should be restricted. This contention can be partly put against the background of the fears among non-socialists for social democrat overspending following democratisation. A year later, a debate was held in the Stockholm City Council over the number of co-opted members (that is, salaried administrators) that should be appointed for the new Town Planning Board. This debate brought forth two conflicting visions. The chair of the Real Estate Board, Carl-Henric Meurling, expressed the view that ‘no social activity and no social wishes at all can be effected or satisfied without technical instruments’. The Social Democrat, Carl Lindhagen, most effectively voiced the other view:

Especially those people who will work with social issues, must be chosen according to special talent [sin särskilda fallenhet]. One must also consider that with increasing age people become increasingly distanced from the realities of today, and from the principles that should guide this kind of activities. To take away the possibility to select people with the proper talents and capabilities is tantamount to what I see as returning to the Medieval Age.

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117 Mark Swenarton, Homes Fit for Heroes, 78.
118 Kjell Östberg, Kommunerna och den svenska modellen, Socialdemokratin och kommunalpolitiken fram till andra världskriget (Stockholm/Stehag 1996), 92-93; Yngve Larsson, Mitt liv i stadsbuen I, 343-44.
119 SCC Minutes 6 December 1920 §11, 576 and 567 respectively. In Swedish: ‘ingen social verksamhet och inga sociala önskemål över huvud kunna bedrivas eller tillgodoses utan tekniska hjälpmedel; Särskilt beträffande sociala frågor bör väl gälla, att vederbörande skola väljas efter sin fallenhet för uppdraget och att man bör söka taga hänsyn till den genom tilltagande ålder ofta minskade kontakten med dagens realiteter och de principer, som nu ifrågakomna avseende kunna anses vara vägledande. Att beröva sig denna möjlighet att kunna välja personer med särskild fallenhet och förmåga för uppdraget i fråga anser jag vara att återfalla i medeltiden.’ Cf. SCC 12 December 1927 §3, 595 (Carl Lindhagen).
When the Stockholm City Council in October 1920 decided to support the establishment of a college for mostly the municipal administrative personnel, Lindhagen also tried to establish the principle of election for the administrators. The college in question had originally been proposed by CSA, and its founding documents were dominated by the ideas developed within this assembly. The wording for the decision suggested by Lindhagen reminds us of both the ancient clientele systems for municipal employees, and the desire to keep something of the older personal interest for social issues that had been the trademark of private charity and partly inherited by the philanthropic societies:

It is the in the line of duty displayed practical ability, the good sense of judgement, the empathic faculty and the good heart, which should be the municipal administrator’s most important qualifications.120

During the debate, Lindhagen specifically launched an attack against the specialisation of socially concerned matters and the bureaucratisation of this part of the administration inherited from other forms:

In this way, it would also strengthen what I call Maculatorism and the social bureaucracy in the society. These phenomena should be closely watched as they threaten to grow above our heads and stifle progress. We must be on the guard against such schooling of systematic investigation where one recedes deep into the infinite. In the end when the issue itself has been dealt with, it will amount to no more than a small rat piling up a mountain of tomes with great pains and waste of time.121

120 SCC Minutes 18 October 1920 §19, (Decisions) p 316. In Swedish: ‘Det är den i tjänsten ådagalagda praktiska dugligheten, det goda omdömet, medkänslan och det goda hjärtat, vilka bör vara den kommunala tjänstemannens viktigaste kvalifikationer.’
121 SCC Minutes 18 October 1920 §19, 476-77. In Swedish: ‘På detta sätt skulle dessutom lätt komma att stärkas, vad jag skulle vilja kalla makulaturismen och socialbyråkratin i samhället, företeelser, som vi verkligen måste gansa noga fästa uppmärksamheten vid, då de hota att växa över huvudet och slutligen kanske förkväva allt framstegsarbete. Vi
Signifying this technicalisation of the social was the frequent counterpoising of its methods against those deemed as *affärsmässiga* (businessminded), indicating an increased influence for the economic sphere of power.

It was an important aspect of the own homes policy that was inaugurated by the municipal authorities in Stockholm after the turn of the century, that a confident relation had to be established between the autarchic administration and the home builders, who were mostly recruited from the least powerful stratum of society.122 Since the measures were basically decided in a top-down fashion and not through democratic self-organisation, the priority was to gather information about the builders. This information was, as Dr. Ivan Bratt maintained in a City Council debate, to preferably be collected from doctors and the housewifes.123 During the 1920s, economic and social views were in this way repeatedly posed against each other in the recurrent conflicts about the limits of municipal intervention.125 As pointed out by the radical Social Democrat and attorney, Georg Branting, in a City Council debate in 1929 there was also a risk that the concept of the social would be stripped of all content and turned into a disguise for purely repressive measures:

> They say that socially sanitarian, social and socially hygienic views have replaced the police views. The law talks about honest provision, about a life useful for society, and it is of course held that views favouring improvements of the situation for the individual have been decisive, instead of veiw's favouring punishments. All this sounds beautiful and seducing enough, but when the question is about a thing like this, one still comes back to the question: How will it be in

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122 SCC Minutes 20 January 1922 §30; Proposal 9 1922.
123 These difficulties were specifically pointed out by amoung others Winberg, see SCC Minutes 30 November 1908 §2 #1, 1144-45.
124 SCC Minutes 15 June 1908 §10, Mom. A, 809.
125 SLMCI Minutes 16 October 1926 §5; SCC Minutes 21 January 1924 §21 (Thunell, Meurling); 18 February 1924 §26 (Ström, Karlsson); 15 November 1926 §14 (Söderberg, Welin); Proposal 8 1926, 75-76 (Carl Lindhagen).
practice? How will they treat the people in question? Where are they going to be sent? What kind of supervising staff are they going to receive. Which rooms are they going to sit in? How will their situation and their life concretely look like?  

The Struggle of the Boards

Soon after the turn of the century, the issue of a modernisation of the administration was brought up. The idea was to get away from the strict demarcation between a professional staff and amateur politicians. A series of proposals was made demanding further additions to the administrative structure in order to take care of the expanded field of municipal duties. For instance, Carl Lindhagen demanded a special commission for comprehensive planning, von Koch proposed a ‘Social Board’ to take care of the ‘Worker’s Questions’, and still others wanted special instances for appointments and for municipal building affairs. Another trend was proposing an overview of the general organisation issues. This trend included C. A. Söderlund, who demanded changes in the direction of broadened amateur participation, inspired by English municipal organisation. The social democrat, Knut A. Tengdahl, on the contrary wanted changes in the direction of the Danish system, with a board of responsible, salaried mayors. Simultaneously, voices were heard among the liberals and from the Finance Board itself in 1904. Through its chair, Hedenblad, it supported an expansion of the administrative staff as a way to counter the increased influence of the amateur politicians that had resulted with the proliferation of boards. In 1912, P. J. Rabe was appointed by the Working Committee to prepare a blueprint for an organisational reform. Although the enquiry was presented

126 SCC Minutes 18 November 1929 §14, 523. This debate was concerned with a circular from the national parliament concerning changes in the Vagrancy Act. In Swedish: ‘Man säger t. ex. att i stället för polissynpunkter har nu anlagts samhällssanitärna, sociala och socialhygieniska synpunkter, lagen talar om ärlig försörjning, om ett samhällsnystigt liv, och naturligtvis heter det, att förbättringssynpunkter ha blivit i första hand avgörande, i stället för straffsynpunkter. Allt detta låter ju vackert och förledande nog, men när det gäller en sak som denna, kommer man ändå till den frågan: hurudant blir det i praktiken, hur kommer man att förfara med vederbörande människor, vart kommer de att skickas, vilken sorts vaktbetejning kommer de att få, vilka rum kommer de att sitta i, hur kommer deras läge och liv rent konkret och praktiskt att gestalta sig?’

127 Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset I, 24-33.
in spring 1914, wartime troubles prolonged the period of discussion. The reform was not implemented until 1919-1920 along with the introduction of universal franchise. I will come back to this investigation, and the continued discussions about the professionalisation of municipal administration during the entire period under study, in chapter four. The crucial issue to note here is that the project was mostly directed against the old dyad system, where administrative personnel influenced the political deputies in a concealed way, which was labelled by Söderlund as the system of bak-blåsare (Rear Blowers).128

Himself a commercially active deputy (professionally, he was a bank manager), Rabe gave precedence to the English system and its bias towards the politically elected element of the administration. Consequently, his enquiry spoke unequivocally for restricting budget matters solely to the Finance Board, while other executive tasks would be delegated to a large number (25) of boards. Instead of the Working Committee, the Finance Board would jointly prepare the council agenda with a stadskansli (City Secretariat), headed by a delegation of the Council chair and deputy, and the chair of the Finance Board. In effect, one of the two ‘City governments’ would be eliminated.

As Yngve Larsson, the enquiry’s secretary admits; although trying to counter the propositions for a further centralisation to the salaried personnel that had been voiced earlier, the proposed organisation was also at odds with the parliamentary politics that was growing in importance as a result of impending democratisation.129 This, the war, and probably too generous a request to the multiple municipal institutions to submit their views, all served to prolong the preparation of the final proposal. As a first result, the Real Estate Board was created in 1919 (further discussed in the next chapter).130 A year later, a new proposal was forwarded where the desire for parliamentary influence was met by the creation of a stadskollegium (City Collegium) with six salaried heads of departments, appointed from the ranks of council deputies. These borgarråd (Burgher Councillors) would unite the political and executive functions of the administration, by both chairing the main boards and bearing the political responsibility before the City Council. Since they had to be elected by a two-thirds majority, how-

128 Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset I, 23.
129 For a general characterisation of the enquiry, see Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset I, 77-94.
130 See also Rådberg, Doktrin och tätet, 225-30.
ever, the changing political currents would never entirely determine the shape of the ‘government’.

Although the main structure of the reformed administration would remain until today, the conflicts between the amateur and the professional interests continued in the following decades. As chapter four will reveal, these conflicts would also characterise the relations between the administrative bodies, where especially the Finance Board (until the late 1930s headed by chairs from the conservative party) would continue to defend the autonomous power of the administration against demands for politicisation and democratisation. However, the same sentiments could be voiced as well by the head administrator of the most ‘social’ or politically influenced department, the real estate director in the 1930s Axel Dahlberg. He had already in 1934 expressed views casting doubts over his democratic sincerity; and when after a visit to Germany (for the study of single-house settlements) he talked to a local newspaper correspondent about ‘the incredible optimism and the great courage, which undoubtedly characterises the new regime’. In 1936, similar views were expressed in an official letter to the municipal authorities in Moscow. When requesting for technical advice concerning the building of the underground railways, he took the opportunity also to express his discontent about the political influence on the administrative decisions he was engaged in:

Since Your possibilities to give Your underground system a really rational solution must have been of unique extent, as you have not had to consider views which for the overall consideration of the question have no relevance, we think that Your way of solving the problems must be of especially high interest [...]

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132 Cited in *Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning* No 8, 30 April-15 May 1934, 4. *In Swedish*: ‘den oerhörda optimism och det stora mod, som otvivelaktigt karakteriserar den nya regimen.’
133 Concept for a letter to Trest Stroitelstwa Metropolitena pri Moskovskom Sowjetu, Moskau, SSSR, dated for translation from Swedish to German 14/1 1936, sent 16/1 1936, signed by Axel Dahlberg, Dokuments of the Country Domain’s Department of the Real Estate Office, F 2B:67, 1122-26, Archive of the Street and Real Estate Office (GFkA). *In Swedish*: ‘Då Ni torde haft sällsport stora möjligheter att giva Edert tunnelbaneproblem en verkligt rationell lösning, fri från hänsynstagande till för frågans
Conclusion

As we have seen, the private solution preferred by Howard in the end could not result in the kind of communities that he wanted to build. Instead, the technical features of the garden city concept were emphasised. In the Nordic countries, the municipal administration became an important part in the implementation of the concept – although reduced, more or less, to garden suburbs. The Norwegian and Danish suburbs that were built by trade unions seem in many ways to be closer to the original ideas than the garden cities that Howard himself was involved in building – and as we saw, Howard paid some interest himself to the Norwegian experience.

In Stockholm, the municipality built the garden suburbs (meaning suburbs on communally held land). We have also seen that the municipal administration retained very authoritarian facets throughout the period under study here. The subsequent chapters will show to what extent it could engage itself in building the kind of towns that Howard had dreamt of.
Chapter III
Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

It was May 1908, a little less than five years after the first press exhibition of the Letchworth site. The social democrat and Stockholm City Council member, Knut Abel Tengdahl, took a group of Danish local politicians out to an empty site a couple of miles south of Stockholm. When the vehicles had stopped, Tengdahl waved his arms widely around and triumphantly declared; ‘At this spot, we are going to build a city’!

The excitement may possibly have been motivated not only by the fact that results finally had been made after a long and consuming political campaign for municipal intervention in the housing market. I would suggest that elements of provincialism were involved as well, considering that Copenhagen at the time was considered as the Scandinavian metropolis that was by far providing the best housing for its inhabitants. The social democrats especially envied the success of their compatriots in the Danish capital. In September 1903, the influential social liberal editor and philanthropic ideologist, Gerhard Halfred von Koch, had published a widely discussed pamphlet, showing that the rents in the Danish capital were at about half that of Stockholm. The most important reason for this, according to von Koch, was that the City had learned from Germany how to conduct an effective land policy involving a considerable element of municipal landholding. The same ideas were now progressively introduced in Stockholm. Already in April 1903, the liberal city council deputy, Carl Lindhagen, had issued a notice for a more active land policy. His intention was that the City should start acquiring open land outside the city limits, and instead of later re-selling it at market prices and escalate land speculation, the land would be used for building purposes.

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1 "Södra Förstadbladet" 1 October 1932. In Swedish: ‘Mina Herrar! Här skall det bli stad.’
2 Yngve Larsson, På marsch mot demokratin, Från hundragradiga skalan till allmän rösträtt 1900-1920 (Uppsala 1967), 355.
3 Gerhard Halfred von Koch, Bostadsfrågan i Stockholm och Köpenhamn (Stockholm 1903), 4-5.
4 Stockholm City Council (SCC), Minutes 1 April 1903, §10, 10.
At the same time, this way of thinking was introduced into the municipal administration. An unsigned memorandum concerning a specific land purchase offer, probably written in early spring 1903 by the town engineer Herman Ygberg, suggested that ‘it would be useful for the growing suburbs and very useful for the city if at this time, when the expansion within the town planned area is soon at its end, the City could begin its acquisitions outside [the Town Planned Area]. At this time, when the scarcity of housing and the City’s compulsion to help are brought up, it seems strange that Stockholm does not solve this question in the same way as in ancient times, by granting sites for a small amount of money on “unfree or City ground”.’\textsuperscript{5} This idea related to the age-old practice that was gradually abolished in the course of the nineteenth century (see chapter four), when the town as the formal owner of all sites was letting them out, while proprietors regularly paid leaseholding money to the municipal treasury and were subject to a number of regulations.

In the summer of 1903, together with the town architect Kasper Salin, Ygberg submitted a petition to the Building Board charting out the basic ideas of a possible town expansion project.\textsuperscript{6} Their idea was that the city should make plans for homeowners’ settlements within the town-planned area (that is, what is now the inner city). Settlements of this sort would, they argued, ease the congestion effects of the five-storey tenements that were being built all over the city’s empty spaces at that time.\textsuperscript{7} In autumn 1903, the Finance Board granted two stipends for the Town Building Exhibition in Dresden. One of these stipends was granted to Per-Olof Hallman, at the time assistant to the Building Board, and the other to Ygberg.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{5} City of Stockholm Finance Board (SFB), Act 40 1903, 3. \textit{In Swedish:} ‘det torde lända de upväxande förstäderna till nytta och staden till afsevärd nytta om nu, sedan inom stadsplanen stadens landtvinning snart ändats, utom densamma stadens förvärf påbörjas. Nu, då bostadsbristen och stadens skyldigheter att afhjälpa densamma dryftas, förefaller det eget att vår tids Stockholm ej löser frågan på samma sätt som forntidens, genom upplåtandet emot en ringa penning af “ofri eller stadens grund”.’

\textsuperscript{6} Stockholm Building Board Minutes 9 September 1903 §9, Memorial 259. A grant was requested from the SFB, to finance a more thorough enquiry.

\textsuperscript{7} SFB Premier Department (PD) Documents 9 September 1903, 868

\textsuperscript{8} SFB PD Minutes 25 August 1903 §48, Act 795; 8 September 1903 §40. Hallman had been recommended for the trip by Town Architect Kasper Salin, who according to the Building Board Minutes 5 August 1903 §10, Appendage 1, had already visited the exhibition during the summer. We do not know if the two town planners witnessed the exhibition together. Hallman’s report was published in the journal \textit{Arkitektur och dekorativ}. 

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Later in the autumn when von Koch took up Ygberg’s and Salin’s memorandum for public discussion, he suggested that it would be better if the City instead expanded in the surrounding boroughs. He argued that building own homes within the boundaries of a grid city was a futile strategy. This also reflects how the Finance Board reasoned when the first great land acquisition of the Enskede possessions south of the city was proposed for the City Council in the end of March 1904.

**A Decisive break**

That this acquisition indicated a definite break with earlier town planning practice in Stockholm is indicated by the conflicts. The period was marked by negotiations between the City and the State administrations concerning the future use of Northern Djurgården (the area north and east of the re-

konst, and contained arguments for Stockholm to follow the German examples of town expansions. See Per-Olof Hallman, *Tysk nutida stadsanläggningskonst, Studie från utställningen i Dresden, Fördrag af arkitekt P Hallman, Stockholm, off-print from Arkitektur och dekorativ konst* (Stockholm 1903), 5; 7. Ygberg, on his part, did not write his report until March 1906, but the short memorandum he submitted to the board revealed that he also appreciated the exhibited expansion plans, see SFB PD Act 475 1906.

9 *Social Tidskrift* Vol 3:10 (1903), 292-94.

10 SCC Appendix 25, 1904. The board initiated this because of the dispersion and rapidly rising prices that characterised the inner-city sites. It would hardly be possible to build own-homes on these sites. However, as Ingemar Johansson points out, it seems rather hard to believe that the board really was telling the truth, when it (p 2) declared that the acquisition was the result of a series of investigations into a number of areas that would have been possible to acquire. However, it seems probable that Ygberg had for long been arguing for such a solution. In an unsigned circular he had pointed out that important acquisitions outside the city boundaries would only follow from the logic that had been the site acquisition policy for decades (more about that below). His own reflection upon the acquisition was, according to Carl Kinnman, as follows: ‘See these workers, who live with a lot of children and lodgers in a kitchen, possibly one room and a kitchen; the kids have to play in the backyard among garbage cans and rats, and then the father of the family goes to the pub, in order to for a while forget noise and nagging. One can not demand that an individual like that shall hold love for his country. However, if they would get for each a small plot, they would surely become better humans and better Swedes.’ Cited in Georg Mörner, *Ljus och luft, Herman Ygberg, Stadsingenjör och stadsplanerare 1844-1917* (Stockholm 1997), 103. *In Swedish: ‘Se dessa arbetare, som bo med en massa barn och inhysingar i ett kök, möjligen ett rum och kök; ungarna få leka på en bakgård bland sopkärl och råttor, så går familjefadern och sätter sig på krogen, för att en stund få glömma stim och gnat. Man kan ju icke komma och fordras att en sådan individ skall hyssa fosterlandsärlek. Men kunna de få en egen liten torva, då bli de säkert bättre människor och bättre svenskar.’*
cently built and affluent city district, Östermalm). This area, originally a Royal Game Park, had for several hundred years partly served as a military training field. By now, however, the Court had moved its hunting excursions from the immediate Stockholm area. At the same time, the technological development in the military had made the area obsolete for military purposes. The garrison was moved to the Järva field, north-west of Stockholm.

In order to finance this moving of location, the state intended to sell its land for the highest possible price. Consequently, the state-nominated Committee in charge (Ladugårdsgärdeskommissionen) requested the City to make town plans according to the high-density pattern that had recently been the rule other new city districts (The Swedish law grants the right to make city plans only to municipalities – who in turn need governmental approval for the plans to be legally valid). In the rescript dealing with the matter presented by the Committee in May 1903, it had ruled out any possibility for homeowners’ or other less dense settlements on the area. Rising land prices would, the Committee argued, very soon sweep that kind of building patterns away, as had earlier been the case on other fringe spaces bordering the tenement blocks. The Committee furthermore anticipated that the area in the subsequent decades would generate about 200 million Crowns, an enormous sum at the time.\footnote{Underdånigt betänkande och förslag angående försäljning af Norra Djurgården m. m., aflämnat af Ladugårdsgärdeskommissionen (Stockholm 1903), 5; 58; 69.} As a measure of comparison, the whole pre-Great War turn-about of the City for town plan acquisitions was 82 million Crowns (see chapter two).

There were at least two reasons for the City of Stockholm to oppose these plans. One of them was that if the state opened a land market of that size, this would affect not only private speculators but also the balance of the City’s own substantive landholdings. However, when the City representatives gave their views on the offer to the City Council, they put forward another line of argument. If new areas should be included into the town-planned area, they argued, this had to be done with other intentions than to continue the building of the dense Grid City. What the City needed, they maintained, was new areas for industries and for single-family cottages to house the working classes in a less congested way. This would not be possible on the state-owned area, considering the prices suggested by the Committee. Consequently, the representatives argued that the City should
use its municipal town planning monopoly and simply refuse to prepare town plans for the state-owned areas, as long as the state wanted to use them to continue the gridiron building pattern. At the same time, by purchasing new areas bordering the city in other directions, the City Council would over time change the negotiation terms and eventually reach a better solution.

The representatives of the state also anticipated this development. The Committee consequently upheld the view that the state had no responsibilities for municipal housing policy, and even tried to argue that tenements were a hygienically more preferable alternative than cottages. Salin and Ygberg, for their part, underlined the City’s position that it was of utmost importance to provide a viable alternative to the mass of high-rise tenements that had been erected in the preceding decades. It is obvious that the City authorities were convinced that the housing problems could no longer be ameliorated only by quick erection of a great number of apartments. Interest instead focused on the form of the housing, where the erection of homeowner’s settlements was clearly preferred over any other solution. As Herman Ygberg expressed this view:

The housing question of Stockholm would however receive a very quick solution, if Ladugårds gårds [part of Northern Djurgården] was delivered for building with six storey houses, since an abundance of living places may of course easier come into place if the houses are erected with six storeys than with a lesser amount. Nevertheless, [this solution of the housing question] would not be fortunate.

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12 SCC Appendage 162 1904, 2, signed in September 1904 by Ygberg, together with Axel Ekwall and A. O. Alrutz.
13 See Edvard Fränckel in SCC Minutes 21 November 1904 §11, as well as articles in Stockholms Dagblad 20 September 1904, and Svenska Dagbladet 16 October 1905.
15 Archive of Ladugårdsgärdeskommissionen arkiv F1a Vol 2, Draft for a letter to the King 26/10 1906, National Archive, 6; 8.
16 SFB PD Memo. signed by Salin 12 December 1904, approved by Ygberg 13 December 1904, cited in SCC Rescript 58 1905, 3.
The reasons for this view were not to be found on the level of spatial or technical considerations as such. Single houses, preferably owned by the occupiers, were considered advantageous because of their effects on the people living in them. The turn-about in town planning practice would, it was hoped, have important effects on the behaviour of the inhabitants of the town:

Through the implementation of the own-home idea the inhabitants would surely, among other things, become thriftier and consequently pay better taxes.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{General Outline of This Chapter}

The main argument of this chapter is that, around the turn of the century, a new feature was introduced into town planning thought in Stockholm: the idea that one could influence the subjectivity of town dwellers and their behaviour through the spatial forms of urbanity. This idea of disciplinary power carried out through urban forms had some interesting consequences. Firstly, it brought about an increased concern for the quality aspects of city building, especially in housing. The flipside of this was that the quantitative aspects could be downplayed. Secondly, because the question of order was increasingly handled through spatial measures, it was anticipated that urban order would in the future be the subject of direct interventions to a lesser extent. These would co-exist with the disciplinary city, but would be increasingly relegated to specified groups and/or areas.

\textsuperscript{17}Memo. of the Town Engineer Office to SFB PD Vol. 131, 798-799, signed by Ygberg 28 January 1907, Archive of the Street and Real Estate office (both cit). \textit{In Swedish:}
Since the disciplinary city mainly relied on the design of urban built environment, it had also a longer time of duration than the ideas guiding it – it fact, it is still in place to a large extent in these areas. Thus, it also came to co-exist with the subsequent governmental power techniques, which were gradually introduced in the early decades of the twentieth century. In this way, three modes of power rationality co-existed within the urban environment: direct interventions, disciplining spatiality, and governmental negotiating power.

The form of town planning emerging in the first half of the twentieth century was at the same time a part of the growing welfare state and the managed national economy. The municipal bodies in this period were increasingly incorporating different kinds of consultative and material services for less fortunate members of society that earlier had been managed by private or semiprivate organisations. At the same time, these civil organisations did their best to influence the construction of the welfare institutions, and the rules that would guide them. That kind of influence reached the town planning bodies as well, and was an important factor behind the doctrines that were effective during this period. The strength of this influence was however determined both by the traditions and organisation of the municipal administration, and the political situation in each city.

Although governmental rule may be considered significant of all political rule in capitalistic societies, it has its deepest links to advanced liberal currents. We may expect, for instance, that the economic sphere will have a much wider space of action within a less democratic, liberal society, and that the juridical, directly interventionist sphere will be more important under a conservative, communist or fascist rule. For instance, it is Richard J. Evans’ argument that the merchant traditions and liberal political dominance in late nineteenth century Hamburg caused an urban structure characterised by strong social segregation (i.e., sharp divisions between blocks of working-class tenements and the middle-class villa settlements), and the other way around. While the political administration was reluctant to launch hygienic and other urban reforms owing to the catastrophic consequences of the cholera epidemic in 1892, the apparatus of direct interventions into the lives of the working class was preserved and strengthened, under the influence of the private charity establishment. This practice was even incorporated into the Housing Inspection. On the other hand, Hamburg also
nurtured a large and militant working class movement. Both were features of a political and social structure, which was still rather unaffected by governmental power techniques and strategies. A liberalised economy without a social sphere had to retain its dependency on the direct interventions of the juridical/sovereign power rationality described in chapter one.

The introduction of political democracy and universal franchise changed the conditions to some extent. For one thing, the governmental strategists from now on had to take into consideration the demands of the dispossessed for more emphasis on the quantitative aspects of housing provision. When the possibilities to use spatial disciplinary power were circumscribed in that way, two responses were possible. One could either re-introduce direct interventions, at least in the more troubled spots, or try to strengthen the grip over the dispossessed through the new channels of mass organising by trying to influence the voluntary associations with the help of governmental power techniques.

During the inter-war period, the administration seems to have increasingly been drained of its ideological content. Instead, it appears to have been progressively populated by a group of specialised experts, well-trained in their respective specialisation, who picked up the welfare institutions and their ideological content more or less where their predecessors had left them, and tried to administer them as effectively as possible. These technocrats, or specific intellectuals as Paul Rabinow the American historian and philosopher labels them, were administering what may be called a middling modernism, to use another of Rabinow’s concepts. That is to say, they would find solutions both to technical and social problems – both increasingly defined with the help of scientific truth claims. Social and technical knowledge was thus taken into the service of urban order. Michael Harloe has argued that the pre-Great War housing reform movement left important legacies on the period that followed in the next two decades. The municipal housing for a long time would be considered as a supplementary activity, mostly used for categories left outside the realm of market activity whose needs in turn had to be socially constructed in opposition to the ruling market orthodoxy; thereby disciplining them through the influence of the

18 Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg, Society and politics in the cholera years 1830-1910* (1987), (Harmondsworth 1990), 105-08; 283-402.
market. The conceptions, institutional forms and actual models of municipal/social housing that had been established before the war would as well most often be predominant also in the following decades. What we would suspect to find is thus a combination of direct interventions, a disciplinary environment, and governmental ruling techniques.

This chapter will chart this development in Stockholm from the turn of the century through the decades ending with the Second World War. Most of the space will be devoted to the town planning practice of the City and how it, as indicated in the starting pages above, dramatically changed during the first decades of the twentieth century. I will discuss the influence of philanthropic ideology, from perspective of developments within the larger political context, and how it subsequently was transformed and, if only gradually, eclipsed under the pressure of demands for organisational effectiveness and objectivity. I will present an overall view of the ideological changes within the municipal administration with the help of a statistical factor analysis. Then I will give an overview of how different rationalities of power were combined in the pursuit of urban order. Lastly, I will also try to assess the kind of housing policy that arose as a result of these combinations.

The Eclipse of Direct Interventions

The much discussed anxiety over urban modernism in this period has to be understood against the background of the retreat of administrative power that had taken place in the western cities since the end of the eighteenth century. At the same time, as the actual need for regulations increased with the expansion of capitalism, municipal site control and other kinds of local level regulations had gradually been eliminated. Consequently, municipal expenses were either paid as compensation to real estate owners, or used for preparations of middle class housing or for infrastructural investments, which mostly benefited the commercial sector. The working class and the

poor suffered, especially during the recurring housing crises. The discontent that resulted was partly directed at the real estate interests, and partly absorbed by a more diffused resentment against the built environment as such.

The speed of transition in the city during the last quarter of the century was another factor that contributed to this alienation of its inhabitants. The level of internal movements was exceptional between the different districts, or parishes, of inner city Stockholm. The number of people moving annually from one *rote* (registration district) to another constituted one-third of the inhabitants and up to 45 percent at its extreme in 1883. The number of new registrants in the 1890s ranged between one-quarter and one-third of the population. All these movements contributed to a class-connected conceptualisation of space, where unofficial and pejorative names of places abounded. Especially, the re-naming of the streets in 1885 connected to the Haussmannisation projects, met with popular disapproval and caused increased use of unofficial labelling systems. The number of migrants from other parts of Sweden was especially high among the working class, and motivated in the 1880s activities from the trade union movements to limit the influx of labour from the countryside – which was also a way to limit the speed of city life.

Allan Pred the American geographer noted that the traditional Swedish word for town planning, *gatureglering* (Street Regulation), indicates an ambition that overcomes the mundane matters of simplifying communications and tidying the urban environment. While the eradication of potential trouble spots was an important reason for slum sanitation in old metropolises such as London and Paris, military considerations were among the

26 Pred, *Lost Words and Lost Worlds*, 133-134.
reasons for the provision of fast communication links, especially in Paris and Vienna, the cities most affected by the uprisings in 1848.\textsuperscript{27} Even the provision of open places like as city parks and squares could be motivated by a desire to strengthen the morals of the poor.\textsuperscript{28} However, the blending of social and technical measures merely represented a passing stage. In the end, urban order could only be addressed through housing policy.

These ambitions were most pronounced in the districts that were dominated by philanthropic or otherwise specialised housing for people of lesser means. The firm regulations of the Cité Napoléon in Paris, built to house some of the people who had been thrown out as a result of Haussmannisation, in the end offended the inhabitants enough to make them try to find less supervised housing. The result was that the district in the 1880s mostly housed middle-class families.\textsuperscript{29} As Stanley Buder argues, the philanthropic barracks in the centre of London may also have been among the main reasons why the English working class had such an urge for low-density living.\textsuperscript{30} The same was said about the inhabitants of the Dickson philanthropy houses in Gothenburg.\textsuperscript{31} Eva Jacobsson, the Swedish housing historian notes that with a few exceptions, philanthropic houses combined strict control with reluctance for modern equipment, a trait that may say just as much about their inherently moral ambitions.\textsuperscript{32} The Irish historian Maryann Valiulis shows how in the case of the Alexandra College Guild Tenement Company in Dublin around the turn of the century, conscientious pro-

\textsuperscript{27} Thomas Hall, \textit{Planning Europe’s Capital Cities, Aspects of nineteenth-century urban development} (London 1997), 293.
\textsuperscript{28} Peter C. Gould, \textit{Early Green Politics, Back to nature, back to the land, and socialism in Britain 1880-1900} (Sussex/New York 1988), 88-91.
\textsuperscript{31} Sten O. Karlsson, \textit{Arbetarfamiljen och det nya hemmet, Om bostadsbyggenism och klasskultur i mellankrigstidens Göteborg} (Stockholm/Stehag 1993), 37.
grams for improved diets, house tending and health improvement accompanied the supervision.33

The Enforcement of Morals

The posing of the question of urban order in the first place had to do with the increasing difficulties meeting the old rationality of direct interventions of juridical and pastoral (religious) power. In the moral realm during the nineteenth century, there had been a massive expansion of different kinds of philanthropic societies and associations complementing the ecclesiastical instances.34 This upsurge could be viewed from the perspective of the decline of the religious control system during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to religious practices in the Lutheran countries, knowledge in Christian scriptures and basic doctrines was to be controlled at regular intervals by the parish priest. This control was of strategic importance for part-taking in the Communion, and thereby also for acceptance in society at large. The priests talked repeatedly to the individuals, not only teaching them things but also influencing them morally. When the Communion started to lose its influence, beginning in the major cities, the importance of the scripture examinations declined and became insignificant during the course of the nineteenth century. The moral realm was thus transferred from the religious institutions to the secular – although often religiously influenced – organisations with private, semi-private and official status that were formed to manage the problem of order, as well as deprivation, in capitalist society.35

34 The earlier stages of this development in the Swedish context are described in Torkel Jansson, Adertonhundratalets associationer, Forskning och problem kring ett sprängfullt tomrum eller sammanslutningsprinciper och föreningssformer mellan två samhällsformationer ca 1800-1870 (Uppsala 1985); Johan Söderberg, Civilisering, marknad och våld i Sverige 1750-1870, En regional analys (Stockholm 1993) – the latter also relates to the subject formation from an Elianian perspective. Some of the research covering the latter stages of these processes are discussed in Sven Lundkvist, Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850-1920 (Uppsala 1977).
The 1862 Swedish Municipal Act was deliberately formed to bridge the gap between the more or less stately institutions – the juridical/pastoral domain, and the largely private character of charity, the nascent social domain. If nothing else, it was considered of utmost importance to convince the affluent to channel some of their resources to help the swelling ranks of the poor. The municipalities were legally conceptualised not as official bodies, but as limited companies; at least to the extent that power was directly related to the economic contribution of each participator. At the same time, they were also bureaucracies in the formation. Through this feature the power techniques of free market forces were directly implicated in all procedures involved. As was usually the case for ordinary companies as well, the state would still serve as ultimate overseer.36

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, women, the working classes, and the poor were largely excluded from political realms by both formal and informal means.37 The extremely asymmetric power relations that resulted were expressed in the aim of both private and municipal charity institutions to what the historian Birgitta Jordansson recently has termed this practice, fostra till kön (foster into [a] sex). That is, strict gender roles were promoted and men were ‘brought up’ to be reliable providers while women had to learn to take care of a home.38 While this theme would persist over time, the power techniques with which it was sanctioned changed.

During most of the nineteenth century, there were three instances of relief. The most pernicious were of course the closed institutions – the work

36 Jansson, Adertonbundratalets associationer, 40-50; Kjell Östberg, Kommunerna och den svenska modellen, Socialdemokratin och kommunalpolitiken fram till andra världskriget (Stockholm/Stehag 1996), 10. Voting rights was directly related to tax contributions. In 1871, only 10.1 percent of the population in the countryside and 17.7 percent in the cities had voting rights. The voting power was graded. One single – physical or juridical – person could have as much as 5,000 votes (or at maximum 20 percent of the whole). See Fritz Kaijser, ‘1862 års kommunallagar’, Hundra år under kommunalförfattningarna 1862-1962 (Stockholm 1962), 53. These rules were progressively ameliorated, but still after the 1907/08 reforms a 40 degrees scale was left. Even after the introduction of equal voting rights in 1919-21, some 3-4 percent in the country and locally much more of the population still had no voting rights, because they were clients of the relief system. These restrictions were not omitted until 1943 (see Östberg, Kommunerna och den svenska modellen, 97).

37 Kaijser,’1862 års kommunallagar’, 57; Östberg, Kommunerna och den svenska modellen, 71.

38 Birgitta Jordansson, Den goda människan från Göteborg, Genus och fattigvårdspolitik i det borgerliga samhällets framväxt (Lund 1998), 83.
houses, the children’s houses, the spin houses – where a portion of the poor were confined and overseen according to disciplinary methods. The second instance, according to degree of repression, were the measures of the Fattigvårdnämnden (the Poor Law Board), which was vested with the right to dispense relief according to conceptions of accurate behaviour, and according to gender – the kinds of work allegedly appropriate to each gender. To actually enforce these rules, however, the juridical power relied on, and this is the third instance, the tireless efforts of the emerging field of private charity organisations. These both provided substantial additional resources and complemented relief with supervision and more or less compulsory life-style guidance. A practice of close guiding, hjälpar- or vårdaressystemet (the Helper’s or Nursing System) was named after the German town Elberfeld, where it had been introduced in the 1830s. It seems to have been introduced in Sweden in the 1840s, shortly before a reformed Poor Law was decided in 1847. This early form of social sphere was still largely dependent on direct interventions and juridical/pastoral power.

Jordansson describes a practice where the philanthropic societies were strictly gendered like the ideology they were propagating, with men occupying prominent and fundraising positions, and women doing most of the hard work on the streets. Frequent home visits by the unmarried middle class women recruited in the associations were an important part of the global development from compassionate charity to more distanced and technically refined philanthropy. Not only were these visits an important source of increasing knowledge about the poor, they furthermore facilitated a more technical policy. They also gave at least some women access to a part of the public sphere and the chance to learn an advanced, if most often unpaid profession. At the same time, the shift in emphasis from charity to philanthropy, and from compassion to informed interventions, was encouraging an increasingly open discussion about the causes of poverty, and

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39 Michel Foucault, Övervakning och straff, Fängelsets födelse (Lund 1987), 166-227.
widened the interest for the material circumstances of the poor. Over time, however, professionalised work was increasingly transferred to men, and a class of salaried personnel was formed in at least the major cities. The two systems would nonetheless coexist for quite a while, but the visiting activities met recruiting problems already in the 1860s, which would only be exacerbated at the turn of the century. While the sources of voluntary work were not large enough to cope with the massive destitute caused by capitalist industrialisation and centralisation, it would in the end be impossible to fund this kind of close control on the basis on salaried labour. Instead, other solutions had to be found, and the visiting model would progressively be limited only to the most affected areas.

The Rent Collectors
Examples of this kind of privatised juridical and pastoral power existed outside the philanthropic sector also. As the British historian Alison Ravetz has showed, Glasgow police regularly raided working class houses even at nights to make sure that the number of people living in each house did not break regulations. The Swedish historian, Håkan Forsell, describes how Fastighetsägareföreningen (the Society of Real Estate Owners) in Stockholm during the last decades of the nineteenth century made a ‘black book’ of tenants who for different reasons were considered as undesirable by the landlords. Except for listing rent omissions and the like, the book also displayed anti-Semitic sentiments. The New York janitor, the concierge of Paris, the in-living proprietor in Vienna and the Verwalter in Berlin, as well as the block housemaster of Budapest and the non-resident Scot housing managers, were all regional variations of this same theme. It was considered necessary to pay people to watch over the property and residents, func-

tioning as a direct intervention in how residents led their lives (and treated the property).46

In Stockholm, the most consequential expression of this kind of reform of the working class communities from the outside, was the AB Stockholms Arbetarehem (Stockholm’s Workers’ Homes Ltd.). It was founded in 1892 by the school teacher Agnes Lagerstedt and based on the model of the Ruskin/Hill companies in London. The guiding idea of the project was to have unmarried middle class women living in the most depredated neighbourhoods, as examples and life guides for especially the women in working class families. Lagerstedt herself admitted that the ideological frame of the activity was reminiscent of the colonialist missionary expeditions.47 These ladies (or infrequently, gentlemen) had extensive powers to impose punishments for many offences other than rent omissions – such as unpermitted lodgers, alcohol consumption, unruliness and insubordination; the last applied to children as well.48

Contrary to most housing reformers of the time, Lagerstedt had herself extensive experience of living in working class communities. In 1889, she had started her career as a municipal rent collector in the still existing old wooden house blocks on Nybergsgränd in the centre of the otherwise affluent Östermalm district of Stockholm. As she explained, her presence in the block had on occasions been an important help for women living with despotic husbands. However, the main purpose of the project was to conserve and, from a middle class perspective, improve working class family life, rather than to assist in dissolving unfortunate marriages (or struggle against male violence).49

After Lagerstedt entered private philanthropy in 1893, the municipal rent collector activities were temporarily abandoned. They were, however, taken up again in 1901 by the district visitor Therése Otterdal. After a while, the City decided to expand the number of collectors, who in 1907 numbered

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47 Agnes Lagerstedt, Arbetarebostadsbolaget Stockholms Arbetarehem, Dess förhistoria och utveckling (Stockholm 1900), 2-3.
48 Lagerstedt, Arbetarebostadsbolaget Stockholms Arbetarehem, 58; 72. Similar rules were the case in the Dickson houses in Gothenburg, see Karlsson, Arbetarfamiljen och det goda hemmet, 37.
49 Lagerstedt, Arbetarebostadsbolaget Stockholms Arbetarehem, 1; 27; 71.
ten in all. At that time, the City had about 20,000 tenants in own houses, of which most were in *stadens kåkar* (the City’s shackles). These were situated on the areas that had been purchased by the City for future expansion, but which in many cases apart from the shackles would remain idle for decades. The collectors had wide but somewhat vague tasks, of which some were transferred to the Housing Inspection already in 1906. Their main task, apart from collecting the rent, was to watch over the tenants’ ways of life, not least their sexual habits. Prostitution was, of course, banished on the premises.

The strongest support for this system came from the *Föreningen för välgörenhetens ordnande* (FVO) (The Society for the Arrangement of Charity), a philanthropic organisation based mainly in the villa community of Djursholm, north of Stockholm, and in the earlier mentioned Östermalm district. Lagerstedt, who remained in the house she tended until her death in 1938, was already accepted as a member of the FVO as a symbolic gesture in 1894. However, this view from private philanthropy was not undisputed. From the heart of the municipal administration, the Finance Board had raised doubts both on reasons of integrity and on economic grounds.

Further on in February 1914, Josef Norén, a building contractor and conservative deputy of the City Council, pointed to the fact that the rent collectors mostly had none or little technical knowledge about the houses that they were tending. The un-liberal form of control involved came perhaps easier under the eyes also because it was managed mostly by females.

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50 SCC Appendage 161 1907, 90-94. It was at the time decided, building on the experiences of the rent collectors, that some of the inspectors had to be women, since women could much easily get in touch with female members of the families who could provide them with indispensable information. See Health Board Minutes 17 November 1905 §16 Appendix C, Cf. 25 October 1906 §10, Appendix D. This practice was later defended in the SCC by one of its practitioners, Anna Lindhagen, see SCC Minutes 16 March 1914 §18, 181.

51 FB PD Act 180 1903.

52 See SCC Proposal 17 1907, 20.


54 SCC Minutes 30 March 1904 §6 (Hallström); 2 March 1908 §5 (Lamm).

After the war, the social democratic policy abolished the old rent collector system and totally replaced the collectors (frequently women) of middle-class origin with technically skilled (and working-class male) collectors. The inspiration for this policy came from the administration of the new areas outside the inner city, where collectors of the community reform-type never had been used. 56 When the City in 1928 reduced the number of collectors from 33 to 10, the last of the women collectors had to leave as well. 57 This did not, however, imply that the idea of the rent collectors as social consultants completely disappeared. Rather, their duties were at least temporarily transferred to the Housing Inspection. 58

The system, as I will come back to it below, was somewhat revived in the 1930s and 1940s in the context of mass provision of either subsidised or at least publicly guided housing, especially directed towards families with many children. In the end though, it was apparent that direct intervention was not a feasible solution for the issues to promote order and conduct of life in the swelling blocks of workers’ housing. To actually supervise every working class family would, if nothing else, simply be too expensive. It would be hard enough to keep track of them, bearing in mind the extreme velocity characterising their housing careers and appropriation of the city at the time. These changes within the housing management run largely parallel to a much broader development in the management of the poor. Instead, disciplinary and governmental techniques would be developed.

The Disciplinary Housing Discourse

When housing policy was taken up by the philanthropic societies by the end of the nineteenth century, the discourse that had resulted from all these developments was an amalgamation of techniques from all different fields. The moralising practice had crystallised into an extensive discourse on how

56 See Country Domain’s Board (CDB) Minutes 11 December 1918 §11, Appendix D, 6; REB Minutes 2 July 1919 §16; 17 September 1919 §13; 4 November 1921 §24; 9 December 1921 § 19; SCC Minutes 5 May 1919 §5 (Staël von Holstein).
57 *Stockholms kommunalkalender* (Matrikel of Stockholm’s Municipal Administration) 1907-1930, heading ‘Stadens vicevårdar’. Except for the year 1919, when they sorted under the Poverty Office, they worked during this entire period for the technical departments, the building office, and the rent department of the real estate office, respectively.
58 See the different views put forward in the debate, SCC Minutes 1 April 1930 §19.
best to make a home as pleasant as possible. The repressive institutions that had characterised this kind of policy had progressively disappeared, and instead the message was increasingly, and perhaps more effectively, spread through the emerging channels of mass information. The basis of policy was consequently transferred from the juridical/ecclesiastical to the governmental field, and rather enforced through creation and distribution of life-style ideals than by supervision. Another practice, given great emphasis at the time, was to give the disciplining power of the market forces at least limited influence. While it was understood that the economic field in general had destructive as well as productive consequences, there was still the hope that a limited exposure to economic forces could have a positive influence on the individual.

However, while there was a displacement in both these cases from the direct influence of personal supervision to the indirect effects of measures working on large numbers of people, these influences related to the reform of individual subjects. At the same time, three other strategies aimed at the behavioural effects on collectivities. These were the disciplining themes of dispersion and separation (both presupposing a previous moment of categorisation), and the therapeutic theme of the social effects of the influence of nature. These themes jointly provided the backbone to the thinking that guided the design of the built environment, the disciplinary city, from the late nineteenth century onwards. I will briefly present both kinds of strategies, the one concentrating on individuals, and the one concentrating on collectives, in sequence.

The individualistic themes

Austerity

It was often considered that a major deficiency of the modern society was that the workers did not own their homes. The medical writer and lecturer, Truls Johan Hartelius, in 1874 lamented that an own house would help the labourer to ‘become a capitalist and enter into the class of possessors’. This would in turn, argued Doctor Hjalmar Wallqvist, both provide the workers and their families an economic security during hard

times, and the same time encourage thrift and social responsibility.\textsuperscript{60} The thrift and responsibility implied would, of course to a considerable extent, simply be the consequence of the need to regularly pay mortgage dues. On the other hand, the sense of economic compulsion was thought to spur the interest to take care of the premises, and in that way lead to a home-bound process of dynamic self-civilisation.\textsuperscript{61}

\textit{Cosiness}

The theme of cosiness (trevnad), which also became a staple of mass-produced guideline of life-style, can be divided into two sub-themes. Sometimes it concerned purely physical factors; an uncosy living place could in itself, by its physical effects, damage both body and spirit.\textsuperscript{62} Otherwise, the desire to avoid the uncosy conditions that characterised one’s home could provoke immoral behaviour, which in its turn would deprave vitality.\textsuperscript{63} As Wallqvist and the journalist Gustaf af Geijerstam in different ways underlined, that if the middle class were to live under the same material circumstances as the poor, then the middle class itself would not be able to live according to the code of civility which it declared as being the major sign of humanity.\textsuperscript{64} Knut A. Tengdahl, the social democratic union activist to become City councillor, tried in the mid-1890s to augment the reputation of the Stockholm dock workers by arguing that their somewhat rough appearances were in fact the effect of bad living conditions.\textsuperscript{65} Cosiness became the keyword in a number of ways for improving workers’ housing. Apparently, the aim was the creation of a home-bound semi-bourgeois living habit heavily dependent on a provider-housewife division

\textsuperscript{60} Hjalmar Wallqvist, ‘Om arbetarebostäder’, inledande föredrag, Särtryck ur Hygia (Stockholm 1890), 20.
\textsuperscript{61} See, for instance, the radical liberal economist Henry George, Social Problems (London 1884), 227. This position (as presented by the German economist Emil Sax) was subject to a devastating critique in Friedrich Engels, \textit{I bostadsfrågan} (1872), (Moskva/Stockholm 1974), 44-51.
\textsuperscript{62} Hartelius, \textit{Om arbetarebostäder}, 48.
\textsuperscript{63} E. Heyman, ‘Om arbetarebostäder’, \textit{Aftonbladet}, 7 November 1890.
\textsuperscript{64} Wallqvist, ‘Om arbetarebostäder’, 18; Gustaf af Geijerstam, \textit{Anteckningar om arbetarför- hållanden i Stockholm} (Stockholm 1894), 16.
\textsuperscript{65} Knut A Tengdahl, \textit{Material till bedömande af hamnarbetarnes i Stockholm lefnadsförhållanden} (Stockholm 1897), 3, 6.
of labour within the families (which at the time may have seemed somewhat utopian for poorly paid labourers).66

The Collectivistic Themes

Dispersion

The first of the disciplinary themes, dispersion, originally seems to stem from the housing inquiries that, following the cholera epidemics, were compiled in the 1840s under Louis-René Villermé in France and Edward Chadwick in Britain. Chadwick constructed the concept ‘overcrowding’, by contrasting excessive densities with a home-centred normality, and stating that high densities of tenants would bring not only hygienic, but also moral and political risks.67 A particularly widespread fear was against the concentration of workers’ families in barrack-like tenements, where people regularly could meet and (badly) influence each other.68 The line of causation could be constructed in a number of different ways here. Of strategic importance was the amount of air space, which was frequently measured and distributed per inhabitant of the apartments.69 This way of reasoning was not necessarily dependent on the miasma theory of airborne infectious diseases. On the one hand, it connected to the theme of cosiness: crowded apartments are hard to keep clean and tidy.70 On the other hand, it connected to the next theme, separation, by addressing the richness of possibilities for social encounters, especially in the staircases, between

68 Hartelius, Om arbetarebostäder, 12; Wallqvist, 'Om arbetarebostäder', 48; Lagerstedt, Arbetarebostadsbolaget Stockholms arbetarehem, 5; Axel Raphael, Bostadsfrågan, Föreläsningar hållna vid Stockholms arbetareinstitut (Stockholm 1903), 39.
69 Hjalmar Wallqvist, Bostadsförhållandena för de mindre bemedlade i Göteborg, Studie sommaren 1889, Stockholm 1891, 115; Cf. Hartelius, Om arbetarebostäder, 48; Lagerstedt, Arbetarebostadsbolaget, 5; Raphael, Bostadsfrågan, Stockholm 1903, 3-5.
70 Hartelius, Om arbetarebostäder, 7.
members of the many families living in crowded houses.\textsuperscript{71} The intimate connections between moral and sanitary considerations were explained by doctor Hjalmar Wallqvist in his statistical enquiry of the housing situation in Gothenburg, published in 1891:

Virchow has broken new grounds in the medical sciences with his ‘cellular pathology’ that attributes diseases and their treatment to new appearances in the cell. More or less consciously, the sociologist now does the same, by explaining unhealthy appearances in family life as the source of deep and common social suffering. Because the entire societal body is endangered, if what in itself can be said to correspond to the cell, that is the family, more commonly reveals unhealthy symptoms. Therefore, it is plain to see that a thorough knowledge of the foundation of the family: the house and home, is of the greatest importance for a social pathology and \textit{therapeutics}.

There were no doubts about the result of these efforts: ‘The isolation of these families should be the objective’.\textsuperscript{72}

\textbf{Separation}

The second sub-theme, separation, draws on mid-nineteenth century fears of the dangerous classes, which could be infected with diseases, immoral

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\textsuperscript{71} Hartelius, \textit{Om arbetarebostäder}, 12; Wallqvist, ‘Om arbetarebostäder’, 19; Raphael, \textit{Bostadsfrågan}, 39.

\textsuperscript{72} Hjalmar Wallqvist, \textit{Bostadsförhållanden för de mindre bemedlade} (Stockholm 1891), 114; 115. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘I den medicinska vetenskapen har nu Virchow genom sin ‘cellulära patologi’ brutit en ny väg, i det han hänförde sjukdomar och deras botande till företeelser i cellen. Mer eller mindre medvetet, går sociologien samma väg, då den förklarar sjukliga företeelser i familjelivet för källan till djupa och allmänna sociala lidanden. Ty hela samhällskroppen är i fara, om det, som i densamma kan sägas motsvara cellen, d v s familjen, mera allmänt röjer sjukliga symptom. Det ligger väl derför i öppen dag, att en noggrann kändedom af familjens grundval: huset och bostaden, är af största betydelse för en social patologi och – \textit{terapeutik}! ; ‘Familjernas isolefing borde vara målet.’
Chapter III – Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

desires, and subversive political ideas. In its original form, it addressed especially the risks of contracting diseases from infected individuals, or being influenced by ideas from lone agitators. Over time, this theme seems to have evolved into a proto-xenophobic fear of any ‘mixing of bodies and cultures (or mental forms)’, as the French historian Pierre-André Taguieff has described more modern forms of this subspecies of fear. Apart from a complicated division of the city space between people of different ethnicity and occupations, it demanded a vigorous gender division of space, both inside and outside houses. In particular, there was a growing fear of the moral risks evolving from the working class practice of taking in lodgers. The lodgers would presumably have too many chances of seducing the women of the families (or, if they were females, themselves being seduced).

Another case in point was as mentioned the frequent meetings taking place between the apartments of crowded tenement houses, the causes of both conflicts and sexual possibilities. As Dr. Axel Raphael proposed, it would be a better alternative if staircases in the same way as the English were placed externally or in front of the houses.

The Influence of Nature

When Stockholm acquired its country domains, it was with the intent to inaugurate a new way of dealing with the housing crises that haunted the rapidly expanding city. The idea was to build houses of a reasonably high quality in surroundings where the design of the settlements would be subject to vigorous control. This idea was confirmed in the programme of

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76 Gustaf af Geijerstam, Anteckningar om arbetarförhållandena i Stockholm (Stockholm 1894), 52; Raphael, Bostadsfrågan, 3.
77 Raphael, Bostadsfrågan, 39; Cf. Hartelius, Om arbetarebostäder, p 42-43.
the body of administration in charge, the Country Domain’s Committee that was made permanent as a board from 1908 onwards. The programme stated that houses in the domains would be built under regulations that would make it possible to ‘avoid the ruthless exploitation of sun, light and air, which the business competition single-handedly has caused in larger communities’.78

This was an outflow of the third of the themes, the need to make workers’ housing settlements into therapeutic environments. This theme included, at least in its Stockholm version, two further characteristics – apart from its devotion to ‘nature’. One was the effort to build aesthetically attractive environments. The Country Domain’s Board at first proposed far-reaching prescriptions for the building of the garden suburb houses and that the city authorities should overview the drawings. Among other things, it prescribed that the buildings should be ‘appropriate and tasteful’. This passage was however omitted by the City Council.79 In practical terms, the aesthetics of the garden suburb buildings was instead increasingly decided by the economic conditions of the City of Stockholm Leasehold Mortgage Credit Institute. As the financial risk-taker, the mortgage credit institute was more generous toward regular styles in solid materials, than towards anything resembling the anarchistic styles that were so frequent in the older suburbs on privately owned land, with more varying conditions of financing. This economic style guiding soon gave the municipally monitored suburbs a notoriously monotonous building pattern.80

The second characteristic was the explicit objective to use the site leasehold rights as an instrument of collective learning process. The inhabitants of the garden suburbs would get accustomed to not having the opportunity to use their building sites for value purposes, or as assets to speculate. Carl Lindhagen, chairman of the Country Domain’s Board, several times successfully argued against the proposal to introduce the opportunity (as it

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78 CDB Minutes 22 June 1908 §1, Appendage A, 3 (Meurling). In Swedish: ‘förhindra det hänsynslösa exploaterande av sol, ljus och luft, som den enbara affärskonkurrensen framkallat inom de större samhällena’.


Chapter III – Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

existed in Gothenburg) to choose whether to lease or buy the sites. His argument was that this would not only create incentives for (petty) land speculation, but also undermine the identification with the whole (the City, the society, or the social in itself). In the long-run the practical experience of living in this kind of therapeutic, or more accurately educational environments from this perspective, would change the norms towards a more collective and less single-dimensional economic view of the provision of housing. It was, as Lindhagen once put it, a question of ‘the creation of a public view, which at first consents to, then understands and in the end will celebrate that kind of order’.81

The Eclipse of the Disciplinary City

For all practical matters, however, the policy invigorated by the disciplinary housing discourse could never be sufficient to control an urban setting. The disciplinary model townscapes of Mulhouse and Creusot in France were among those most affected by the tide of industrial unrest in 1869; the model town created by George Pullman near Chicago, also the scene of bitter labour strife in 1894.82 The purely disciplinary settlements, both of the centralised Cité ouvrière- type and the model villages, were considered both too expensive in themselves, and inadequate for their purpose.83 It became increasingly apparent that architectural and pedagogic devices alone could not make relations within a capitalist society peaceful. At the same time, labour organisations and other social movements became encapsulated by a culture of respectability and industriousness. Over time, it made it possible and mandatory for their members to eventually claim a stake in the society that they for generations of hard labour had done the main part in developing.84 Time was ripe for a change from the Owenite to the Howardian model (see chapter one).

The social expanded from being only a field for targeted interventions on a population, to become a field of action for at least substantial portions of

the population if not all, where almost everybody in different ways participated in the reproduction of the relations of power. Advises from different sets of professional experts were received not only by a select group, but also by ordinary people in a multiplying number of social functions. The different functions of control, evaluation, measuring and examination of citizens according to different functions and degrees of normality were delegated as well. In this way, group solidarity was abstracted and subjected to the norms of society, and the identification of individuals became subject to an evaluation of norms formed by experts, but executed on a much wider base. While the normalised individual of the nineteenth century had been more or less forced to acquire new faculties because of the influence of different disciplinary measures, the social individual would be able to arrange life according to a conception of and identification with the social environment; and the multiplicity of relations that it involved. At the macro level, the economic and social ‘machines’ were interwoven in a complicated field of rights and duties, actively involving large parts of the population and motivated by theories of universal or particularistic solidarities. The main example here was the social insurances, where the state (or other macro actors) carried the aggregated risks and responsibilities for enormous collectives.

To be socially responsible meant to be both aware of and accepting the responsibilities and dependencies implicated in these relations. As Paul Rabinow puts it: ‘Social life depended on mutual consent to mutual protection against mutual risk.’ This implied, apart from the training necessary for ‘civilised’ public performance, a language and competence for self-mastery, self-understanding, and self-judgement in the private realm. Freedom became a strategic asset of power.

The actual housing policy of Stockholm during the garden city era was a mixture of all these forms of governing – direct intervention, the market, disciplinary, and governmental measures – although the techniques building on social solidarity undoubtedly acquired increased importance over time.

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85 Nikolas Rose, Powers of Freedom, Reframing political thought (Cambridge 1999), 73-79; 131-34.
86 Rose, Powers of Freedom, 81-82.
87 Rabinow, French Modern, 187.
The social in this respect is best understood in connection with the broadening of aims for the public housing sector that occurred after the two world wars.

**The Social Housing Policy from Intervention to Solidarity**

Policy formation in the early twentieth century was still largely a prerogative of the closed arenas of the bourgeois public sphere. Organised interests were beginning to establish themselves, but according to the rules and conditions of bourgeois class domination within an autarchic society. The origins of the Swedish social housing policy are at least partly found in an *art nouveau* chapel on the hills of the villa suburb Djursholm, north of Stockholm. Djursholm, inspired by the ‘White City’ suburbs of Chicago was, as mentioned, founded in 1889 by the Djursholm Company Ltd., headed by bankers Johan Henrik Palme and Louis Fraenckel and wholesaler Emil Egnell.89 Reportedly, Palme in the early days wanted to build a class-integrated ideal society, but in the end this integration was manifested only in the fact that in 1895 25 percent of the inhabitants were domestic servants.90 The garden suburb nonetheless became the home of an impressive collection of intellectuals and artists – Viktor Rydberg, August Strindberg, Alice Tegnér, Elsa Beskow, Verner von Heidenstam and many more – and for several years almost any Swedish architect of some reputation had worked with at least one of the impressive villas in the community.91

In 1895-98, the Djursholm chapel was built, financed by generous donations mostly from the Palme couple and English Quakers.92 Perhaps, as a reaction against the extremely conservative environment, the chapel became the centre for a left liberal current engaged in charity and social work. It was headed by Elsa’s father Natanael ‘uncle Na’ Beskow, a free thinker minister artist, who from 1897 also headed Birkagården, a centre for homeless people situated in the working class quarters of north-western Stock-

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90 Åke Eriksson, *Danderydsliv, Djursholm, Stocksund, Danderyd* (Stockholm 1979), 185.
Beskow was not only a dedicated director of charity but also played an important role in ameliorating the relations between the state church and the workers’ movement, and was in 1918 the co-founder of the ecumenical and non-partisan Förbundet för kristet samhällsliv (the Association for Christian Social Life). Almost everyone who took part in the formation of social policy in Stockholm – and Sweden – around the turn of the century eventually found their way to his congregations.

Most of them were organised in the already mentioned Föreningen för välgörenhetens ordnande, a society for upper class people with an interest in social questions. It was founded, after a social study trip to England started in 1889, by Ernst Beckman, editor of the liberal daily Aftonbladet soon to become managing director of the Djursholm Company Ltd. The society was, as mentioned above, engaged in the English-inspired workers’ housing company led by Agnes Lagerstedt. Possibly, the most influential member of the society’s board was Agda Montelius, one of the founders of the Swedish suffragette movement and the Centralförbundet för socialt arbete (the Central Association for Social Work, CSA – the Swedish counterpart to Musée social, Fabian Society and Verein für Sozialpolitik which was founded in 1903). This association grew out of an attempt to integrate the Beskow/FVO group and Föreningen Studenter och Arbetare (the Society of Students and Workers, FSA) of the university town of Uppsala, 60 kilometres Northwest of Stockholm. The co-ordinator of CSA was the earlier mentioned Gerhard Halfred von Koch, a graduate of the agricultural college and a leading writer on social issues in Sweden during the first decade of the century.

von Koch was a member of the Beskow circle, who during a study trip to London in 1897, had participated in a Presbyterian discussion group that included William Booth and Josephine Butler (and Pjotr Krapotkin, whom von Koch, however, never met). The FSA was connected to the Beskow group by, among others, the medical Doctor Edvard Laurent, a prominent member of the Djursholm community. He held the chair of FSA from its

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93 Eriksson, Danderydsliv, 95-98.
95 Erik Kule Palmstierna, Ett brytningsskeede (Stockholm 1951), 44-49.
96 Kerstin Thörn, ‘Föreningen för välgörenhetens ordnande’ och bostadsfrågan", 133-34, 139-40.
97 Olsson [Hort], Social Policy, 52; 64-65.
98 Agnes Wirén, G. H. von Koch, Banbrytare i svensk socialvård (Stockholm 1980), 51.
start in 1889 to 1891, and after that founded a Stockholm branch. In 1899, von Koch, together with Laurent, started to prepare the publication of a general journal of social issues, of which von Koch, however, eventually from its start in 1901 had the full responsibility (because of conflicts with Laurent who would not accept a non-partisan friendly relationship with the workers’ movement). From 1903, Social Tidskrift became the official journal of CSA.

The FVO had in the 1890s started to influence the housing politics in Stockholm. In 1902, Gustaf Tamm, the chair of the society and also the recently retired Governor General in Stockholm, and thereby also retiring chair of the City Council, read a petition from the FVO demanding forceful measures by the municipal authorities against the housing crisis (and most of all against the lodging system). This initiative was continued by the Stockholm branch of FSA, which started its own housing committee in October 1902 combining the social democrats Knut Tengdahl and Charles Lindley with liberals von Koch and Axel Raphael. The committee was immediately joined by, among others, Otto Hirsch and Sven Palme of Djursholm as well as by Albin Lindblom, the prominent member of FVO and the municipal Poverty Inspector.

In March 1903, the City Council appointed a housing committee of its own, which from June 1903 also included von Koch. Much because of a series of articles by von Koch in Social Tidskrift, the FSA committee still managed to make its ideas the most influential. The ethical message of the original FVO petition was combined with both the municipal interventionism and the German-inspired land politics that had been introduced in a lecture series given by Axel Raphael in 1902, and the expansionist town planning recipes of Per-Olof Hallman, who soon became an influential member of the FSA committee (in 1907 he was also hired to make the comprehensive town plan of Djursholm).

In a lecture before Svenska teknologföreningens afdelning för husbyggnadskonst (The Swedish Society of Technology, department for the Art of House-building) in 1902, Hallman had compared the situation of Stockholm to a

99 Wirén, G. H. Von Koch, 79-80.
100 Ibid, 83-85.
recently published expansion plan for the German city Stuttgart, signed by Reinhard Baumeister. In his speech, Hallman related especially to the ongoing negotiations with the State about the Djurgården area. The message he wanted to give was unequivocal:

If the villa and own-homes-idea is correct, and will some day make its way here, which it probably will by force, then it is mandatory that the Stockholm plan has to be expanded and that with this expansion necessary regard will be taken towards the own-homes-idea; that the City if possible will continuously purchase everything that can be bought out of unexploited areas in its vicinity, or otherwise leads the planning work in the right direction.

von Koch supported this view in an influential article in Social Tidskrift. Albin Lindblom reporting from a housing congress in Düsseldorf, further supported it. In November 1903, the housing committee formed by FSA’s Stockholm branch held a large public meeting, from which it sent a widely spread resolution. Very soon, a large part of the local organisational life had put their names behind the proposal. The housing question was, as mentioned, among the most important issues preceding the liberal breakthrough in the elections, when the liberal (and social democrat) members of the Beskow-Djursholm-FVO-FSA-CSA circles were able to establish

103 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 104-05.
105 Social Tidskrift Vol 2:8 (1902), 297; 303-05.
106 More exactly, and according to a report on the issue by von Koch in Social Tidskrift Vol. 3:4 (1903), 117, 57 organisations, of which 23 temperance societies and 20 union branches.
themselves in the Stockholm City Council.\textsuperscript{107} This brought a long-lasting influence on municipal housing discourse.

**MAP III:1:** Hallman’s 1902 Sketch for the Expansion of Stockholm

\begin{figure}
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map31}
\caption{Hallman’s 1902 Sketch for the Expansion of Stockholm}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{107} *Social Tidskrift* Vol 3:4 (1903), 116-120; Larsson, *På marsch mot demokratin*, 232-46.
Structure and Change of the Disciplinary Housing Discourse

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Anyone trying to analyse and understand political developments from a historical point of view will sooner or later approach the fact that politics, at least when seen in retrospect, is very much a question of the production, distribution and assessment of texts. Politics as actual practice is a question of meaning, of the art of contextualising different alternatives of action in order to make them attractive or at least comprehensible to different influential groups.\(^{108}\) Political discourse plays a decisive role in the reproduction of social structures, power relations, and social inequalities, through its dissemination of different thought models, or modes of social cognition, enabling and circumscribing social action.\(^{109}\) Since the late 1980s, we have seen voluminous literature on the dynamic and static aspects of discourse in the context of political and socio-political history develop.\(^{110}\)

Speaking in these terms, however, it must be emphasised that there is never just one discourse. What people are telling each other is always and often in very complicated ways, deduced from representations and ways of thinking with origins from very varying contexts.\(^{111}\) The utterances made must be seen as combinations of different discursive regularities, where some elements may be integrated as a way to signal the degree of comprehension of (and sympathy for) other people’s views; at the same time as other elements are better understood as re-orientations and modifications (or even as counter-arguments) intended to the annihilate views that are thought of

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as impossible to comprehend or to integrate with one’s own thoughts. When we start to think of political discussion is this way, we may view it as a systematic game where worldviews and arguments are interwoven in a complicated pattern that is usually hard to both look through and interpret.

The structural and post-structural critiques of language, which became influential in different countries from the late 1950s and onwards, provide models for research which would make it possible to dig into this structure of discursive formations and determine its main nodal points. The problem with the methods that have been applied is that they still are not distanced enough from ordinary interpretative procedures. There is a need to develop a distinctly positivist methodology for discourse analyses. The methods inspired by post-structuralist thoughts have in social science been criticised, especially for their biased choices of cases and sources. Perhaps they are also too labour-intensive to be effective when large stocks of texts are involved.

One way to approach these problems, which will be elaborated in this part of the chapter, is to use statistical methods. To motivate this, we would use the rather trivial argument that there is a homology between the central tenets of structural/post-structural textual analysis and bi- or multivariate statistical methods like correlation and factor analysis. A number of different multivariate methods can be used (of which we have chosen factor analysis – principal axis factoring – for reasons given in Appendix 1). The important point, however, is the usefulness in distancing oneself from the interpretative moment. We will use the above mentioned methods to try to determine both the structure of the discussion, and its different dimensions (or ‘layers’), and the connection between the discussion and its dimensions and the different subjects involved in it. First, we will present the context of the discussion. Then we will proceed to a closer presentation of how the data have been constructed, and of the quantitative methods applied. The analysis will be constructed as a description of and comparison between the discussion as it took place in the beginning of the period, in 1907-08; and at the time of some important decisions made in 1925-27. In the last section,

112 A brief introduction to these methods may be found for instance in Christopher Norris, Deconstruction, Theory and practice (London/New York 1982/91).
113 Arne Jarrick, Den himmelske älskaren, Herrnhutisk väckelse, vantro och sekularisering i 1700-talets Sverige (Stockholm 1987), 162-63.
we look into how deeply associated these discourses were to some chosen participants of the discussion.

**The Stockholm Housing Discourse**

The first ten years of the twentieth century were, as mentioned, the formative period for the housing policy that would dominate in Stockholm during the following decades. Between 1904 and 1910, the City purchased large tracts of land in the neighbouring parishes. In 1907-1908, it was decided that the municipal authorities would no longer sell building plots in the urban fringe, but instead rent them out as site leaseholding rights (this will be discussed in more detail in chapter four). As the dominating landowner the City could itself oversee both the building of exemplary garden suburbs on its own land, and, as a major land provider, exercise intensive control over the land market in the whole region. This made it also easier for the City to exercise its influence when the housing policy in the late 1910s broadened so as to include the building of small flats for the poorer sections of the working class. More about this in Chapter four.

Two decades later, in the mid-1920s, the social democratic party with communist electoral backing comfortably ruled the City Council. However, the liberal and conservative parties were, as mentioned, proportionately represented in all executive bodies – a fact that of course influenced the political discourse. Still, the political arena was marked by a considerably higher degree of confrontation than in the pre-democratic context, when left wing and right-wing radicals instead had tried to find common perspectives in order to outflank the liberals. It could be expected that the political goals of the different actors would be more clearly voiced at the later period.

We have for this investigation, on the one hand, looked at those debates in the Stockholm City Council dealing with housing- or land policy questions (at the time tightly connected). On the other hand, we also include all administrative material concerning these debates, except some routine material, from other bodies connected with the City Council. We have (practically) included all (municipal) material relating to housing and land holding issues in the Stockholm City Administration during the relevant periods. This choice, or in a way, this non-choice of sources is motivated by the contention that there are no privileged areas of discourse production. Elements of discourse float – not freely, of course – from level to level within
all hierarchies, without ever being under anyone’s ultimate control. We note as well that this methodological principle is a strong argument for our methodology – when sources abound methodology must be adjusted. It goes without saying, that with the help of sampling techniques our methodology could also be used to get an overview over immensely larger amounts of sources than those used in this study – without having to abandon the principle of non-hierarchy of sources.

The next step was the construction and quantification of data. Since texts in themselves do not contain any constructed data (as long as they are looked upon as meaningful, and not, for instance, just collections of words), we had to construct these data ourselves. As the basic level of enquiry we chose ‘argumentative points’, or, for short, arguments. That is, we looked at what was brought forth to support different views and contentions, and categorised these elements. The categorisation was made inductively, through repeated reading of the texts (for the sake of methodological rigour, only one of us did the reading). During the reading of these texts, we discerned a collection of almost forty arguments of different kinds (plus a couple which were excluded for reasons relating to the proper significance level; see below), more or less frequently used in the discussion and implementation procedures. These arguments are presented in Appendix 2. For a clarification of the logic we have followed in the construction of these variables, we believe that they can be related to the following six sub-groups. It must be pointed out, however, that these sub-groups are here only displayed for descriptive reasons, they were not used as variables in the further analysis (only the ‘arguments’ were):

- Juridical-administrative arguments. On the one hand, common sense arguments that can be used by anyone, such as administrative and formal reasons, shortage of time, patterning examples from both national and international experiences, concern about the municipal economy, and plain fairness. On the other hand, arguments expressing different kinds of critique like the argument that a procedure may have been poorly managed (before), or on

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the contrary, that something is better just because it reminds of how things always have been.

- Technical-administrative arguments. They could be about aesthetic considerations, zoning, building regulations or technical rationality.

- Social solidarity arguments. An admittedly heterogeneous group including references to the public interest, as well as disciplinary related concerns about overcrowding and the need to separate space, of shanty towns, enjoyable living, rental barracks, hygienic and natural life. Here are also arguments about economic reforms, like for affordable housing, means to be used against land value rises, and a fairer distribution of social wealth.

- Antisocial arguments. The opposite of the former includes discussion destroying arguments about ethnic characteristics (taken for granted), and various personally related invectives.

- Old liberal arguments. The discourse that had dominated the preceding period survived partly and included arguments about limited governmental responsibilities, deterministic economic laws, the proceedings of evolution, that private ownership of production facilities is in itself better than communal ownership and that a tight control of economic actors is mandatory to make up for the absence of social policy.

- Arguments related to the need for social reform, or more accurately, for the expansion of the social sphere. These are arguments related to economic, political and ideological governing, the shaping of new life forms and the mixing of classes, municipal socialism or milder forms of public interventions. Here were also the representations of a new cityscape, as well as its contrasting against what the older, Victorian cityscape had been like.

Altogether, we have investigated 353 different municipal documents for the first period (1907-08) and 206 documents for the second period (1925, 1927), which we use statistically as so many cases. In the City Council de-
bates, each utterance makes up one document of its own. In each of these cases, we have investigated which arguments were used (at least once) in each document/case, and which were not. The arguments that had been used are indicated by a ‘1’ (for ‘yes’), those that were not used in this particular document are indicated with a ‘0’ for ‘no’. This gives us a matrix for statistical elaboration. To later be able to relate the discourses we will find to different actors, we have also in the same way marked some important participants in the debates whom we will use as indicators of different discursive positions.

The Factor Analysis 1907-08

For extractive reasons, we started our analysis by running the matrixes through a principal component analysis in order to figure out their levels of complexity. In the first case, the analysis gave us 15 components with a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of 0.59, which is usually considered as ‘miserable’, but still possible to use. To receive a more practical amount of factors, we decided to reduce the number of variables. The method we chose was to exclude all variables that did not have a factor loading, positive, or negative, exceeding 0.5 to any of the 15 components received in the principal component analysis. This measure would, we believe, lead us to those variables that would seem to have had the strongest influence on the structure of the discussion; that is, to the very core of the discourses. By this method, we reduced the amount of arguments/variables included from 37 to the more convenient number of 11.115

115 Namely, the following, written in the forms in which they were most commonly voiced: a-sociality, that is the manner to intimidate the other participants of the discussion; separation, that is a housing policy aimed at separating the working-class families from each other; limitation, that is the belief that the municipal authorities power to intervene in the sphere conceptualised as economic should be held within strict bounds; aesthetics, that is the belief that it is important that housing settlements also come across as good-looking; hygiene; that is that one of the aims of housing policy should be to create liveable hygienic conditions for ordinary people; shantyism, that is the fear that settlements may deteriorate quickly if they do not meet certain conditions from the start; control, that is the conviction that working-class housing always needs to be supervised; economic determinism, that is that housing policy must always conform to certain regularities, thought always to be in place in the economic sphere; political engineering, that is the will to influence people’s behaviour through political means; overcrowding, that is the belief that it is neither hygienically nor morally healthy to house more than a
When we ran a factor analysis based on these variables, using Principal Axis Factoring and Varimax rotation, we received a somewhat better Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of 0.65, and this time only five factors with an eigenvalue over 1.0 before rotation. As can be seen in figure III:1, which is a visual presentation of the two strongest factors (Factor 1, the strongest, on the x axis), the discourse seems at the surface level to be determined by, on the one hand, arguments relating to the need to handle different disturbances (overcrowding with a factor loading of 0.73; separation, 0.71; hygiene concerns, 0.59; and need to control the people living in the estates, at 0.5), and on the other hand concerns relating to old-liberal conceptions of how an economy is believed to work, and the need for this same economic sphere to be left alone from political intrusions (economic determinism, 0.77, limitation of government intrusion, 0.58). These two factors alone explain 28.3 percent of the total variation in the matrix, together with the other three factors they explain 41.1 percent of the variation. As said, this is not very much, but on the other hand, we were looking for the core of the discussion, not its entire body.

limited number of people in a given space; zoning, that is that certain urban functions, especially working and housing, should be given separate spaces. It should also be noted that before the analysis we had to omit a number of arguments, due to the fact that they were used less than five times in the documents. These are the following: gender, that is arguments relating to socially constructed sex characters; class mixing, that is the belief that it is good for urban settlements to be socially mixed; contrasting, that is a manner of narrating an urban vision by relating it to a constructed picture of what the city has been hitherto; empathy, that is a way of arguing for housing reformism by constructing a picture of the victims of bad housing; luxury, that is to argue against housing reforms by saying that it would create a housing standard thought of as better than what would be socially proper; nature, that housing settlements should be as close to what is constructed as nature, as possible; evolution; that whatever means argued for should be viewed of as part of an (historical) evolution taken for granted.

116 The loadings relate to the analysis artificially constricted to these two factors. The three variables that are grouped around origo are, from left to right, political engineering; shantyism; aesthetics and contrasting. The factor analysis illustrated in figure 1 was artificially constrained to two factors and consequently differs somewhat from the one which resulted in four factors. When analysed alone, these factors only explain 26% of the variation.
However, as already mentioned, parallel to these first superficial factors, there are three others. Factor 3 is determined on the one hand by its negative loadings to the variables control (-0.44) and a-sociality (-0.33), and on the other hand its positive loadings on limitation of government (0.32) and aesthetics (0.30), as well as economic determinism (0.23). This seems to be a modified variation on the liberal credo, less directed at the problems of control and more on the arts of urbanism. We call this factor Urban Reformism.

The fourth factor is determined on the one hand by a negative loading on separation (-0.37), and on the other by weak positive loadings on zoning (0.33), control (0.19) and aesthetics (0.19). This seems rather hard to interpret, but we would suggest that it is yet another variant of the liberal credo, relating to the fact that technical solutions could be viewed as alternatives to the broader visions brought forth by the reformers. We call this factor Technocratism.
Lastly, the fifth factor is negatively loaded to arguments stressing the risks of overcrowding (-0.28) and shantyism (-0.23), but positively loaded to suggestions of zoning measures (0.26) and separation (0.23). This comes across to us as a reformist variant, suggesting technical solutions on a broader spectrum than the liberal variants, but on the other hand distancing itself from the most visible moralism of ordinary urban reformism. We call this factor The Spatial Aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-discourses involved in the Stockholm Housing Discourse 1907-1908.</th>
<th>Percent of variation explained.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Matters of Governing.</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Matters of Economics.</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Urban Reformism.</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Technocratism.</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Spatial Aspect</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Altogether</strong></td>
<td><strong>41.1%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Above related factor analysis.

Our argument on how an interpretation should be made goes like this: Since the statistically-based factors of this analysis are computed with the aim to represent hidden common causes behind the regularities determining the flow of the arguments investigated, they in fact represent what we would term discursive regularities or orders in the Foucauldian sense.\(^{117}\) That is, we look upon them as a Foucauldian archive, based on the Durkheimian tradition of looking at regularities in social actions as visible and analysable social facts (however, without the naturalistic assumption that society could represent itself, which is an important feature as well of

Durkheimian sociology).\textsuperscript{118} This view of communicative action, concentrating on regularities resulting from unanticipated effects, should be held apart from the Weberian perspective, which concentrates on the anticipated, intentional effects of communication developed by Jürgen Habermas and others.\textsuperscript{119} The analysis conducted with the method developed in this article does not intend to analyse different political or rhetorical strategies, but on the contrary, to establish the linguistic boundaries of political discussion in a specific historical context. When the arguments are looked upon in this way, certain patterns, probably at least partly invisible for the participators, become visible in retrospect showing the limitations of the way discussion was waged in this particular arena.

All this said, we have from the initial structure of the principal component analysis dug deeper into the core of the discussion with the help of a factor analysis, using a small sample of arguments; each, we believe, indicating important traits of the discursive formations. To make things simple, the factors investigated could be looked upon as discourses each in their own right. It seems as if the two first discourses in this instance also have a hierarchical relation to the others; that they largely determine the structure of the discussion. On the one hand, there is the first discourse relating to the well-known ambivalence of turn-of-the-century social liberalism where welfare goals such as hygienic measures and concern for miserable working-class housing coexisted with outright social disciplining. The latter is represented here by both the expressed desire to control or supervise working-class housing, and the technique of building disciplining environments where the working-class families would be strictly separated from each other. The presence of the a-sociality argument also shows that this kind of rhetoric often was accompanied by stereotype characterisations of both the objects of concern, and of people with other opinions.

This discourse was voiced against a die-hard resistance of nineteenth-century liberal dogmatism, stressing a view of the economic sphere as more or less a second kind of nature, with its own determinate laws, which, in fact more than the nature of the first kind, should be kept free from all

\textsuperscript{118} See Jacques Donzelot, ‘Mobiliseringen av samhället’, in Foucault, Namnet på en modern vetenskaplig och filosofisk problematik (Kenneth Hultqvist, Kenneth Peterson ed) (Stockholm 1995), 63; Michel Foucault, Vetandets arkeologi, 144-50.

\textsuperscript{119} See Seyla Benhabib, Autonomi och gemenskap, Kommunikativ etik, feminism och postmodernism (Göteborg 1994), 120-21.
kinds of human interferences. The three less strong discourses are all vari-
ants of this main contention. The one we have called Urban Reformism is
very much alike the second discourse, although adding a strong reluctance
against stereotypes and social disciplining and instead including an aesthetic
view. This corresponds to an important representation at the time, looking
at not only the economy but also at the urban development as a second
kind of nature, and distancing itself from the social reformist arguments.

The fourth discourse is, as we mentioned, addressing technical solutions
aimed at the creation of a well-planned and well-supervised urban envi-
ronment, but hostile to the much broader and more expensive projects of
social liberals who were trying to work for a radically different pattern of
urban development. The latter view is represented here by (the negative
loading to) the argument that working-class families should be separated
from each other. In the fifth and last discourse investigated, zoning and
separation are linked instead, but this concentration on spatiality is not, as
in the first discourse, connected to fears of social disorder (in crowded and
less well-built areas), but stands in its own right. Still, the discussants voic-
ing this argument would probably find themselves on the same side of the
barricades as the *engagé* social liberals who did their best to counter the
influence of seemingly out-dated liberal dogmas.

*The Second Factor Analysis, 1925, 1927*

Two decades later much had changed. This time the extractive initial prin-
cipal component analysis gave us 12 components to begin with (KMO-
measure 0.62). We chose out of the 32 variables initially used, to continue
with the twelve with loadings to any of the components exceeding 0.5.120

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120 Namely the following: Hygiene, Shantyism as before, and additionally: administra-
tion; meaning the most practical way to do things; ownership stimulates; that is, enter-
prises are best run when they are owned by private persons; public interest; that is that
certain things must be done for the sake of the common good; national influences; that
is that this are done in this or that way in other cities in Sweden; building regulations;
that is that housing could be improved by administrative measures aimed at a better
building culture; rental barracks; that is that it is bad if people have to live in settlements
consisting and high-rise rental housing; ideological engineering; that is that it is possible
to influence people’s way of thinking; contrasting; that is to explain urban visions by
putting them up against the way the cities of the time actually were believed to look;
affordable housing; that it must be an overarching goal that people should be able to
afford a better living; convenience; that is an important housing goal that settlements
When the factor analysis was conducted, we had to exclude one of these variables, since it had a communality exceeding one, which means that more than all its variance was explained by the common factors – a mathematical trope associated with computer-aided statistics. Since this is logically impossible, the variable had to be omitted. Before we did that, however, we pursued a principal component analysis to find out what position this variable, which concerned the argument that enterprises work better when private persons own them than when they are controlled by public bodies, had in the discussion. It then turned out as a fourth factor, complementing (approximately) the three analysed below, which was then almost singularly (loading 0.95) determined by this single variable.

With this factor excluded, though, the analysis brought forth three factors with an Eigenvalue above 1.0, before rotation. Together they explain 46% of the variation. In other words, the discussion in the mid-1920s seems, at least at its core, to have been less complicated than two decades earlier. The two strongest factors, as shown below, alone explained 39.2% of the variation:121

should be convenient to live in, and not least for the husbands to stands home in on their spare time.

121 When the analysis was artificially constricted to these factors, they explained 38.8 % of the variation. In the middle of the graph, the arguments public interest and national influences are situated above each other.
The first of these factors, here labelled Social Housing, is determined foremost by its strong loadings on ideological engineering (0.78), affordable housing (0.66) and influences from other cities within the country (0.56), secondly by weaker loadings on shantyism (0.46), public interest (0.41) and contempt for rental barracks (0.41). The second factor, here named Sanitary Reforms, is determined by high loadings on building regulations (0.95), hygiene (0.76) and convenience (0.49). It seems, in other words, as if on the surface the discussion was determined mainly by two different strategies for how to combat the severe housing shortage of the time: on the one hand a broader strategy motivated by an anti-urbanism very much alike the housing reformism of the turn-of-the-century, and on the other hand a more constricted strategy focusing on administrative control of the building sector. We call these factors Social Housing and Sanitary Reforms, respectively.

The third factor was determined by the rhetorical instrument of a contrasting of the images of the old and the new townscape (0.68), contempt for rental barracks (0.65) and, weaker, ideological engineering (0.37). It
represents, we believe, the town-planning movement developed around the idea to build pattern-setting settlements around the major cities, better known by the concept coined by their ideologue Ebenezer Howard, that is Garden Cities.

**Table III:2: Explanation power of different subdiscourses in percent, within the Stockholm Housing Discourse 1925, 1927.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-discourses involved in the Stockholm Housing Discourse 1925, 1927.</th>
<th>Percent of variation explained.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Social Housing</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sanitary Reforms</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Garden Cities</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Altogether</strong></td>
<td><strong>46.1%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Above related factor analysis.

Much of the discussion during this period centred, as mentioned, on different interpretations of how the ‘social’, understood as common interests should be interpreted, and how it was forwarded against more or less economistic proposals. Contrary to what was the case two decades earlier, the moralistic arguments were now held together by an overwhelming vision of the construction of society, and much more developed ideas than before as to what was needed to be included into this entity. Thus, the term Social Housing not only relates to inexpensive housing intended for disadvantaged people, but the rhetoric spun around the concept actually related to an idea about the position of the whole enterprise within a wider context. Not dominating in any of the discourses, the argument public interest had considerably high factor loadings to all three factors found in the analysis (0.41, 0.22 and 0.28, respectively), and was thus by far the argument which loadings were most evenly distributed over the factors. This illustrates the importance of this catchall concept for anyone wanting to express political views during a moment of hard contention. The moralistic discourse that had been used to motivate direct interventions was slowly superseded by an understanding of the social as involvement also of the exploited classes.

This period was also marked by a fierce debate on the principles of landholding, where the policy of site leaseholding rights was attacked as a socialist measure but defended both by a comfortable social democrat-
The Social City

145

communist majority, and a rhetoric reminiscent of the anti-urban tendencies at the turn of the century. This debate partly explains the existence of the third discourse, namely, Garden City. The anti-urban arguments, at a closer inspection, were at the same time interwoven with the two strongest, pragmatic discourses.

The participants of the discussion

Even if the perspective of this analysis has been that the discourse should be seen from the perspective of impersonal structures, built up as unanticipated effects of the context of discussion, we will finally try to look at what influence the individual participants could have had on the structure. To do this, we have in each case (document) fed into the computer information about who was the active subject behind each utterance (this information becomes one more variable in the matrix, and is indicated by the ‘1’ for ‘yes’ as opposed to the ‘0’ for ‘no’). This information can then be run against the structure given by each factor/discourse. To get a good measure we have, on the one hand, for each of the discourses made an index consisting of the variables with the strongest loadings to each factor. These indexes are thereafter cross tabulated against each of the participants of the discussion, and an association measure, Kendall’s Tau-b, is employed to measure the association between each of the participants and the different discourse-indexes. On the other hand, we have also saved the factor loadings (using the regression method) for each document, and with their help made a correlation analysis against the different subjects, this time using Pearson’s correlation coefficient (r.xy).

During the first period the subjects chosen were the following:

Herman Lamm, chair of the municipal finances board, an old liberal with social conservative leanings;
G F Östberg, social conservative member of the City Council;
Carl Lindhagen, social liberal chair of the Country Domains Board, and responsible for the exploitation of the country domains;
G H von Koch, social liberal member of the City Council;
C H Meurling, country domain’s director, executor of the ideas voiced foremost by Lindhagen.

For the second period, the chosen participators were the following:
Chapter III – Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

Carl Lindhagen, now social democrat, older and more politically isolated, at the same time a left-winger and the last ruralist in the City Council; Harry Sandberg, social democratic chair of the Real Estate Board; A E Magnusson, conservative deputy chair of the Real Estate Board; communist deputies John Andersson, Otto Grimlund, Paul Thunell, and Jalmar Wiksten, here grouped together as one singular subject.

The most important result of these analyses appears to be that the discourses actually seem to be to a very large degree free-floating. The analysis showed that in the first period (1907-1908), there are no significant correlations between any of the indexes and the participants in the debate. Looking at the correlations between the participants and the factor points we find only three relatively weak correlations with a significance level below 0.05; namely between Lamm and factor three (r.xy = 0.11) and between von Koch and both factor one (r.xy = 0.12) and factor three (r.xy = 0.14). Not surprisingly, this associates liberals of different leanings with different liberal discourses.

In the second period (1925-27), however, we found some stronger associations. When we first investigated the three strongest factors with cross-tabulations measured against the indexes, the only and rather strong association we found was between Lindhagen and the third discourse (Garden Cities), where the Kendall's Tau-b measure showed an association of 0.44. Looking at the associations between the participants and the factor scores we found a corresponding correlation between factor three and Lindhagen (r.xy = 0.47). We also observed a weaker correlation between Lindhagen and factor one (r.xy = 0.14).

Apart from the fact that the correlations between the dominating discourses and the seemingly dominating actors were surprisingly weak, the most important result of this analysis is perhaps that it illustrates that the Garden City discourse was to a very large extent conducted on his own by Carl Lindhagen, probably indicating political isolation. At the same time, however, his voice still represented the de facto ruling social democrats. This is probably indicated by the fact that he, when the analysis was limited to the two strongest factors, showed a significant positive association with the first factor. In his utterances, the Garden Cities and the Social Housing discourses were interwoven, and possible to hold apart only at a closer analysis than represented by the first two factors. It seems very much to have been the case that at that time there were two social democratic
housing discourses. One pragmatic, meant for the City Council; and the other ideological, meant probably mostly for the broader public of garden suburb inhabitants, living in the material results of the forceful social democrat politics.

An Assessment of the Housing Discourse
As Madeleine Hurd, the American historian recently noted, the social reformist discourse around the turn of the century was largely coloured by moralism. The moralistic themes became the instrument, which bridged ideological divides between the right and the left, and at least for a brief moment made the former abandon their Manchester liberal contentions. As the statistical analysis has shown, the discussion was still very coloured by allegedly neutral administrative themes, and the old liberal views were still powerful. By the time of the second period studied (the mid-1920s), moralism has largely shifted into concerns about common interests, or rather, the interests of the ‘society’ at large. The social had become what Nikolas Rose (see Chapter one) labelled *a priori*, however differently defined according to ideological colour. The contention that the interests of ‘society’ had to be tended to presupposed in the same way as moralism had, that there was an instance of common interests. Yet, both old liberalism and disciplinary themes were still on the scene, indicating that the relations between different power rationalities should not be understood as an either-or, but rather as co-existence and with varying conditions of strength. This should also remind us that when we are talking about a disciplinary discourse, for example, it should not be conceived of as totally dominating.

The Disciplinary City
It is hard to actually date the disciplinary city. Themes relating to the disciplinary discourse were present already in a proposition for the total renewal of the Stockholm Old Town, presented in the early 1860s. In this proposal, both worries about overcrowding and its effects, and the fear

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that some of the inhabitants may have a depraving effect on others were prevalent:

And when not most of the inhabitants are made up of such subjects, they are however in enough numbers already at place within the [Old] City area, to have effect, always in a disturbing way, often depraving and infectious on them, who are obliged to live close to them.123

This proposal was typically Haussmanist in both its style and its timing. The author, building contractor A E Rudberg, declared that he was not interested in how housing could be provided for the poor who would have to leave their homes.124 Instead, it is obvious that Rudberg thought of this influence as a centrifugal movement. Sanitary and moral contagion would, he lamented, flow from the diseased centre to the outer parts in the direction of the new blocks and industries. If the infected parts were instead removed and replaced with modern administrative and commercial functions, productive and positive influence would perhaps move in the same direction.125 This centrifugal figure of thought was in 1867 repeated in a second, and this time officially approved, town-planning proposal presented by a municipal committee chaired by Albert Lindhagen. In this proposal however, there were no considerations about reforming the Old Town, and while the crowding arguments were repeated, there was no mention of the need for any kind of separation. In a way, this was logical, since while the need for more space was underlined, it was clearly stated that the city must grow not by spatial expansion but by a more intensive use of the inner city districts.126 Although the insignificant town wall had

125 Rudberg, Förslag till ombyggnad, 1-2; 49. Rudberg here understands the City as an organism.
126 SCC, Utlåtande med förslag till gatureglering i Stockholm af Komiterade, 1867, 4; 6-8.
already been torn down, town-planning thought was still bound by the idea of the Walking City.

During the worst part of the severe housing crisis in Stockholm in the 1870s, the problem of crowding was increasingly emphasised.\(^{127}\) Like Rudberg before, the Health Board in 1880 started to complain about the ‘lodge system, which both morally and hygienically makes up one of the most depraving conditions within the capital’.\(^{128}\) These worries were more clearly expressed in the two following annual reports (subsequently, the reports contain only brief notices about the actions of the Health Police squad). In the 1881 report, the board approvingly presented a housing project connected to Ekmans Mekaniska Snickeri AB (Ekman’s Mechanical Carpentry Ltd.) in the Kungsholmen district. Instead of barracks, the houses were only two storeys high and had entrances in all directions – one for each family.\(^{129}\)

At the turn of the century, a thematic change was apparent, placing more concern on the separation issue than upon overcrowding itself. This can be seen in author Gustaf af Geijerstam’s enquiry of the housing situation in Stockholm, published in 1894.\(^{130}\) When the campaign against the lodging part of the separation problem was intensified just before the turn of the century, it was divided in one supply and one demand section. On the demand side, it was argued that there was a need for bachelor’s hostels. Earlier, many single men had been accommodated in rather primitive private hostels mainly in the Old Town. In 1898, the mortgage banker, Johan Henrik Palme, started to argue for the introduction of the British Rowton system of municipally-owned hostels with libraries and


\(^{129}\) E. Ödmansson, t. f. f. stadsläkare, *Berättelse till Kongl. Medicinalstyrelsen om allmänna boställändet i Stockholm under året 1881 och om hvad i afseende derá och för allmänna sjukvården blifvit under samma tid åtgjordt af Stockholms helsovårdsnämnd, Stockholm 1882* (Stockholm 1883), 21-22. Cf. Hartelius, ‘Om arbetarebostäder’, på 40-42. These houses were however, due to changes in the town plan, never erected, see Mörner, *Ljus och luft*, 61-64.

\(^{130}\) af Geijerstam, *Anteckningar om arbetarförhållandena i Stockholm*, 52.
supervision. On the supply side, the strategic priority was to build cheaper housing primarily for families with children, so that the high rent levels would not force them to take in lodgers.

**Category Housing**

An important part of the disciplinary spatiality is the categorisation of people – i.e. who should live in what spaces. The problem of categorisation was not new to the municipal administration. It was part and parcel of the view of the philanthropic movement that housing should only be provided to specific and clearly demarcated groups. The problem was to find feasible technical solutions. For instance, a petition by the architect L J Wahlman had been appended to a proposal to the City Council in 1907; written by von Koch about greater involvement in housing provision. In this petition, it was argued that the most important difficulty for modern house building was to disperse houses from each other, without increasing costs. The ambition to increase dispersion between the houses was accompanied by recommendations about how to ascertain a clear separation between the living spaces and the ‘economic’ spaces, within the houses as well. The same disciplinary way of thinking was visible in another proposal made the same year (also by von Koch and the liberal doctor Knut Kjellberg), considering the establishment of a municipal foundation for housing provision. This proposal was oriented towards the aim of making sure that municipal housing provision should be reserved for clearly demarcated categories of people. Unmarried male and female workers should live in hostels, preferably different ones; TBC-infected should have their own apartments; respectable working-class families should be kept away from less respectable class compatriots; the City’s own workers and functionaries should have their own houses as well. Another case in point was a 1924 enquiry about the provision of bachelor’s hostels, where the CSA board which had initiated the issue, singled out three categories of unmarried workers, each with

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131 Svenska Dagbladet 1 November 1898, from a lecture at the KFUM (YMCA) hall 31 October 1898.
132 SCC Proposal 11 1907, 3; 6.
133 SCC Proposal 17 1907, 3-6; 9-21; 24-26; Cf. von Koch, Bostadsfrågan i Stockholm och Köpenhamn, p 2.
The Social City

separate needs, and the municipal Committee that was later appointed managed to find two additional kinds.\textsuperscript{134}

Deciding housing needs through multiple categorisations was seldom questioned. One of the few occasions when it was questioned, however, was in the 1912 proposal of the conservative city council deputy, Alma Hedin. She proposed that instead of bachelor’s hostels, the City Council should build gender integrated workers’ housing on the same principles as the supervised workers’ housing company Stockholms Arbetarehem since the early 1890s (that is, supplementing spatial discipline with direct interventions; see above). It was, she maintained, ‘a miserable state of affairs’ that the people were ‘separated into different groups and in special houses more or less closed off from each other’.\textsuperscript{135}

The disposition of the new houses built in the 1930s for big families at first seemed to indicate at least a partial break with category thinking. In 1937, the female deputies of the City Council proposed that some of the apartments meant for others than the big families could be rented out to unmarried women (who because of gender-based wage inequalities almost by definition were too poor to consider ordinary small apartments).\textsuperscript{136} Since the 1890s, a considerable amount of philanthropic ventures had been launched with the aim to house self-supporting women. Most of them had been based on private donations – although the municipality also used to give at least minimal assistance – and the houses had in most cases been specifically built for the categories (often certain occupations) targeted in the donations.\textsuperscript{137} The 1937, initiative broke with this, and over a couple of years the municipal company \textit{Stockholshem} built some 340 apartments for single women, with or without children, which were integrated into their ordinary housing stock.\textsuperscript{138} Soon afterwards, however, the administration made a quick return to the category thinking, with the \textit{Kvinnohem upa} project. This was a large house containing 175 apartments, as well as large space for ‘cultural activities and studies’. It was, consequently, more or less built

\textsuperscript{134} SCC Appendage 9 1924, 11; 15.
\textsuperscript{135} SCC Minutes 17 June 1912 §11, 677. \textit{In Swedish:} ‘ett sorgligt förhållande […] uppdela människorna i olika grupper och i särskilda hus mer eller mindre afstånga dem från varandra’.
\textsuperscript{136} SCC Proposal 27 1937.
\textsuperscript{137} SCC Rescript 143 1943, 1043-47.
\textsuperscript{138} SCC Rescript 143 1943, 1047.
along the same model as the supervised workers’ housing, but without supervising (it was pointed out that as young mothers, most tenants would nonetheless have regular contact with the nursing services). The municipal authorities made no remarks about the reasons for this political turn-around, but on the other hand, the design followed strictly the opinion prevailing among the female council members.

**Class Mixing**

At the same time as people were categorised, dispersed, and separated, there was also another strand in contemporary thinking claiming the need to integrate the dispossessed by class mixing. In a way, this was an attempt to revive the philanthropic tactic of direct interventions, by trying to arrange this influence through sheer spatial proximity.

There was an obvious trend in the continental cities of both western and central Europe (such as Paris, Vienna, and Budapest), increasingly displacing the working class towards the periphery. Both liberal and catholic councillors in these cities warned against the danger associated with the resulting dense working class concentrations. Already in the middle of the nineteenth century, similar fears had been voiced in London, when the affluent classes tended to abandon the central parts of cities for suburban settlements. As the British historian, Gareth Stedman Jones, points out, the concern was not only about the resulting concentration of poor people, but also about the decreasing amount of contact between them and the middle classes. While the poor no longer had middle class people around as role models, the middle class on the other hand was no longer confronted with the moral consequences of poverty. The community reform movement exemplified by Octavia Hill was a direct response to these concerns.

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139 SCC Rescript 143 1943, 1052-58.
140 SCC Proposal 2 1942.
same risks were emphasised about the Mietskasernen concentrations on the fringes of Berlin.\textsuperscript{144}

As Björn Linn, the Swedish architectural historian emphasises, class segregation is inherent already in the division of housing forms between tenements and one-family houses.\textsuperscript{145} That kind of class division was also included in Howard’s garden city concept, where the housing forms were divided in different wards.\textsuperscript{146} The conviction that classes had to be mixed at least at a settlement level was expressed already in the 1870s by the German architect Reinhard Baumeister.\textsuperscript{147} The need to facilitate integration was further underlined in the housing debate of the 1890s, although it was hardly a dominating theme.\textsuperscript{148} However, class integration of new housing settlements had been an important feature of the French socialists’ municipal programme in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{149}

In the Anglo-Saxon parts of the world, the dominating fear was that the middle classes would abandon the old parts of cities and move to affluent suburbs in the periphery. The city cores were generally less significant in the continental and Scandinavian cities such as Stockholm, but the same kind of reasoning would apply for instance for the inner parts of the Old Town as well as for some of the oldest parts of both the Northside and the Southside. Around the turn of the century, these problems became increasingly apparent, following the fast-moving transformation of the central business district and the expansion of the affluent Östermalm district and the northern villa suburbs. Stockholm Poverty Inspector, Albin Lindblom, complained thus:

> The trend, which presently is making itself heard as well in Sweden, that the affluent classes are looking for homes in the surrounding countryside, will undoubtedly increase the gap between rich and poor, about who’s distress and misery thus

\textsuperscript{144} Brian Ladd, *Urban planning and civic order in Germany, 1860-1914* (Cambridge 1990), 233.
\textsuperscript{146} Rabinow, *French Modern*, 258.
\textsuperscript{147} Paulsson, *Den glömda staden*, 24-25.
\textsuperscript{149} Rabinow, *French Modern*, p 206-08.
knowledge is received only through reputation. If to this comes that also the careful, well-off worker, although of less means, will move out from the city, it will soon be only a concentration of the worst and meanest proletariat.\footnote{150}{SCC Appendage 17 1900, 9. \textit{In Swedish}: ’Den strömning, som nu äfven i Sverige gör sig gällande. Att de välbergade klasserna söka sina hem på den staden omgivande landsbygden, bidrager otvifvelaktigt att vidga klyftan mellan rik och fattig, om hvilkas nöd och elände sålunda blott genom hörsägen erhålls kännedom. Kommer härtill att äfven den ordentlige, bergade, om och mindre bemedlade arbetaren utflyttar från staden, blir denna snart blott en sammanhopning af det värsta och farligaste proletariatet.’} 

Most impressive effort in the field of class integration in Sweden was Albert Lilienberg’s attempt in the first decades of the twentieth century to break class segregation in Gothenburg, perhaps the most segregated city in Sweden.\footnote{151}{Karlsson, \textit{Arbetarfamiljen och det nya hemmet}, 58-62; 83; Johan Rådberg, \textit{Doktrin och täthet i svenskt stadsbyggnad 1875-1975} (Stockholm 1988), 190-93.} More future-oriented thoughts were in circulation as well, especially as in the British context, the advantages of having middle-class people living in the vicinity of working-class environments as role models, and to remind them of the hardships that poor people have to endure.\footnote{152}{City of Stockholm Poverty Board, Sekreterarexpeditionen, Skrivelser i åtskilliga ärenden, serie 1 1899-1906 No. 56 (1906?).} Similar thoughts were further present in the earlier mentioned petition of September 8 1903 from Salin and Ygberg, where the basic ideas guiding the purchase of the Enskede estate were presented.\footnote{153}{FB Act 868 1903; Cf. Mörner, \textit{Luft och ljus}, 119.} 

The need to increase class integration was strongly emphasised in the first strong collective manifestation of will in the housing question from the social democrats of Stockholm, which was an extensive proposal delivered to the City Council in 1910.\footnote{154}{SCC Proposal 26 1910, 11; 20.} According to Carl Lindhagen, one of the main purposes of the land policy programme, which he had been arguing for since 1903, was to abolish segregation so that ‘the public buildings and the private gardens with an unpretentious house will be situated lastingly and safely mixed with each other without regard for their central or not central location and totally liberated from all economic valuations or other

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152 City of Stockholm Poverty Board, Sekreterarexpeditionen, Skrivelser i åtskilliga ärenden, serie 1 1899-1906 No. 56 (1906?).
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profiteering in land.'155 He developed this ideal further at a housing conference convened by CSA in 1916, by connecting it to the heritage from the old Swedish small town, as it came across in the stories of children’s storyteller Elsa Beskow.156 Class mixing was in the context of this vision more or less an instrument for the subject formation of social individuals. By living in environments characterised by the co-habitation of classes, and largely removed from the influence of market demands, the inhabitants would acquire a perspective that was in conjunction with a solidaristic world-view.

This representation was even more clearly stated in the 1930s. At this time, Carl Lindhagen tried to fit the garden city concept squarely into Swedish town building tradition, with the help of the concept hembygder (most correctly translated to the German word Heimat, in English the meaning would roughly be Domestic Communities).157 The components of distributive justice were however equally strong, since class segregation was affiliated to those different kinds of discriminating measures, which had brought this segregation in the first place.158 As I will show in the next chapter, these arguments were mostly brought forward against proposals to abolish the compulsion to use site leasehold rights for building on the municipally held areas.159 As town building historian Johan Rådberg has showed, the mixing of building types – and consequently of classes – became more or less a distinguishing trait of the Swedish garden suburbs.160

Subsequently, there was also a modernised version of this tactic. During a short period after the first and a longer period after the second world war, public or ‘social’ housing changed from what Michael Harloe terms as a

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155 SCC Appendage 193 1912, 22 (CDB Minutes 25 October 1912 §12, reservation by Lindhagen). In Swedish: ‘de offentliga bygganderna och de enskildas trädgårdar med en anspräktslös bostad ligga varaktigt och tryggt blandade om varandra utan hänsyn till central eller mindre central belägenhet och frigjorda fullständigt från alla ekonomiska värdesättningar eller annat jordcker.’


157 Rådberg, Doktrin och täthet, 192-94.

158 I.e. Real Estate Board (REB) Minutes 30 December 1921 §15.

159 REB Minutes 8 September 1925 §2 (reservation by A E Magnusson).

160 Rådberg, Den svenska trädgårdsstaden, p 120-121.
residual sector providing housing mostly for limited parts of the population that had been displaced during slum sanitation, to mass housing directed towards the broader sections. This was otherwise not the case anywhere during the mid-war period. Even in the ‘Red Vienna’, as the Austrian capital was often called in the twenties and early thirties, the most needy stratum of the population were exempted from the municipally guided projects. Housing was reserved for the poor, but not depredated families, who were the most active in the social democratic voluntary sector that provided the backbone of the movement ruling the city.

A similar discussion was brought up in Stockholm in the mid-1920s when the Real Estate Board (administering the social housing projects) complained that integration had gone too far. The houses administered by the board had, it lamented, ‘in recent years had to receive not few tenants, whom it had been far from desirable to have within the City’s estates, where earlier through systematic removals of bad elements a mostly decent and respectable clientele of tenants had been living, and where the turnover of tenants has been very minuscule’. At about the same time, liberal and conservative councillors started to raise their voices about a restriction of the recruitment to the homeowners’ areas to those strata that without difficulties would be able to manage the economic part of the deal.

The Slow Expansion of the Social Sphere

That the old disciplinary themes remained even after the advent of the social city – had to do with deficiencies that long remained in the housing stock also. At the same time as the City started the grand-style projects in its periphery, things continued much as they had been before in the old blocks. The setting of priorities expressed by Ygberg in 1903 (see p XX), implying that it was more important to build model settlements for re-

163 SCC Rescript 24 1924, 194. In Swedish: ‘de senaste åren måst taga emot ej så få hyresgäster, vilka det varit allt annat än önskvärt att få in inom stadens fastigheter, där tidigare genom systematisk bortrensning av dåliga element en övervägande hyggelig och skötsam hyresgäst klientel varit boende, och där omsättningen på hyresgäster varit mycket ringa.’
164 SCC Minutes 15 November 1926 §14 339 (Söderberg); 6 May 1929 §8, 128-129 (Granqvist).
stricted parts of the population, rather than quick construction of dense blocks for as many as possible, resulted in the preservation of a large number of extremely miserable housing for many years to come. The principle of building temporary wooden houses instead of regular houses in times of crisis, and taxing the tenants for the extra costs of this arrangement, was still in force in the late 1910s and early 1920s, and added to the proliferation of miserable housing. The reason for this was, as the Real Estate Board declared in 1923, that if municipally built housing appeared too attractive there would not be enough incentives for ordinary people to engage in the struggle to provide themselves with their own housing.165 Shabby housing was thus kept in accordance with the demands of the power rationality of the economic domain. The hold of old liberal views was still firm on the municipal administration, disregarding the socialist majority in the City Council.

The shape of the houses in question was, as could be expected, doleful and as the chair of a tenant’s organisation reminded social democratic city councillor Gustaf Wahl, it often happened that tenants were kept awake at night by vermin.166 Shameful enough, the worst about this was that these houses, and the badly reputed *stadens kåkar* shackles as well, continued to concentrate families with most children. The cold logic behind this was, as the Real Estate Board explained as late as 1929, that the biggest families often were the ones in greatest economic difficulties, and consequently the ones demanding the cheapest housing.167 The same year, both the conservatives and the communists had made proposals to the effect that the shackles should be evacuated and the families instead sheltered in new houses, built especially for that purpose.168 For the moment, however, it was only decided that an enquiry should be appointed, to find out just how dangerous these houses were.169 Yet again in 1937, the Real Estate Board repeated the same argument about the economic advantages of these shackles.170

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165 REB Minutes, 21 November 1923 §3, App 2, Act 587, 4.
166 SCC Minutes 5 May 1919 §15, 359.
167 SCC Rescript 125 1930, 613 (Real Estate Board 29 November 1929).
168 SCC Proposals 7, 10 1929.
169 SCC Minutes 1 April 1930 §19.
170 SCC Rescript 30 1938, 310 (Real Estate Board 2 November 1937).
The same story was more or less repeated concerning the concentration of private bachelors’ hostels in the Old Town. This was an old issue about half-legal and miserable lodging facilities at its best, which as already mentioned was raised already in 1898. It had still not been resolved when in 1930 it was raised again by social democratic city councillor Fredrik Ström.\footnote{SCC Proposal 27 1930.} Mostly because of its affiliation to disciplinary themes, the issue met some approval. It was even harder to achieve a general face lift of the Old Town as a whole, although the sanitary standard in the district was far below average.\footnote{SCC Minutes 21 November 1932 §18; Rescript 227 1939.}

Another related issue concerned the housing of the farm hands in the incorporated boroughs, where agricultural estates were functional for several decades after the areas became parts of the City. Complaints about this issue had been made already in the 1910s.\footnote{Socialdemokraten 14 and 16 August 1912.} Carl Lindhagen raised the question in the Real Estate Board in 1920, but restricting it to those houses that the City had bought and was renting out for agricultural purposes.\footnote{REB Minutes 29 December 1920 §25.} It was not until 1929 before an investigation he had asked for was made, which concluded that at least some action already had been taken with regard to most of the deficiencies.\footnote{REB Minutes 3 May 1929 §26, Act No. 250 1929, Investigation delivered 20 April 1929.} The most probable reason the issue was brought up at this time was that the left-wing student organisation Clarté had conducted a comprehensive and much discussed investigation of farm hand housing in the Scania region in south Sweden.\footnote{REB Act 250 1929, Letter to Harry Sandberg 5 September 1930, 1.}

The board decided to tear down some of the houses, while the rest would be kept more or less intact for the foreseeable future, ignoring the sanitary deficiencies found in the investigation. Lindhagen protested in the board, and protests came in the following year from the Farm Hand’s Union as well, which called for substantive renovation measures.\footnote{REB Minutes 1 November 1929 §33, Appendage A, Act 250 1929, Letter to Harry Sandberg 5 September 1930.} The Tenants’ Organisation brought up further demands in 1933.\footnote{Hyresgästföreningen, Sektion Enskede, Vol. Verksamhetsberättelse 1933, ARAB.} Still, it was not until...
the first war years before substantial sums were budgeted for the renovation of these houses, but at a pace which still provoked critique much in the same way as was the case with the inner city shackles.¹⁷⁹

On the international level, during the 1910s and 1920s, land squatting was a common way for the most impoverished to solve their housing needs. As a response to the Great War housing shortage in Vienna, thousands of workers had squatted on public land in the periphery of the city. Some of these communities were eventually legalised, but the movement also helped to convince the social democratic leaders of the municipality to engage in the building of own-home settlements.¹⁸⁰ During the late nineteenth century housing crises, some of the parks in Stockholm had also been used for the building of temporary sheds.¹⁸¹

Apart from this, there were no actual land occupations in Stockholm. Instead many resorted to living in the small sheds that accompanied the garden colony plots that had, since the beginning of the twentieth century, been erected on idle land all around the city. According to an investigation conducted in February 1924, as many as 424 of these sheds were used as living houses. That many of the people living in this way were among the poorest is clear, not least from the fact that the provider in 153 of the cases was of ‘unknown occupation’. It was also clear that a large majority of the households living this way were households with children. The households that resorted to this kind of illegal living were mostly those who lived in temporary relief housing (490 in 1924).¹⁸²

The Mixing of Rationalities

The exact means of the Stockholm housing policy grew out of the double conundrum of both attempting to limit the distributive consequences of the largely market led system of housing provision, and at the same time to create environments that would neither hygienically nor morally or politically threaten the established order. The result of these ambitions should not be thought of as the outcome of a master plan, but were arrived upon

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¹⁷⁹ SCC Minutes 29 June 1942 §46 (Harry Sandberg; Göransson).
¹⁸² SCC Rescript 247 1924. *In Swedish*: ‘okänt yrke’.
by chance event brought on largely by this conundrum. The outcome was a very mixed composition, where housing provision was always combined with measures aimed at control or social integration. In this way, the three domains of power techniques interrelated with and complemented each other.

**The Magic Houses – Disciplinary Spatiality at a Bargain**

The Real Estate Board in the mid 1920s vehemently argued that the squatting of the garden colonies had to be lifted and that the people living there were just as much in need of help as the people in the relief houses.¹⁸³ The proposal in autumn 1924 to move these people en mass into rapidly built new relief houses met with liberal opposition. It was pointed out that living in garden colony sheds was also common in Danish capital of Copenhagen – still generally acclaimed for its excellent housing conditions – and that these sheds from a hygienic point of view hardly were more deficient than the relief houses.¹⁸⁴ This kind of argument was, during the latter part of the 1920s, also brought up against the municipal efforts to regulate the shanty suburbs, which by the liberal and conservative opposition increasingly were held as normal and perhaps even healthy elements of a metropolitan environment.¹⁸⁵ Much in the same way as in Vienna, the result of all this was that the City increased its efforts to build one-family houses on the new areas.¹⁸⁶ The methods for doing this had, however, to be modernised.

In June 1924, the director of studies J S Hedström, a conservative city councillor as well as the chair of the most prominent of the garden city societies in Bromma, filed a proposal for a new form of own-homes housing. The proposal was based on the liberal and conservative critique of the relief house system. Its basic idea was to build houses which were smaller and less equipped than the ordinary single-family houses that had become too expensive for working class families. At the same time, they were better prepared for living all the year around, than the garden colony sheds. It was obvious that for Hedström the main advantage with these small cottages

¹⁸³ REB Minutes 21 November 1923 §2; 23 April 1924 §40.
¹⁸⁴ SCC Minutes 30 June 1924 §24 (Larsson, Östberg); Cf. 15 November 1926 §14 #1, p 340 (Söderlund).
¹⁸⁵ REB Minutes 27 February 1925 §32, Reg. 75; SCC Minutes 22 December 1925 §4; 19 May 1930 §18.
was their affinity with the disciplinary housing discourse. While families in the relief houses would be concentrated and subject to influence from less orderly neighbours, in the cottages proposed by Hedström they would be dispersed and separated in natural surroundings, although on a more de-based material level than ordinary garden suburb inhabitants.\(^{187}\)

Although Hedström is generally held to be the initiator of the Stockholm small cottages, or Magic House programme, it had a series of important precursors and was rather well prepared already at the time when he placed the issue on the political agenda. The first experiments with prefabricated houses in Sweden date back as early as the 1860s and 1870s, although these first attempts do not seem to have resulted in very much.\(^{188}\) Some decades later, the need for standardised and rationalised production of single family houses was emphasised by the Stockholm building inspector Axel Andersson, on his return from a study trip mostly in Germany in 1910.\(^{189}\) In the same year, the building contractor Josef Norén, a conservative member of the Country Domain’s Board, submitted a report on rationalisation measures that he had learned about during a trip to the USA.\(^{190}\) Already in the 1890s, in cities such as Detroit, self-build programmes had been inaugurated on a grand scale.\(^{191}\) The technical solutions used in the United States were reported a number of times in the following years, but apparently without having much influence.\(^{192}\)

One way to lower the costs of the houses was to introduce guided self-help building in order to profit from the cheap labour power of the mostly working-class future inhabitants.\(^{193}\) The first time this strategy was tested on municipal grounds in Stockholm (on private grounds it of course was and is frequent) was by the private company *Stockholms Trädgårdsstädér AB* in the early 1910s. The company operating at the site leasehold rights in Enskede,

\(^{187}\) SCC Proposal 28 1924.

\(^{188}\) Karlsson, *Arbetarefamiljen och det nya hemmet*, 40.

\(^{189}\) CDB E IX a Byggnadskontrollantens redogörelse för studier i Tyskland etc., p 14.

\(^{190}\) CDB Minutes 2 September 1910 §13.


\(^{192}\) See the interview with Norén in *Svenska Dagbladet* 11 September 1920.

\(^{193}\) The seminal introduction to guided self-help housing in this period is the issue of *Housing Studies* edited by Richard Harris, Vol 14:3, under the heading ‘Aided Self-Help Housing, A case of amnesia’.
eastern Brännkyrka (more about this site in the next chapter) ran into financial difficulties soon after it had started its business, mostly because of the meagre financial resources of its clients. The self-help programme was launched as a way to save the situation, that way having the builders paying off some of their debt. The result however hardly encouraged continuing this way to proceed.\(^{194}\) Shortly after the Great War, self-build programmes were set up both on private grounds in Målarhöjden, in the northwestern part of Brännkyrka, and on the site leasehold rights in Skarpnäck, southeast of Enskede.\(^{195}\) Already during the war years, Ygberg had made plans for a garden colony in the latter area, where the size of the plots and the sheds had been doubled in order to make room for a gradual change into a permanent settlement. At this point, the real estate office reacted rather negatively on the proposal.\(^{196}\)

The cottages built in 1920 were constructed by the inhabitants themselves organised in small building societies, without any help from the City apart from fairly generous credit facilities. Nonetheless, they came across to the public as quite advantageous. The outcome motivated new projects of the same kind in Bromma in 1922 and once more in Skarpnäck in 1924. In 1923, the houses in Skarpnäck were specifically addressed by the Real Estate Board chair as examples of the City’s wish to provide housing also for those who could not afford ordinary own-homes.\(^{197}\) As Carl Lindhagen pointed out, another advantage was that self-built houses were not vulnerable to the recurrent labour conflicts within the building sector.\(^{198}\)

The first person to make the explicit connection between the garden colony sheds and the possibility of building something between and the garden city cottages was Anna Lindhagen. She was one of the founders of the garden colony movement as well and disturbed by the fact that the garden plots became (in her view) misused for around the year-living. At the same time as Anna Lindhagen may have acted out of a motivation to avoid the

\(^{194}\) CDB FV 76 Letter from AB Stockholms Trädgårdsstäder 8 October 1914.

\(^{195}\) Socialdemokraten 7 September 1920.

\(^{196}\) Documents of the Country Domain’s Department from 1922, F sB:1, Carl-Henrik Meurling to the Real Estate Board 2 May 1917. Archive of the Street and Real Estate Board.


\(^{198}\) SCC Minutes 17 December 1923 §12, 723.
colonies being transformed into shanty towns, the informal contacts she reportedly had taken in this matter had been turned down by the motivation that any degrading of the housing standards, thus far upheld in the garden suburbs, would risk turning the whole programme itself into a blueprint for shanty town building. When the male politician Hedström made his proposal, however, the whole thing became subject to a more global overview. It was soon concluded that it was economically feasible to build settlements of minimal size cottages that were provided with both water pipes and sewage, and totally satisfying the hygienic point of view. Taking this into consideration, even the financial administration conceded that the proposed small cottage settlements could help to limit the problem of shanty towns by also making it financially feasible for those with the most limited means to build under municipally approved regulations.

Taken from the demand side perspective, this seems to have been a point correctly taken. Even before the City Council decided to build the first two hundred municipally guided cottages, in November 1926, 336 applications had been delivered. In the two following weeks, another 264 applications arrived. Three conclusions emerge from the study of these applications. Firstly, the idea of municipally guided self-building resonated widely. Of the altogether 600 households applicants, 506 or 84 percent expressed the desire to contribute at least partly to the building cost with their own labour. 246 or 41 percent opted for the possibility to cover their own share completely by their own labour. Secondly, the (male) applicants were mostly aged workers. Median age of the male household applicant was well above 35 years and about two-thirds of these males were workers of different kinds. Thirdly, the applicants had rather few children. In 191 of the households, there were no children at all. 384 had one child at the most and 514 households had no more than two children.

On the other hand, the applicants had received the information from the authorities that if they would stand any chance to be among the 200 households participating in the first project they had to prove their capabilities of maintaining the house and the garden. As many as 550 of the 600 appli-

199 SCC Rescript 396 1924, 1852 (Real Estate Board 4 December 1923).
200 SCC Rescript 396 1924, p 1852-1854; REB Minutes 11 November 1924 §3, Appendages A, B; 27 August 1926, Act 177/1926. It may have helped that he was a male; although I have not found any evidence that would shed any light on this issue.
201 SCC Rescript 323 1926, 1591.
cants had previous experience of garden keeping, 276 were even garden colonists. Only 64 provided addresses from places other than Stockholm.\textsuperscript{202} As the real estate office had concluded from an earlier enquiry, only few of them came from the relief houses.\textsuperscript{203}

The Stockholm cottages are especially important because they stand in a sharp contrast to the strategy chosen by the social democrats of ‘Red Vienna’. Although at the outset of the impressive housing programme which was conducted in Vienna, more than half of the apartments built were situated in one- or few-family ‘Siedlungsbausen’, only a couple of years later the amount had decreased to four percent.\textsuperscript{204} However, although the building of cottages was regarded by important Marxist ideologists as Otto Bauer as harmful for the causes of both socialism and women’s emancipation, in the early years the City supported at least 32 different co-operative projects involving self-help.\textsuperscript{205} The City of Vienna took over the administration of these projects in 1924, after which the strategy soon was abandoned as too expensive in comparison to the amount of housing space created. Another difficulty was that the self-reliance displayed in the cottage settlements jeopardised the social democrat power apparatus from the left.\textsuperscript{206}

The self-building cottage projects were closed down in Vienna in 1927.\textsuperscript{207} In view of the arguments voiced against it, it is important to note the often-repeated contention of the Stockholm administration that the cottage programme, far from being costly, in reality was of no expense for the municipality (because it was not subsidised).\textsuperscript{208} However, it is also important to note the contention also voiced from the Stockholm administration that the cottages fulfilled the wishes of both the left for a cheap, high-quality municipally guided non-profit housing form, and the liberal and conservative wishes for a housing form which could at the same time serve as a vehicle

\textsuperscript{202} Act 177 1926, To the House Building Delegation 3 December 1926.
\textsuperscript{203} SCC Rescript 396 1924, 1853.
\textsuperscript{206} Gruber, \textit{Red Vienna}, p 48.
\textsuperscript{207} Posch, \textit{Die Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung}, p 82.
\textsuperscript{208} Cf. SCC Rescript 366 1931.
for moral reform. The cottages were better suited to the more ambivalent power structure of the Swedish capital, where the possibilities for an ideological offensive of the Vienna type were much more meagre.\(^{209}\) I argue that it was this possibility to actually satisfy both political camps that made the cottages into the widely affirmed solution that the administration could show to an international public.\(^{210}\) In this way, both the programmes in Vienna and in Stockholm grew out of the desperate need to limit the homelessness problem, but were at the same time largely formed and upheld by the wish to use the new environments as vehicles for the reform of subjectivities – of the outlook and behaviour of inhabitants.\(^{211}\) At the same time, the wide acclaim for the ‘Magic Houses’ among the working class and the lower middle strata, and their reliance on self-initiative, bridged the gap between a purely disciplinary city and the governmental-negotiating rationality of the modernised social city. While the cottagers arguably built their own housing, they did so for reasons reflecting the self-image and lifestyle they had chosen.

**Economising the Social City**

In the first enquiry made by the real estate office, the houses were planned for only one or two rooms and a kitchen.\(^{212}\) To simplify life for the housekeeping women, as social democrat and Real Estate Board chairman Harry Sandberg put it, the cottages should at this instance at least be provided with gas pipes.\(^{213}\) As had been disclosed earlier from an enquiry into the state of the earlier settlement in Skarpnäck, and further had been pointed out by Carl Lindhagen, the pioneering self-built cottages built there were in most cases much larger than the ones outlined by the municipal authorities.\(^{214}\) In 1929, complaints were raised about this from the conservative camp, which held that the people actually settling in the cottages were not really the poorest who had been occupying the relief houses and the

\(^{209}\) SCC Minutes 25 January 1932 §5, 4 (Sandberg); Rescript 531 1939, 3151.

\(^{210}\) Cf. SCC Minutes 27 January 1936 §34, 35 (Sandberg).


\(^{212}\) SCC Rescript 396 1924, 1853.

\(^{213}\) SCC Minutes 15 November 1926 §14, 363-64.

\(^{214}\) SCC 18 January 1926 §19 #1-2, p 35 (Lindhagen).
sheds. As it became apparent in a summation provided by the real estate office, it was obvious that the people who were erecting the larger cottages also were able to contribute significant amounts of money. As a matter of precaution, however, the authorities insisted on strict control before any extra outfit could be added to the basic structure.

In order to further underline the class differences, the Real Estate Board in 1931 decided to limit the site sizes of the smallest cottages to an absolute minimum; thus establishing a building pattern closer to British terrace houses than to villa settlements. This seems to have been a partial effort originating in a discussion that had in 1930 returned to the small cottages’ base in the garden colonies. Raising the issue of the social origins of the settlers, which were found to be in the strata slightly above the poorest, the real estate office had discussed different ways to lower the costs of the cottages. The possibility of subsidising the houses was immediately ruled out as indicating a completely different approach than the (guided) self-reliance that was the hallmark of the whole project. Instead, the idea was put forth that a new programme, closer to earlier intentions of building better-equipped sheds rather than cottages, should be presented. In contrast to what had been discussed in the mid-1920s, however, this time the builder would not be allowed to actually live in the sheds until they, after 6-7 years, had reached a much more advanced stage not far from the cottages already included in the scheme. In other words, these ideas did not amount to more than a further protracted building process.

Another way to limit the building costs, and thus broaden the recruitment to the cottage programme, was the effort launched around 1930 to change the loan forms. Up until then, the City coffers had directly provided both building credits and the long-term loans for the cottages to make up for the

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215 SCC 6 May 1929 §6, 127-33.
216 SCC Rescript 52 1929, 256 (Appendage). While the houses without any prepared room on the upper floor had received loans amounting to 85.8 percent of the site value on an average, the ones with one and two rooms above had received 68.7 and 69.0 percents value, respectively. The latter had also been able to provide a greater amount of working time for the self-building activities.
217 Stockholms stads småstugebyggen, Anvisningar och föreskrifter (Stockholm 1931), 8-9; Stockholms stads småstugebyggen, Anvisningar och föreskrifter (Stockholm 1932), 7-8.
218 REB Minutes, Reg 568 (13 November) 1931.
219 Street and Real Estate Board Archive, F 2B:37, Document 728, Axel Dahlberg to the Real Estate Board 5 November 1929.
defective financial security brought about by the self-build element involved. The new proposal was that the City of Stockholm Leasehold Mortgage Credit Institute (SLMCI) would provide 60 percent of the total loan, while the City coffers would take up the rest – to the nominal 90 percent (the secondary loan) of total estimated building costs. However, SLMCI was very reluctant to take up this responsibility. 220 It particularly pointed out that while it in fact operated in the open market, negotiating long-term loans with normal risks, it was the stated mission of the Real Estate Board to take on ‘social’ responsibilities. 221 The issue was even subject to a principal discussion a couple of years later, where the SLMCI stated that not only were the self-built cottages defective risk objects in themselves, but the presence of cottages in the vicinity of professionally built houses did as well tend to diminish the economic value of the latter. Confronting these economic realities, the contention presented by the real estate director that the houses on the municipal estates, disregarding their individual sizes, all were garden city houses, turned out to be offset by the class differences that the cottage programme did little to abolish. 222 After only a year it was decided that the SLMCI should limit itself to cater to the professionally built villas, and the City coffers should continue to support the cottages as the cheapest and politically less risky alternative. 223 On the other hand, the financial difficulties of the poorest inhabitants were found to limit the possibilities to speed up the paying of annuities proposed by the financial authorities in 1936. 224 In this way, the economic rationality of local financing set limits for the social rationality, which only post-war national financing programmes could offset.

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220 City of Stockholm Leasehold Mortgage Credit Institution (SLMCI) Minutes, Memorial 11 June 1929, Biörnstad to the Board, 5.
221 SLMCI Minutes, Circular dated May 1930, Biörnstad to the Board, 1.
222 SLMCI Minutes 6 June 1934 §8.
223 SCC Rescript 366 1931.
224 SCC Rescript 411 1936.
Chapter III – Garden Suburbs and the Disciplinary City

The Spatial Dimensions

The disciplinary city was also threatened by city expansion that would question its spatial qualities. It was an important issue for reformers to try to limit these risks by finding guarantees for disciplinary spatiality in comprehensive city plans. Although it largely conceded to the need for a quantitative approach, the garden city movement in Vienna early on had started to work for comprehensive town plans, covering the whole region, and thereby making it possible to carve out at least some space for settlements according to their ideals among the masses of tenement blocks. Comprehensive town planning in Vienna had however deeper roots than that. General plans had already been presented at the great Town Planning Contest of Vienna in 1892-94.225

In the years after the turn of the century, Albert Lilienberg started discussing in these terms in the Swedish context, drawing mainly on German and Austrian examples.226 In 1905, the town architect had asked for a general plan for Stockholm. This work was started by the Country Domain’s Committee in 1907, but was discontinued when most of the planning authority was transferred to the new Town Planning Commission in 1909. The architect Gunnar Asplund, almost ten years later compared Stockholm with the work of Lilienberg in Gothenburg and concluded that Stockholm planning lagged far behind. It was not until 1923 that the recently permanent Town Planning Board was given the authority to continue comprehensive planning for the Stockholm area – that is the area within 15 kilometres from the city centre. A special committee was formed to specifically look into communication issues.227

As will be further discussed in the next chapter, the main reason for the delay is to be found in the deep division within the City administration between the authorities for the outer and the inner parts of the city.228 In January 1925, Carl Lindhagen submitted a proposal to the City Council to speed up the work. He particularly pointed out to the experiences of the Seine department (around Paris) in France, where the state had intervened to get a comprehensive plan under way. Underlining the urgency of the

226 Lars Bjur, Stadsplanering kring 1900 med exempel från Göteborg och Albert Lilienbergs verksamhet (Göteborg 1984), 143.
227 SCC Rescript 93 1925, 544.
228 Rådberg, Doktrin och tätthet, p 223-24.
matter, he had also convinced both the two leading engineers of the real estate office and all the engineers of the town planning office, to sign and back up his claims.229

It was not until Lilienberg left his assignment in Gothenburg to replace Per-Olof Hallman as town planning director in Stockholm in October 1927, before comprehensive planning actually took off.230 The work, however, would continue to be haunted by the conflict between the building industry interests and the City administration over the issue of building density in the outer city. The emphasis on the communications question would persist until the mid 1940s, when the debate over the plan of housing estate Gubbängen brought in another kind of ambition, including extensive Gallup and population research in order to exactly monitor the needs for community facilities.231 Another partly overlapping issue was the making of a plan for the region surrounding the city, in conjunction with the neighbouring municipalities. This work, which was started in 1926, was also delayed and did not approach a first draft until ten years later.232

The lack of a comprehensive plan to a large extent meant that important issues concerning the outlook of the city’s expansion were spelled out in individual cases, instead of the principal level. A case in point was the issue of the size of the houses, which directly related to the issues of the density of the outer city building pattern. At the time of the appointment of the Country Domain’s Committee, there seemed to have been, as mentioned, a rather broad consensus about the abandonment of the dense pattern that had accompanied the 1874 Building Act.233 When the Committee in 1909, at that time made permanent as a board, had to approve to the building of

229 SCC Rescript 93 1925, 560-65.
230 Rådberg, Doktrin och täthet, 228-30.
232 SCC Rescript 249 1936.
233 I.e. Herlitz in SCC Proposal 4 1907. Yngve Larsson, a Germany-oriented Social Democrat later to become a leading Liberal local politician, argued in a contemporary report over continental municipal socialism about ‘the rent barrack, the from far visible symptome of site speculation’, see Yngve Larsson, Kommunalsocialistik bostadspolitik i utlandet (Stockholm 1907), 4. In Swedish: ‘hyreskasernen, tomtjobberiets på långt håll synliga symptom’.
some four-storey houses in Alvik, Bromma borough, it was the result only of a long protracted and intensive strife.\textsuperscript{234}

Several levels of contentions were involved. To begin with, if the outer city was to be preserved for a less dense and more open building pattern, it had to be decided where exactly the outer city started and the inner city had its outer border. Carl Lindhagen devoted a lot of effort during the 1920s to save the mostly idle western part of Kungsholmen for a garden city style building pattern.\textsuperscript{235} Secondly, Lindhagen also tried to put forth the outer city pattern by rhetorically contrasting it against the density of the inner city with the explicit aim to ‘over time obliterate the great city and completely transform it to a garden city’.\textsuperscript{236} In other words, the final aim was more or less similar to the one stated by Ebenezer Howard about his garden cities. On the third level, however, came the more pragmatic contention of the governing social democrats to limit the heights of buildings with small apartments that were receiving municipal support.\textsuperscript{237}

The absolute contradiction between the dense grid city and the garden city-style settlements brought forth during the 1920s was a question not only of building heights in themselves. What Lindhagen and his compatriots were protesting against was also a global ‘inner stone desert policy, the mercantile antisocial view of the fates of people’ which they felt was the cornerstone of the industrial and real estate interests.\textsuperscript{238} The element of civilisation critique in this was considerable. When the town plans for new areas on central and western Kungsholmen, as well as on the neighbouring Essingen islands were decided around 1930, they however largely conformed to the inner city pattern of high density, although opened up to International Style planning ideals.\textsuperscript{239} It is important to note that support for the high-rise houses did not only come from liberal and conservative voices, but also

\textsuperscript{234} Rådberg, \textit{Den svenska trädgårdstaden}, p 99.
\textsuperscript{235} REB Minutes 28 September 1923 §2.
\textsuperscript{236} SCC Minutes 17 March 1913 §20, p 343. Cf. 18 December 1919 #88, p 1221-1222; Appendage 12 1920, 3. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘att utplåna storstaden så småningom och förvandla den helt och hållet till trädgårdsstad’.
\textsuperscript{237} SCC Minutes 15 December 1924, 727; Rescript 396 1924, 1861.
\textsuperscript{238} SCC Minutes 28 May 1923 §45, 349. \textit{In Swedish}: den inre stenökenpolitiken, den merkantila, antisociala synen på människornas öden’.
\textsuperscript{239} REB Minutes 18 July 1930 §38; 8 August 1930 §18; Rådberg, \textit{Doktrin och täthet}, 262-266.
from the left, which hoped that greater density would decrease rents for already hard-struck tenants.240

In the rest of the outer city, however, the administration in spite of frequent opposition held tight to a low density, low rise pattern. The foremost vehicle to do this was the so-called *smalhus* (Thin House), a 6-9 meter thick house of two-room, through-going flats in three (or, rarely, four) storeys. As real estate director Axel Dahlberg argued in a land-use enquiry presented in 1934, as an auxiliary to the general plan, there would be no difficulties to house more than enough people in either villas or three-storey houses within the wide areas, which the City had already purchased.241 As Dahlberg described it, the thin house was only a further development of the ideas guiding the own-homes movement, and contrasted drastically to ordinary tenements, or ‘thick houses’, which he thought should be abandoned from the outer city.242 Nevertheless in the mid-1940s, it was his contention and from his fraction of the administration that the future Stockholm would remind more of the far-stretched London cityscape (as he imagined it):

Maybe the future Stockholm will be something in the same style as London. A business and office centre with a continuously growing surrounding of one-family villas, embedded in trees and flowers. In the afternoon, when the day activities have terminated, the very city area will lie abandoned and empty, while enormous buses, undergrounds, lately invented types of cars and – why not – traffic planes will spread the workers of the city out to the villa communities in the periphery.243

240 REB Minutes 3 July 1933 §4 (Ahlbin, Conservative); 4 December 1931 §24; 24 May 1932 §23; 3 July 1933 §4 (Grimlund, Communist).
242 Street and Real Estate Office Archive, F 2B:85, Document 1097K (Dahlberg 15 September 1930).
The Greenbelt

Another part of that vision, a part that was crucial also for Howard and the way he imagined garden city development, was the persistence of an agricultural greenbelt surrounding the housing settlements. It was clear from the outset that the agricultural estates still active in the new areas in Stockholm would be gone in a couple of decades. Instead, the idea was that some parks, together with the garden colonies that had been created during the 1910s, should take up the distance between the settlements. Differentiating themselves from the old agrarian estates, they were part of the same effort to create healthy environments, which at the same time would have a morally improving influence on the working class – the therapy part of the disciplinary housing discourse.244

When some garden colonies in Bromma in 1923 received first notice on a future eviction to leave room for housing settlements, Lindhagen proposed to the City Council that measures should immediately be taken to protect the green areas. Together with 16 other deputies, from all parties, he asked both for the colonies to be included into the town plan (which was yet to be), and for co-operation with the state in order to protect the colonies.245 As he mentioned in the proposal, the Country Domain’s Board had, as early as in 1909, raised the issue of incorporating the colonies within the town plan. When this board in 1919 was amalgamated with the inner city administration to form the Real Estate Board, it had in its final statement further underlined the importance of making the colonies permanent.246

The colonies were important, Lindhagen emphasised, both as a refuge for that large part of the population which would have to continue to reside in the inner city tenements, and as a protective ‘girdle of productive land’ to shield the garden suburbs off from the grid city. This girdle would in its turn have to be protected by an area of parks and low houses, to save it from polluted air and noise.247 When the issue was addressed in the City Council in 1929, Lindhagen found himself up against a more or less united

244 On the aspects of health and moral within the garden colony movement of Gothenburg, see Martin Bergquist, En utopi i verkligheten, Kolonirörelsen och det nya samhället (Göteborg 1996).
245 SCC Proposal 44 and 45 1923.
246 SCC Proposal 45, 134-36.
front of social democrats and conservatives alike, who were also backed by the administration headed by real estate director (in charge), Axel Dahlberg, and town planning director Albert Lilienberg. Even the colonists themselves largely refused to support him, considering the economic compensation they would get when evicted under the circumstances as more or less fair. Only the radical social democrat Fredrik Ström – once together with Lindhagen and one of the founders of the Swedish left social democratic party – chose to underline his arguments with a portion of class rhetoric.\(^{248}\)

From this moment onwards, the main contention was whether the colonies should remain as a ‘girdle’, or whether they should follow the city’s expansion and move to the new fringe areas that were created further away from the city. In other words, although the discussion increasingly circled around the need for inner city inhabitants to have contact with nature and relaxation, for all practical matters it concerned issues of fundamental importance of how the future city should be conceptualised. Lindhagen followed up his initiative with a book-length proposal submitted to the City Council in 1931 and a First Chamber proposal to the Swedish Parliament in the following year (where he sat as a senator for the social democrats).\(^{249}\) The latter proposal was rejected on the basis that the colonies ought to be properly regarded as a municipal affair.\(^{250}\)

However, Lindhagen’s efforts were noted by the Health Department of the League of Nations’ office in Geneva that requested an abridged version of his 1931 City Council proposal to be published in English and French. The department underlined the correspondence between Lindhagen’s proposal and modern town planning thought that increasingly stressed the need to decentralise cities into autonomous entities. In a way, the principled view was reintegrated into the discussion, a move received gratefully by Lindhagen.\(^{251}\) The different proposals submitted by Lindhagen and others from 1923 onwards were not further considered until 1939. At this time,

\(^{248}\) SCC Rescript 13 1929; Minutes 28 January §20, 48. *In Swedish:* ‘Det är dock så, att denna rörelse är, som jag nämnde, av en stor social betydelse, den är i det alltjämt orättfärdiga, kapitalistiska samhället en ringa, obetydlig ersättning för vad arbetarna skulle ha, men som de ännu inte kunnat tillkämpa sig, vilket jag dock hoppas de kunna tillkämpa sig.’

\(^{249}\) SCC Proposal 35 1931 (later translated into English, and French); Swedish Parliament, First Chamber, Proposal 211 1932.

\(^{250}\) Swedish Parliament, First Chamber, Second Temporary Council, No 6 1932.

\(^{251}\) See i.e. SCC Rescript 182 1936, 860.
when additional views had been received both from the Town Planning Board and from the local and national organisations of garden colonists, the Real Estate Board declared that the garden colonies had to be considered from a radically different view than had previously been the case. While at an earlier stage the incorporation of the colonies had been considered in the drafts that had been prepared in the work on the general plan, it now seemed obvious that the ‘natural course’ of expansion for the city instead involved a continuous pattern of tenement settlements over most of the areas rented out for garden colony purposes. Consequently, the main share of the considerations was focused on how the colonists should be economically compensated. While the local branch of the colonists approved to this view, the national organisations decided to oppose it – to no avail, however.\(^{252}\)

Lindhagen was enraged and criticised the rescript. It was of little help given the fact that the question was scheduled so late in the evening at the City Council meeting that the chairperson had to request the attention to the speaker from the tired and bored audience that listened to his speech.\(^{253}\) While loosing this vote with a damaging 73 to 3, Lindhagen had a remaining option. While he had failed in the mission to defend the garden colonies, he had nevertheless incorporated them into a more encompassing project that he was simultaneously launching. In other words, he was trying to make the City Council accept as a general planning principle that the outer city should be outlined according to the blueprint in his 1931 proposal *hembygdsstäder*:

In the centre of every *hembygd*, tenements of at the most three storeys should be put. Where it is practical to do so, they may well be constructed as big, however tastefully composed entities. Large scale construction will probably also press the construction cost downwards considerably. Closest to the tenement buildings, small culture parks and maybe parts of wild parks will be situated. Across these will the own-homes be put, smaller and larger ones separated or mixed. After the ownhomes the garden colonies will be put. Such a *hembygd* will

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\(^{252}\) SCC Rescript 183 1939.

\(^{253}\) SCC 15 May 1939 §47, 294.
The Social City


255 SCC Minutes 26 January 1942 §4, 43.

256 SCC Rescript 183 1939, 1045-1046. Except in SCC Proposal 35 1931, additional views upon the subject, mostly concerning assistance from the state, had been presented in SCC Proposals 14 1932; 10 and 11 1937; 10 1940.

257 SCC Rescript 366 1941, 1795 (Town Planning Board 22 October 1941). *In Swedish*: ‘planläggning kan ej ske efter schematiska principer.’

258 SCC Minutes 26 January 1942 §4. The question of the garden colonies was further discussed in a question answered in Minutes 21 September 1942 §54, and Proposal 7 1942. In the question debate it was explained that the principal decision made 1939 had resulted in about 1,000 new colony lots, enough at least to compensate everybody that had been evicted.
The Modernisation of the Disciplinary Discourse

The level of the Stockholm rents had for a considerable time been a recurring theme of conservative rhetoric strategy in the City Council, in order to support demands for liberalisation of the land market. The communists and the socialists (para-Comintern communists) voiced more or less the same complaints in their case, combined with claims for subsidies and municipal building.\(^{259}\)

In 1936, another decisive step was taken in the expansion of public responsibility for housing in Stockholm when the City Council voted to build state-subsidised housing for poor families with many children. Tellingly enough, the initiative now came from the national level, where the social democrat dominated parliament had decided to create earmarked credit funds for inexpensive housing for big families. The initiative was the product of the governmentally appointed Social Housing Enquiry, led by Gunnar Myrdal and to a large extent informed by his and Alva Myrdal’s intervention in the nativity debate in the 1934 booklet *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* (Crisis of the Population Issue). In the first report from the enquiry, it was proposed that the municipalities could opt for governmental assistance to provide housing for poor people with many children, and required that the municipalities for their part to give away building grounds for free and let the buildings be constructed and administered by municipal or public utility companies. In September 1935, ten million Crowns were set aside for this purpose by the Parliament. Stockholm created a public utility company, *Familjebostäder AB* (Family Housing Ltd.), already in January 1936, together with the co-operative (and by that time solidly social democrat dominated) company HSB.\(^{260}\) In order to gain a greater degree of control over these measures, the City also decided in June 1936 to start a public utility company of its own, *Stockholmsbem AB* (Stockholm Homes Ltd.).\(^{261}\)

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259 I.e. SCC Minutes 14 December 1936, #55, 390-92.
261 SCC Minutes 15 June 1936 §40; Rescript 252 1936.
Already during the debate in January 1936, the problem of concentration of the poorest in particular houses was highlighted. In accordance with the governmental instructions, it was consequently decided that the houses would be shared between the families and other tenants, especially those evicted from older houses torn down for the expansion of the inner city.

As the historian Sten O Karlsson has pointed out, the moralistic content of the governmental enquiry was profound. In a pilot study of the housing situation delivered in 1933 in Gothenburg, Gunnar Myrdal and the Gothenburg town engineer Uno Åhrén pointed out that the housing issue was to a large extent a question of the priorities of the housing consumers, or more globally, the need to improve the housing culture of the working class. On the other hand, they emphasised, more or less in accordance with the turn-of-the-century disciplinary discourse, the moral and social, in parity with the hygienic, consequences of overcrowding. The emphasis on housing culture was somewhat tempered in the 1935 report, where it was conceded that many families after all did not have the resources to finance large enough living space. In particular, this report underlined that overcrowding had to be considered out of the perspective of the life cycle of families. It was foremost during the ‘middle ages’ of families – when the older children were adolescents but still living with their parents – that crowded conditions were both frequent and had the most serious consequences.

The ‘socio-moral’ consequences of miserable housing conditions were held highlighted here as well, and had been elaborated by Alva Myrdal as part of an article by the head physician of Stockholm’s Epidemic Hospital, Rolf Bergman. In this paper, which was appendaged to the enquiry, the medical, psychological and ‘socio-moral’ risks were discussed. Alva Myrdal conceded that there was a considerable lack of empirical studies on the latter, and therefore she tried to theoretically elaborate the mechanisms that Bergman was addressing by combining her own experiences and those of her colleagues. In this way she discussed profoundly the different stress factors connected to living together with many people in a limited space – the lack of privacy, abundance of noise and so on – which she argued could

262 SCC Minutes 27 January 1936 §34 (Simonsson, Larsson, Sandberg).
263 SCC Minutes 27 January 1936 §34, 36 (Sandberg); Rescript 251 1936, 1275.
264 Karlsson, Arbetarefamiljen och det nya hemmet, 186-99; 308-10.
265 Governmental Enquiry (Statens offentliga utredningar, SOU) 1935:2, 44-46.
be associated with low aspirations and depression of the affected.266 However, apart from these tentative suggestions about possible consequences of congestion, reminiscent but somewhat more elaborated than was the case in the early twentieth century discourse, the paper also included some significantly less elaborated parts on the consequences of especially the female sexual behaviour. On the one hand, in accordance to an earlier paper which Alva Myrdal had co-authored with Dr. Rolf Broberg, it was pointed out that crowding exposed young people, and girls in particular, to risks of being made victims of the sexual desires of adults. Incest and sexual exploitation were cases in point in this respect, but it was also evident that her concerns were on sex between people considered too young in general, and against what was considered as excessive sexuality (a problem obviously connected only to the female sex). On the other hand, the report also showed concern for the consequences on family harmony, and the risk that the young especially would resort to a life of pleasures if the hearth became too congested. This risk pertained to both sexes, but as Alva Myrdal expressed it, the risks were greater for young women, ‘since when they walk on the street, it can’t take place in an innocent way, as it is with the boys’.267

The Influence of the Population Issue

This interest for the sexual habits of people living in overcrowded apartments may be considered as a reflection of the general aim with the enquiry and its propositions. As it was emphasised by the Committee, the Swedish housing policy, in a European perspective, had up to this moment relied heavily on market forces.268 From the late 1920s onwards, a long sequence of propositions demanding increased governmental intervention in the housing field had been submitted to the Parliament without results.269 The reason why subsidies on a much broader scale were approved to now was that, as the Committee maintained, it was not really a subsidy but rather fair

266 Rolf Bergman, ‘Om bostadens inflytande på de boendes hälsa’, in Ibid, 191-196. As it was remarked, part V of the article dealing with the psychological and ‘socio-moral’ issues was written entirely by Alva Myrdal.
268 SOU 1935:2, 22.
269 SOU 1935:2, 30-39.
pay for work performed for the good of society (or, perhaps rather, the nation):

> Those families, it could rightly be argued, should for the sake of fairness not so completely as presently is the case bear the costs, who are breeding the next generation of this nation and thereby maintaining perhaps the most important part of its real capital accumulation.270

In other words, the millions spent on building credits and family allowances associated with this project should not be viewed as charity, but rather as investments in human capital. This way of reasoning characterised the whole enquiry, as well as the parliamentary decisions as a result. It was consequently upheld that bad housing also had serious consequences on the aspirations and possibilities of the parents to provide children with decent upbringing. Considering this, it was decided that sanitary measures directed towards the urban cores would have to be postponed for another decade and a half. The city centre anyway was considered as a less than adequate environment for children. It was more important to provide the families with many children with new housing on the city fringes, where necessary facilities could be added without much cost.271 A further consequence of equal importance was that the possibility of increasing the use of contraceptives among the working class would diminish when adequate possibilities for the maintenance of greater families were provided.272

**The Modernisation of Disciplinary spatiality and Direct Interventions**

Already from the start it had been the contention, first voiced by the poverty inspector, that the concentration of poor families in specific houses might be associated with serious drawbacks. As mentioned, the national authorities conceded to this as well and it became the practice of the Stockholm authorities to rent out half of the apartments built for big fami-

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270 SOU 1935:2, 52. *In Swedish*: ‘Det kan med rätta göras gällande, att de familjer, som uppföda nationens nästa generation och därmed fullgöra den kanske mest väsentliga delen av dess reala kapitalbildning, icke rätteligen skola så helt, som för närvarande är fallet, bära de därmed förenade kostnaderna.’

271 SOU 1935:2, 53-64.

272 SOU 1935:2, 51.
lies to other categories of people (although not on the open market). \(^{273}\)

Another way to solve this problem, already mentioned in the governmental enquiry, was to use state subsidies for the building of single-family houses. The Committee upheld that such settlements were in general too expensive for the categories intended to be the beneficiaries, but at the same time the Committee encouraged state subsidised cottage building on an experimental basis ‘in places where the conditions for this are in place.’ \(^{274}\)

The City administration in Stockholm had in 1935 emphasised the by that time quite extensive operation of guided self-building cottages, and maintained that the cottages had the advantageous characteristic of separating the families. \(^{275}\) At the same time, it had been noted that the families selected each year for the building of the cottages tended to have fewer children per household – the average had decreased from 1.5 child per household in 1927 to a meagre 0.8 in 1933. \(^{276}\)

Although it could be argued that families might have postponed expanding the family until laborious building work was done, these figures indicated that the people they were meant for were perhaps not always the ones living in the cottages.

The Real Estate Board emphasised however the specific quality of the cottages. It underlined that it was an indispensable measure of the quality of the applicants if they were able to perform the work associated with the building of the cottage. As the board outrightly expressed it; ‘This fostering element should not be completely overlooked’. But a demand like that was of course making it significantly harder to recommend the Magic House programme for large families, where the ability to provide a large amount of work had to be limited. Consequently, the Board proposed that the subsidies could be used for renting out of cottages already erected. \(^{277}\)

In June 1936, the Swedish government decided to allow experimental use of subsidies for cottages also. Led by this the City Council decided to take special action to provide cottages especially for big families, for the moment however, without using the governmental loans. During 1937, 61

\(^{273}\) SCC Rescript 479 1939.

\(^{274}\) SOU 1935:2, 62. *In Swedish:* ‘i orter, där förutsättningarna härför finnas’.


\(^{276}\) SOU 1935:2, Appendix 1, 9.

\(^{277}\) SCC Rescript 4 1938, 149-150; citation from Rescript 531 1939, 3151.(Real Estate Board 3 October 1939). *In Swedish:* ‘Detta uppfostrande moment bör icke helt förbises’.
cottages were provided for big families, mostly by renting; two years later the number was 148.\textsuperscript{278}

As a complement to these efforts to find a place for at least some of the large families on the model disciplinary areas in the end of the 1930s, the issue of direct supervising of those still living in tenements was raised as well. In 1939, the social democratic councillor Fredrik Ström proposed that welfare officers should assist the families with many children as well as the people living in houses for retired persons. These officers, or curators, would be handling both the economic administration and the somewhat broader field of giving advises in life and assistance to the inhabitants. It was not very difficult to see that what was proposed actually was the notion of rent collectors from the late nineteenth century. This was further underlined by Ström’s insistence that the welfare officers should preferably be women, this in order to facilitate getting insights into the intimate affairs of the households involved.\textsuperscript{279} Three years later, Elsie Théel, conservative member of the municipal Nursing Board, more or less repeated the same demands.\textsuperscript{280}

In the enquiry that followed, the municipal housing companies Familjebostäder and Stockholmshem reported that hiring of welfare officers had been considered for the barnrikehus right from the beginning. In 1936-37, female ‘rent collectors’ had been hired to tend the structures built by Familjebostäder in the Kristineberg and Hammarby settlements, both situated on the border between the inner and the outer city. The tasks of these women were much the same as had been and, as the enquiry showed, still to some extent remained to be the case among the philanthropic housing foundations. However, the municipal rent collectors were given an additional task, as manageresses of the play-schools, which, it was hoped, would bring them into even deeper contact with the families they were supposed to tend. It was emphasised that the governing measures should be conducted in a milder way than had usually been the case a couple of decades earlier:

Concerning this, greatest care and consideration should however be taken, so that unnecessary animosity should not occur,

\textsuperscript{278} SCC Rescript 145 1937; 114 1938; 531 1939, 2.
\textsuperscript{279} SCC Proposal 7 1939.
\textsuperscript{280} SCC Proposal 18 1942.
and so that the tenant does not get the impression that the rent collectoress is acting like a manageress of an institution. If this feeling should occur among the tenants, the work is performed in an erroneous way. Advice and instructions should be given in such delicate forms, that the persons concerned hardly would experience the systematic nature of the work. Only in those cases, where obvious carelessness, obstinacy, or asocial instincts surface, should a rougher treatment be resorted to, this however only after discussion with the board.\footnote{Instructions issued by Familjebostäder, cited in SCC Rescript 78 1944, 388. \textit{In Swedish:} ‘Härvid bör dock lakttagas stor försiktighet och hänsyn, så att icke onödig irritation uppstår, och så att hyresgästen icke får ett intryck av att vice värdinnan uppträder som en föreståndarinna för en anstalt. Skulle denna känsla uppstå, är arbetet skött på ett felaktigt sätt. Råd och anvisningar böröra givas under så mjuka former, att vederbörande knappast märka det systematiska i arbetet. Endast i de fall, där uppenbar vårdslöshet, trediska eller asociala instinkter komma till synes, bör en mera hårdhänt behandling tagas till, detta dock endast efter samråd med styrelsen.’}

The renovated system of female rent collectors was soon abandoned, apparently for technical reasons pertaining to the disciplinary function. Male functionaries were after all needed at the premises, since, as the company put it, ‘the female rent collector could not always act in front of the tenants with the weight and authority that is necessary on certain occasions’.\footnote{The board of Familjebostäder, cited in SCC Rescript 78 1944, 388. \textit{In Swedish:} ‘den kvinnliga vicevärden icke alltid gent emot hyresgästerna kunde uppträda med den pon- dus och auktoritet, som vid vissa tillfällen är nödvändig.’}

The second municipal company, Stockholmshem, seems to have been drawing on these experiences. It was consequently their opinion that the repressive and the curatory functions should be separated from the start, between male rent collectors and female nursing manageresses. This also became the preferred model of the real estate office. It was emphasised by both companies that they had made an important contribution to maintaining social order in and around the houses for families with a large number of children, simply by reducing the number of these families in each house. Since half the space in each house in the future was to be occupied by tenants from other categories, it was maintained that the problems would rarely occur in future.\footnote{SCC Rescript 78 1944, 388-99.} It these ways the municipal authorities took
advantage of practices already in use for the disciplining of urban space in order to solve problems that had appeared as the result of governmental intervention on the national scale, where this kind of detailed knowledge was probably not available.

The new municipal companies should also, it was argued, provide housing for elderly people. In 1942 new proposals of housing for both youth and elderly were made, suggesting that category housing perhaps was the way in which broader initiatives – inspired by the housing for big families – was brought in by the back-door. The provision of specific loans to easily acquire moveable property for recently formed families, motivated in its turn the hiring of ‘housing consultants’ to make sure that the families would make the right choices.

**Epilogue - Quality and Quantity Housing**

When assessing the ineffectiveness, mostly pertaining to Stockholm housing policy from the late nineteenth century to the end of the Second World War, one has to take into consideration what possible alternatives existed. To some extent, the challenging projects of the social democratic regime in Vienna were an exception to the rule of the post-Great War housing. With the help of almost unrestrained power resources on a local basis (and hard-pressed by the need to make up for political problems in the provincial parts of the country), the Viennese social democrats set out for a highly controversial attempt to actually eradicate housing shortage in the city after the war.

This dramatic difference in approach to housing provision must be understood in relation to different political conditions of strength – where the power of the socialist majority in Stockholm due to the local constitution (see chapter two) was much more circumscribed than the case of Vienna. Another important difference related to the dominating power rationality. While the Austrian politicians could concentrate on quantitative aspects relying on their well-known cultural programmes for the purpose of public control, their Stockholm counterparts found themselves in a dramatically

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284 SCC Proposal 2 1937.
different situation. The Stockholm social democrats disposed over nothing like the vision and determination of their Viennese counterparts when it came to the question of cultural self-determination. The closest they came to a cultural programme was the utopian ideas propagated by Carl Lindhagen, the ageing idealist who increasingly found himself in political wilderness.288 On the contrary, the Stockholm social democrats for a long while had to rely on the liberals (or the erstwhile liberals) not only for decisive voting power, but for ideas as well. This may be the main reason why the Stockholm housing policy for a long time relied more on quality aspects rather than quantity; and why spatial disciplining would play the same role in the keeping of urban order as the cultural programme did in the Austrian capital.

The differences in approach to housing will become visible through the comparison of simple figures. Between 1919 and (the fascist putsch in) 1934 the municipal companies in Vienna built about 64,000 domiciles. The number built by the Stockholm municipality during the much longer period of 1898 to 1931 was only 3,324. While the municipally built amount of housing in Vienna in 1934 was about 10 percent of the whole stock, in Stockholm it was only 2 percent.289 On the other hand, this did not necessarily mean that housing provision in Stockholm was less successful. The average amount of tenants per apartment in Vienna had decreased by 27 percent to reach 3.03 between 1910 and 1934. In 1931 in Stockholm, after a decrease by about 15 percent since the turn of the century, it was still only slightly higher: 3.21 in the inner city, 3.61 in the outer city.290 By the time of the coup, Vienna had 77,419 persons in temporary shelters. The number of homeless in Stockholm (1931) in the inner and the outer city combined (with the exception of lodgers), hardly exceeds the 4,076 + 603 in provisory housing and 13,330 in the City’s sheds, altogether 18,009 persons.291 Taking into account the difference in population in both cities (about 1,900,000 compared to 470,000), it amounted to some four percent of the population. About half of the Stockholm apartments by 1933 had central heating com-

pared to only 18 percent of the Viennese apartments. Consequently, there is little to prove that the massive municipalisation on housing provision in Vienna gave the city a substantial advantage, compared to the consensual politics of Stockholm.

Of course, it must be granted that Stockholm in these years had less difficulties to cope with than Vienna (which was ravaged by the war, the revolution, the contra-revolution, and also had to shelter migrating populations from the former empire). On the other hand, Stockholm stood out among the Scandinavian capitals as the city that never seriously considered legal restrictions on in-migration (although Carl Lindhagen proposed such legislation in 1920). From this, and from the need to stimulate corporate capitalistic housing provision after total abolition of rent control in the mid-1920s, emerged the very high level of Stockholm rents. As Table III:3 shows, Stockholm rents around 1930 were still twice the rents in both Copenhagen – a city arguably situated in a somewhat warmer climate – and in Oslo, the capital of considerably poorer Norway at that time.

Table III:3: Average rents per year for one-room and kitchen apartments in the Scandinavian capitals 1930-32. Swedish Crowns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All apartments</th>
<th>Ap. With central heating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>760¹</td>
<td>1,082²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copenhagen</td>
<td>264³</td>
<td>447⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo</td>
<td>311⁵</td>
<td>558⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Notes: ¹: 1930/1931; ²: 1930/31, except the outer city; ³: 1930/31; ⁴: All apartments built after 1925; ⁵: 1931/32; ⁶: All apartments taken into use after 1915.

In its 1934 enquiry, the real estate office did not hesitate in stating that the Stockholm housing policy remained rather haphazard 15 years after the formation of the Real Estate Board. The measures that had been taken remained largely responses to crises concentrated to the waves of moving

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²⁹² Gruber, Red Vienna, 47; SCC Appendage 68 1934, 3.
²⁹³ SCC Rescript 396 1924, 1862-63; 1869; 1887-88.
people in the beginnings of April and October each year.\textsuperscript{294} After 1924, the City had not built any houses at all. Instead, it had supported a large part of the private and co-operative house building projects with the help of different kinds of subsidies, financial provisions and guarantees – about one-quarter of total costs during the period 1916-1933. The two main co-operative companies, SKB and HSB, had between 1916/1923 and 1933 together produced 9,410 apartments, which was far more what than the City itself had accomplished.\textsuperscript{295} About 11,000 of the 70,900 fire places built with these kinds of support belonged to the regular private sector, half of the amount to co-operative companies and the rest to five-percent philanthropy.\textsuperscript{296} Although a considerable amount of money had been invested in these kinds of housing, the rent levels, although lower than the average, were still far above international levels:

\textbf{Table III:4: Average annual rents 1932-1934 for one-room and a kitchen built with the help of different kinds of financial arrangements. Swedish Crowns.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Housing</th>
<th>Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsidised house</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidised with rent-control</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All apartments with central heating in the inner city</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subsidised house</td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Source:} SCC Appendage 68 1934, 75.

According to tabulations presented in 1936, the index of housing costs (for a lower middle class family) had risen to 133 at its peak in 1933, after which it decreased to 116.8 in 1935. At the same time, the general index for necessary items had fallen to 65.4. In other words, Stockholmers to a large degree invested their rising living standards in better housing – of which probably a considerable amount, especially during periods of extreme

\textsuperscript{294} SCC Appendage 68 1934, 52.
\textsuperscript{295} SCC Appendage 68 1934, 94.
\textsuperscript{296} SCC Appendage 68 1934, 72-74.
shortage, added to the profit margins of landlords and the building industry. This was largely the price they had to pay for the disciplinary housing discourse.

Concluding Discussion

The decision to purchase large tracts of land just outside the boundaries of Stockholm from 1904 onwards has to be seen in the context of increased concern for the compounding problems that were caused by the fast expansion of the city in preceding centuries. There was both a concern for the hygienic effects caused by housing shortage, and for the effects on morals and public order in general, caused not only by the shortage but also by the course which the housing provision had taken, especially in the case of workers’ housing. While there seems to have been a common understanding that something had to be done about the imperfections of market-led housing provision (assisted by a rather toothless town-planning strategy), the means and direction of the action taken would largely be decided by the related concerns. From the turn of the century, Stockholm embarked on a long-term strategy implying a less dense and more spread-out building pattern. It has been argued in this chapter that this strategy was determined by the consideration emanating out of a disciplinary housing discourse, amalgamating direct and indirect measures intending to use the cityscape as a subject-forming and educating instrument. As it will be further developed in the next chapter, these measures were used in the context of the development of an understanding of mutual dependency and trust, defined by the establishment and continuous elaboration of a vaguely defined social sphere.

I have in this chapter given a broad overview of the town planning and municipal housing provision strategies in Stockholm from the turn of the century to the end of the Second World War. Since the disciplinary techniques as well as the creation of the social sphere were managed by different parts of the municipal administration, a rather large amount of space has been devoted to the developments of the different administrative bodies. It has also been an ambition to explain and analyse the links between the spatial and governmental measures taken during the periods.

297 SCC Appendage 84 1936, Table 18, 33.
An important contention of the chapter has been the complexity of both discourse and practice connected to housing issues. The disciplinary housing discourse was in itself a combination of traits taken from the juridical and social domains, as well as from the economic domain. When it was voiced within the municipal administration, its elements were also combined with other elements of administrative, technical and aesthetic character. When power rationalities were implemented, we have also seen that they were chosen and combined according to the needs and preferences at hand. Although not displaying a simple picture of pure sequences of rationalities – because there in none – the chapter should have given a sense of the importance to take power rationalities into account when assessing housing strategies.
Chapter IV
Municipal Leaseholding as an Instrument for the Control of Urban Order

Most crucial among the different town planning measures that were introduced in Stockholm around the turn of the century, was the establishment of a consistent land policy. With the choice of site leasehold rights as the main landholding instrument in the new city districts, landholding was for this part of the city largely shifted from the economic into the social domain. When land was no longer sold to the highest bidder, it became possible for the City administration not only to choose among possible proprietors, but also to exercise extensive control over the use of land (and for what was built on it) for indefinite periods of time. First, this introduced the possibility to build a disciplinary city on the land, without having to pay the enormous land rents of the inner city. Furthermore, through the relation between the City as a landowner and the inhabitants, land was governmentalised; it became the object of governance by negotiations under unequal power relations.

This chapter will go into further detail of how the social domain within Stockholm town planning was constructed. The first part will be devoted to a brief theoretical discussion of the relationship between spatiality and institutions. Then I will show how the most important of the institutional features under discussion, the site leasehold rights, went from foreign influence, to the parliament decision and later to local implementation. I will discuss the motives behind this solution at some length, as well as how contradictions between the motives were solved in a manner that gave the Stockholm leasehold administration a unique design. Most important in this respect is how leaseholding was used to create the settlements around the Enskede estate situated in the southern part of Stockholm, from the early 1900s onwards (the district was administratively incorporated in 1913). I chose to concentrate on Enskede, both because it was the first settlement that was developed with the help of leaseholding, and because, contrary to
the other main leaseholding area of the affluent Bromma districts, it was intended for a population made up of working class and lower middle stratum.

When implemented, the rationality of the social domain also acquired definite spatial qualities, which set these districts apart from the rest of the city. Largely, the social city became identified and spatially manifested through these districts, which is a theme I will develop partly in this chapter and partly in the next chapter.

The site leasehold rights had both economic, and, broadly, social aims. Part of the chapter will deal with the strategies chosen to reconcile these potentially divergent traits. Of great importance was the creation of specific administrative bodies. I will discuss the peculiarities of these bodies and their relationship with the overarching financial institutions of the City administration, in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the limits of the different domains, and how clashes between the rationalities – and their carriers – were worked out in daily practice. As I will show, the relative autonomy of the ‘social’ administrative bodies was largely co-existent with the overall influence of the social domain and the popularity of the power techniques it implies within the administration at large.

Social and Other Spaces

This chapter will be balancing between the level of crystallised conceptions materialised in different kinds of legal material on the one hand, and the level where these institutional instruments were used for the creation of places on the other. A main prerequisite for the places that were created in this way was that they were conceptualised as something radically different than the various kinds of city spaces that had been created earlier. Before discussing the site leasehold rights in particular, I will try to deal at length with the significance of this kind of conceptualised difference.

Lefebvre and Abstract Spaces

The French Marxist philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, once argued for the establishment of a new kind of spatial analysis, which would combine the insights from analyses of (material) spatial practices and of different kinds of (ideological) representations of spaces, into an analysis of the (social) practices
of spaces that he labelled as spaces of representations. What had to be taken into consideration, according to Lefebvre, was that changes in the material features of spaces were thought out and determined by second-level conceptions about these spaces. Something else seemed to happen to spaces, apart from their material creation and the ways in which they were conceived. When the material and the spiritual instances rubbed against each other, there seemed to be a creative moment taking place, and it was this moment that Lefebvre tried to capture.

The way he chose to do this was coloured by essentialism. The spaces of representation are, he argues, influenced by conceptions arising more or less out of nature, ‘embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art’. Representations per se are in contrast ‘tied to the relations of production and to the “order” which those relations impose’. Because the creative moment consequently is somehow to be found outside the relation between ideological and material relations, it seems as if conflict and contentions are implicated already at the level of conceptual order. Creativity is understood to be a result of transgressing what already exists. While this gives his theory a dynamic quality, at the same time it creates epistemological problems; are we supposed to regard the order of spaces of representation as more ‘real’ than the order of representations of spaces?

I would suggest a less rigid interpretation, which will be tentatively outlined below.

The analysis conducted in this chapter is, I would argue, an analysis of sorts of representations of space. That is, I study town plans and the legal institutions underpinning them. I moreover think that there are good rea-

1 There are two English translations of Lefebvre’s concept espace vécu. In David Nicholson-Smith’s translation of La production de l’espace, it is translated as representational spaces. It seems, however, that most commentators – such as David Harvey, Edward Soja and Lynn Stewart – have chosen the translation spaces of representation instead, as Stewart puts it; because it is ‘less confusing […] more suggestive, subtle, and closer to the French’. See Lynn Stewart, ‘Bodies, visions and spatial politics: a review essay on Henri Lefebvre’s The Production of Space’, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space Vol 13 (1995), 610, note 2. In this matter, I have chosen to stick to the crowd.


3 See, for instance, Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 41-42.
sons to argue for a separation between representations *per se*, such as discourses and pictures, and the institutional devices to which I give most of my attention here. In other words, the town plans themselves and their legal foundations should be seen as something other than discourses *about* town plans.

Staying within a Lefebvrian conceptual realm, what is at stake is the issue of *abstract space*. This concept was developed by Lefebvre as a way to comprehend how urban space was gradually desacralised during the expansion of western modernity. Earlier on, the *absolute space* of antique or medieval cities had been saturated with meaning, which was expressed by the position of each part of the city in relation to different symbolic centres. In the same way, as spaces of representation, it was created not out of abstract formalisation but out of how people (given the hierarchies they were living within) conceptualised their lives in the space they inhabited.

During the Renaissance and after, with the invention of perspectivity and the revolution of astronomy, a new conception of space as unlimited and always the same had however been established. This was the abstract space, a space that did not need any further motivation than its functionality. Although, as Lefebvre notes, secularisation of urban space has proceeded at a remarkably slow pace, it was nonetheless a necessary precondition of both modern town planning and the dissolution of the Walking City. The city has been progressively dominated by abstract space – which Lefebvre understands as planned space, or more precisely as un-localised knowledge that by being materialised in spatial practices is breaking up communities and contexts. Gradually, absolute space is giving way, Be-

4 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 234-75.
5 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 231.
6 'In spatial practice, the reproduction of social relations is predominant. The representation of space, in thrall to both knowledge and power, leaves only the narrowest leeway to representational spaces, which are limited to works, images and memories whose content, whether sensory, sensual or sexual, is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force. Perhaps young children can live in a space of this kind, with its indifference to age and sex (and even to time itself), but adolescence perforce suffers from it, for it cannot discern its own reality therein: it furnishes no male or female images nor any images of possible pleasure. Inasmuch as adolescents are unable to challenge either the dominant system’s imperious architecture or its deployment of signs, it is only by way of revolt that they have any prospect of recovering the world of differences – the natural, the sensory/sensual, sexuality and pleasure.’ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 50.
cause abstract space is conceived out of standardised models rather than from direct experience of the space in which it is implemented, it also has a homogenising influence. However, at the same time it is fragmentising because it breaks up pre-existing connections and situates what seem to be unrelated entities side by side with one another. This conception of space provided the background for Lefebvre’s attacks on social (‘lowest possible threshold of tolerability’) housing and lifeless suburban sociality.

Essentialism apart, it may very well be argued that Lefebvre’s description is little more than a caricature of modern town planning. Down to its bones however, what Lefebvre is saying is that disregarding its varying contents, town planning is largely a top-down process. City inhabitants have increasingly had to relate to a de-centred town-planning knowledge rarely either explained to or understood by the people living in the places that have been the result of its implementation. However, as he maintained, spaces created by modern town planning are also points of departure for the establishing of spaces expressing parallel or contradictory knowledge, the places of difference which turn into spaces of representation. These, in turn, will over a longer or shorter period change both the practices and the representations of spaces.

On the one hand, these differing places, places of otherness, may be only temporary and transient – such as a union demonstration, a Reclaim the Streets -street party or militant squatters stating their right to the city in an abandoned house in Linköping or Barcelona. On the other hand, and more interesting in this context, places inhabiting important differences can also be created on a more lasting base. My somewhat weaker interpretation of the concept builds on this, and is fundamentally downplaying the essentialist, or if you will, the utopian tones of Lefebvre’s own discussion. Consequently, I would also like to argue that the monitored own-home districts established around the cities in the end of the nineteenth century can be counted as spaces of representation. This inasmuch as they embodied a reaction against the grid city (and the unplanned shanty suburbs that were

7 Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 306-14; 348-49.
8 Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 316-17 (Orig ital).
9 Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 396.
its flip side), and thus presented a space of radical difference compared to what had previously been the rule.

**Foucault and the Heterotopias**

To develop this argument a little more, I will discuss a parallel theoretical discussion that (as pointed out by the Californian geographer Edward Soja) displays distinct similarities with Lefebvre's, although without his essentialist preconceptions. In a short speech held in 1967 and published in 1984, Michel Foucault spelled out some principles for a certain kind of spaces, namely, those which by their very existence seem to contradict everything around them. He distinguished them by six features:

1. Places of this sort seem to have been established in all cultures, generally with functions relating to *rites de passage* or the containment of divergent people.
2. While they may persist in their material form, their functions always relate to the cultural and spatial practices around them and may consequently change.
3. They can in themselves contain seemingly contradicting elements.
4. They seem in some way to relate to important historical discontinuities.
5. They are characterised by both open and disclosed exclusionary practices.
6. They relate in some way to the spatial structure predominating around them. For instance, well-ordered places may be established as a reaction to predominant urban disorder, and the other way around.

It is well known that Lefebvre subscribed to the same kind of de-centred and dynamic understanding of power as Foucault, and they seem as well to share a two-sided conception of space, as both the background to and the media of social practice. While Lefebvre emphasised the dynamic character of the places established in opposition to an overarching order, i.e. their function to bring about change, Foucault instead chose to underline the structural characteristics of the *heterotopias* he was describing. One may however interpret the last lines of his speech where he presents the arche-

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typal ocean-sailing ship as the ideal heterotopian space, as proposing the same kind of dynamic quality to his concept. As he puts it: ‘In civilisations without ships the dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police that of the corsairs.’

While somewhat downplaying the symbolic quality of the heterotopias, I would instead like to underline their qualities as, literally, different and self-enclosed spaces. The question posed by both Lefebvre and Foucault could, I would argue, be reduced to: what happens to a space when another space with distinctly and by their nature different characteristics is situated in its near vicinity? In what way do distinctly different, and even opposing, spaces influence each other? There are of course a number of classical examples of this relationship (Athens and Sparta, the Christian and Islamic civilisations on the Iberian Peninsula, East and West Berlin and, as proposed by Soja, different districts of contemporary Los Angeles).

In the case of the garden suburbs, this counterpoising of model suburbs, of ordered, social space, against the different cityscapes created by liberal urbanity was largely intentional. It was one of the aims of the model settlements to induce change in the rest of the city. Their difference was itself an important characteristic – which also motivated their character of within certain limits separated and enclosed spaces.

**The Complexities of Landholding**

At the same time, it is important not to reduce these spatial patterns only to the function of mutual influence between spaces with radically different characters. The process of urbanity is necessarily much more multifaceted. To address these complexities, I will, with a slight alteration, use an analytical framework first constructed by the British geographer David Harvey. In this framework, Harvey starts out with Lefebvre’s three dialectically related concepts. In addition to these three concepts, I have added my own category of institutions – as largely a subsidiary to representations of spaces.

While incorporating both representations and practices, institutions give spatial relations a fixed character, ensuring continuity over time. That is why I consider it fruitful to distinguish them from representations at large. This distinction parallels the distinction made by the economist Douglass North, between informal and formal institutions. While both informal

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institutions/representations, and formal institutions (that is, laws and written rules) influence spatial practice, formal institutions differ both in their generally more elaborated form and because of the backing they receive from the state (or other organisations with state-like functions).14

Following Harvey, I have related these concepts to four (practically interlinked) aspects of spatial practice: accessibility and distanciation (what is communally called the friction of space); appropriation of space by individuals, groups or organisations; the domination of space by the similar; and the production of space (that is, the invention of new spatial practices or representations).15

15 Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, 219-23.
Table IV:1: Spatial practices.

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<td>Flows of persons and resources.</td>
<td>Land policy; urban politics.</td>
<td>Land holding; administraive regulation; dispersion and separation; explicitly controlling concierges; gendered ordering of rooms.</td>
<td>Production of infrastructures and built environments; land exploitation.</td>
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| Representations of space (discourses). | Maps; localisation theory.       | Calmness of the garden cities and the importance of small parks. | Discourses of what is and what is not appropriate in a neighbourhood or a garden city; on the mission of the concierge/municipal planner; gendered understandings of architecture. | Town planning debate; different solutions of the laying out of sites. |

| Institutional regulation of space (rules). | Administrative division; authority of local power centres. | Site leasehold rights; legalising of real estate; building regulations. | Town planning and health regulations; Site leasehold rights contracts; rules against cohabiting. | Credit regulations; instructions for property holders and inspectors. |

| Spaces of representation (imagination). | Distancing from the city; closeeness to nature; separation from co-inhabitants. | Familiarity; demarcations of public/private; the use of public spaces. | Unfamiliarity and fear for certain spaces/places; symbolic demarcations; visions of what town planning can accomplish; imaginations about gender in the ordering of space. | Holist visions of town plans; garden city mythology, housing disciplining. |

Source: Developed from David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p 220-221, which was in its turn inspired by Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. 
In the framework above, I propose some demarcations directly relating to the subject of garden suburbs, in order to indicate the purposefulness of the institutional perspective that I am proposing. The main purpose of the framework in this context is to give an idea about the multidimensioness of the influence of all the aspects of spatiality listed here. Institutional devices, while relating both to representations and practices, as well as to the counter-representations and counter-practices that are emanating out of lived spatiality, fulfil multiple functions. They can be used both to regulate accessibility, to appropriate, and consequently also to dominate space, and, last but not least, to change spatiality. All these aspects will be dealt with in this chapter, although at varying length.

Outline of the Chapter

I will continue this chapter by discussing the founding of the institution of site leasehold rights and its place in the Swedish urban and legal history. As I will note, there were motives for establishing this institution that related both to the appropriation and the domination of space – implicating, however, aspects relating to the production of space, and thus to spaces of representation as well. Land was governmentalised as a long-term relation was (re-) established between land holder and proprietor, and this relation had to be handled by repeated, even routinised, negotiations. Furthermore, I will discuss how the site leasehold rights came to define both a spatial and an administrative demarcation, very much coinciding with the limits of the old Walking City. These demarcations were, as I will show in the succeeding chapters, both appropriated and acknowledged, largely, by the people inhabiting these areas.

However, considering that the site leasehold rights introduced a model of spatiality, which in many ways deferred from what had been the rule, it should not come as a surprise that they met sharp opposition. There were both issues that related to the clashes that repeatedly occurred between the different kinds of rationality implicated – in practice, between the social, the economic and the judicial domains – and more mundane conflicts that related to discontent among inhabitants of the recently created spaces. I will discuss these conflicts and the way they were resolved. This discussion will implicate some attempts to an explanation as to why the Stockholm
landholding policy became uniquely concentrated to municipal landholding.

The Creation of the Site Leasehold Rights Act

Leasehold sites, with right of first refusal given to the municipal authorities, and let out for annual leasehold rents, were more or less the rule in Medieval towns. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, however, sites were increasingly privatised. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, city building in Sweden was regulated primarily by three legal acts. The first and the second of these were the Building and Health Statutes of 1874, which regulated the heights of houses (in relation to street space) and gave the health boards a right, but no mandate, to intervene against sanitary hazardous housing. The third act was the Royal Statute of 1875, renewed in 1889, on legal confirmation of one’s title to real estate. This Act was interpreted as a prohibition against further creation of municipal leaseholds. Already in 1857, leaseholds with eternal possession had been prohibited, and maximum letting time was limited to only ten years. Under these circumstances, there was no practical possibility to receive building credits (although crediting was made legally feasible from 1895). With some exceptions, the Swedish towns were consequently during the age of the most rapid expansion built on private grounds. When in 1881 a statute of twenty years prescription was introduced, the state made collective landholding even less popular by conducting a series of processes with the aim to reclaim old leaseholds which had for long been commonly perceived as private grounds.

The legal situation led at the same time to intense congestion in the inner city grid and to unplanned shanty suburbs outside the city bounds – where the statutes had no jurisdiction (see chapter three). Furthermore, the un-

16 A short discussion on ancient building ground policy is annexed to Lagberedningens förslag till ny jordabalk, Del I, (The Land Act Enquiry, Part I) (Stockholm 1905), Appendage II.
17 Erik Sandblad, Tomträttsinstitutet från jordpolitisk synpunkt (Stockholm 1922), 16-17. The exceptions were Gävle, Halmstad, Hjo, Köping, Landskrona, Nyköping, Sigtuna, Strängnäs, Söderhamn, Torshälla and Ystad. See Lagberedningen, 247 note.
18 Ingemar Johansson, Stor-Stockholms bebyggelsehistoria, Markpolitik, planering och byggande under sju sekler (Stockholm 1987), 344.
regulated site market was an important factor behind characteristic nineteenth century building fluctuations.\textsuperscript{19} Beyond city boundaries, shanty suburbs were built on 50 years tenancies, which meant that the buildings would at the end of the tenancy become the property of the landholder, and that the sites could not be mortgaged. Both circumstances were probably effective in further deteriorating these settlements. Often enough, the objective was probably only to get maximum revenues from the areas during the time period before they would become part of the general land market.

In 1895, the need to regulate the Stockholm land market was for the first time brought to attention by the liberal City Council member, C. A. Söderlund. Acknowledging the fallacies of the current procedure, it was mandatory, he wrote in his proposal, that areas that needed to be reserved for exemplary housing should not be subject to further land price rises.\textsuperscript{20} They should, in other words, be exempted from the normal influence of market forces. A letter sent to the Stockholm City Council from the local liberal organisation in November 1898, instead proposed that the City should for minimal prices sell building sites from its at this time considerable stock. Refraining from directly regulating the land market, the authorities should include into the purchase contracts that the sites could only be used for small and cheap apartments. In this way, the sites could be kept within the domain of market forces, without having to be too much influenced. As the Finance Board concluded, however, such prescriptions would have no legal...
One had to choose: it was not possible to both stay within the market, and to shield oneself from its consequences.

In one of the proposals preceding the introduction of the Swedish Homestead Act in 1901, it had been emphasised that the instalments time had to be of considerable length, so that ordinary workers, especially in the towns, would be able to make the payments. It was thus perceived that the purchase of building sites presented a major difficulty for poorer people who wanted to build their own homes. The towns were finally exempted from the act (loans were only given for sites situated outside town-planned areas), but it still set an important precedent by clearly stating that ownership rights also for the site were an important part of the whole idea. This was not only because private ownership at this time was a precondition for credit security (to minimise the state’s losses from aborted mortgages), but also because private property was held as an instrument to reach the ideological aims of the programme, such as domestic propriety, thrift and attachment to the community and nation.

A new proposal to the Parliament was made in 1902, with the intention to make it possible also for workers living in towns to build their own homes. In this proposal, the question of land price rises was explicitly addressed, and it concluded with a call for a governmental enquiry. The Parliament’s Judiciary Committee dismissed the proposal as too imprecise, but one of its members, the Stockholm real estate judge Carl Lindhagen, in his filed reservation repeated the demand for an enquiry. Like the deputy who had written the proposal, M. F. Nyström, Lindhagen referred to the German legal concept Erbbaurecht (Hereditary Building Rights), and added to the motives mentioned in the original propositions the need to curb land speculation and to better define the rights of the users that were attached to the land. During 1902, the issue of site provision for worker’s homes was

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21 The implication was that speculation would soon bring the sites up to market prices, and bring the profits to private pockets instead of to the City coffers. See SCC Rescript 87 1899, 15-16; 21.
23 Egnahemskomiténs utlåtande, (Stockholm 1901), 5; 13-14; 32-33.
24 Swedish Parliament, Judiciary Committee, No 56 1902. The proposals, 50 and 51, the former supported by additional 14 social democrat and liberal deputies were submitted on January 27 1901. Nyström argued in the chamber debate that administrative statutes, like the building statutes, would never be effective enough against the property laws. Nonetheless, the proposals were turned down. The Swedish Parliament,
brought up in the leading journal *Social Tidskrift* by both Lindhagen and the editor G. H. von Koch, as well as in a series of lectures in Stockholm on German land policy conducted by the liberal Dr. Axel Raphael.

**Erbbaurecht and its Parallels**

*Erbbaurecht* had a long and complicated history. In the early 1860s, the German economist Julius Faucher had presented a primitive solution to the problem with rapid increases in ground value in cities. The main issue, he argued, was not so much speculation within the already densely urbanised areas, as the monopoly situation of a few landowners on the edge of cities. To establish a more varied pattern the municipal authorities should use their authority to establish certain districts where building heights and density would be limited. These districts would, because of the combination of high land values and low density, be reserved only for the most well-to-do inhabitants of the city. Because they would make the structure of the city less compact, and because the rich would abandon central apartments for the new, open districts, everybody would benefit in the end. Zoning ordinances of this kind were implemented in the 1870s and 1880s in Dresden, Cologne, and a number of other towns.

From this policy, there was however only one step further to try to use the zoning measures to influence not only the urban structure, but also the dynamics of land value themselves. The Frankfurt am Main mayor, Franz Adickes, and the economist, Reinhard Baumeister, were the major proponents of these ideas during the 1880s and 1890s. In 1891, Frankfurt am Main introduced a three-levelled ordinance that distinguished between the built-up city, its periphery continuation, and a transitional zone in-between,

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25 *Social Tidskrift* Vol 2:5 (1902), 356-57; Axel Raphael, *Bostadsfrågan, Föreläsningar hållna vid Stockholms Arbetareinstitut* (Stockholm 1903), 87-90. In their articles, Lindhagen addressed the difficulties that workers had to raise enough money to purchase sites (instead of paying an annual rent), while von Koch criticised the detailed demeaning enquiries which workers had to go through before they were trusted with mortgages by the state fund.

26 The first two paragraphs of this part of the chapter draw heavily on Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany* (Cambridge Mass 1990), 186-201.
consisting of open and spacious cityscapes. The idea was that the transi-
tional zone would stabilise land values at a lower level than would be the
case with continued high-density exploitation and make it possible to build
another and better kind of city in the periphery. Varieties of this tactic were
implemented in 1892 in Berlin, in 1893 in Cologne and in 1896 in Düssel-
dorf – in all the cases, the ordinances were subsequently revised and
strengthened. By the turn of the century however, it was obvious that zon-
ing alone was not enough. The combined pressure of resistance from
vested interests and increased insight into the complexities of urban expan-
sion patterns necessitated additional measures.

One way to handle excessive land values was of course to tax them away.
Varieties of land value taxes were introduced locally and nationally in Ger-
many in the years before the Great War, but never became the dramatic
solution they were intended to be. Another way was to introduce different
kinds of limitations on land ownership. This could in its turn be done in
different ways. One of these was to do as the City of Cologne, which when
it sold some of its land fund to non-profit building societies included re-
strictions in the purchase contracts. Another was to do as Ulm, which with
the help of the Repurchasing Rights Act (Wiederkaufsrecht) both could fight
speculation and regulate the use of the land (particularly limiting the time
period before a house should have been built on the site). The third vari-
ant was the site leasehold rights (Erbbaurecht).

Use of Erbbaurecht as an instrument for town planning had been discussed
already in the 1870s, but it was not until the turn of the century before it
came into being. In 1899, the Frankfurt am Main mayor Franz Adickes had
constructed a blueprint of a leasehold contract that would make its use
feasible. During the fifteen remaining years before the war, the institution
was applied by fourteen German cities, however mostly in a very limited

27 On this and on the largely ineffective attempts to introduce land value taxes in
Sweden, see Barry Holmström, Rätten till markvärdestegringen, Förslag och åt-
gärder under 1900-talet (Stockholm 1988); Mats Deland, ‘Pianosnickaren, borg-
mästaren, friherren och professorn - georgeismen mittemellan liberalism och social-
28 Clemens Zimmermann, Von der Wohnungsfrage zur Wohnungspolitik, Die Re-
formbewegung in Deutschland 1845-1914 (Göttingen 1991), 169-70.
sense – Frankfurt am Main alone possessed half of the entire German amount of leasehold land.\footnote{30}

As the German historian Clemens Zimmermann points out, the institution was from the outset followed by an ambiguity. The main idea of site leasehold right/rights (henceforth the abbreviation SLR) was the dividing of property rights between actual title to the land parcel, and the right to use it, for instance as a building ground. The issue was consequently, if the owner of the SLR actually owned them, or merely had been granted a permission to use the plot within restrictions as a reward for paying regular dues. On the one hand, since SLR were something different from and, as it seemed, less than ownership rights, they had to be sold (or more correctly, rented out) at a lower price than ordinary plots. As priced below market value, they became associated with the social question and governmental intervention. On the other hand, because both entitlement and costs of the property seemed to be rather uncertain (because dues could be changed in a less predictable way than interest fluctuations), it would be harder to obtain credits for SLR than for ordinary property rights.\footnote{31}

Although adjusted for new circumstances around the turn of the twentieth century the SLR is an old juridical concept, with roots in the tradition of Roman Law.\footnote{32} While re-introduced in Germany, it seems never to have been abolished in a number of cities in the peripheral parts of Europe. Outstanding in this respect is Finland (until 1918, a part of the Russian Empire), where cities only during the last decades of the nineteenth century had started to sell their land. Still in the 1920s, the amount of private land in the new capital city Helsinki was below seven percent.\footnote{33} In Denmark and Norway (the latter until 1905 was colonised by Sweden), the 1687 law of faeste/feste was still in function and dominated the land market mainly in a number of middle-sized Norwegian cities. Kristiania/Oslo introduced SLR only in the late 1910s as part of its garden suburb projects, while Copenhagen mostly used Repurchasing Rights.\footnote{34}

\footnote{30 Zimmermann, Von der Wohnungsfrage, 171.}
\footnote{31 Zimmermann, Von der Wohnungsfrage, 170-72.}
\footnote{32 Sandblad, Tomträttsinstitutet, (Stockholm 1922), 23-24.}
\footnote{33 Yrjö Harvia, 'Fördelning av kommunernas mark i Finland för byggnadsändamål’, in Real Estate Board (REB), Act 522 1928, 55-57.}
\footnote{34 REB, Act 559 1931, Part IV Utlandet, 1; 31-37.}
The first modern variant of SLR seems to have been introduced in the Netherlands in 1896, emanating from the tenancy clauses of the old Kingdom of the Netherlands (Belgium largely chose to ignore these clauses, to the benefit of ordinary ownership rights). The institution has been used mainly in Amsterdam and, from 1912 in Haag, while Rotterdam has been selling its land. Contrary to the practice in Stockholm however, in Amsterdam one-family houses were soon exempted from the leasehold prerogative, and among tenancy houses the attempt to regulate speculation was undermined by large-scale re-sale of the SLR. While safeguarding the land rents to the municipal coffers, before the Great War municipal leaseholding in Amsterdam did not influence either the building pattern or the rise in building site values significantly.

In 1912, *Baurecht* (Building Rights), modelled on the German institution, was also introduced in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. After the war, it became an important part of the land policy of the social democrat-led municipal administration in Vienna, and was also frequently used in the Polish capital, Warsaw. In the Czechoslovak state and Hungary its influence was however negligible. Another variant was introduced in Switzerland, and had some passing influence over the land policies of Basel and Zürich.

**The Act and its Local Implementation**

In Sweden, the first round of parliamentary proposals relating to the issue was submitted in 1903. The Judiciary Committee rejected them, with arguments relating to the aforementioned alleged disciplinary effects of site

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38 REB Act 559 1931, 46-47.
ownership. At this point, the issue apparently needed a de-coupling from any association with land reform or, even worse, socialist demands. Instead, it became discursively linked to Swedish administrative tradition and the same nationalist motives that were central in the contemporary homestead and emigration issues. Without such a link, there was little hope to carry such far-reaching demands through the administrative apparatuses. The next round of propositions provided considerable amounts of administrative traditionalism, but the radical implications were never out of sight.

Gothenburg city councillor Henrik Hedlund and the economist Pontus Fahlbeck were the politicians who carried out this move with assistance from the northern town, Gävle. In this town, like in many Finnish towns, SLR had never been abolished. The legal status of the practice was however uncertain, to say the least. Once the issue had been brought up, the Gävle Town Council consequently took the opportunity to file their own proposals in order to have the legality of the land policy they were conducting tested.

However, in the process, the Stockholm City Council member (and second chamber MP), Carl Lindhagen, had added some views that foreshad-

39 The proposals in the first chamber by Stockholm city council member G. F. Östberg, related mostly to the need to provide inexpensive building grounds for social housing, while his Gothenburg colleague, Henrik Hedlund, instead emphasised the fiscal land and land market regulation possibilities. See Swedish Parliament, First Chamber proposals 3 and 4 1903; Second Chamber proposals 109 and 110 1903. Hedlund related explicitly to the Amsterdam and Frankfurt am Main experiences with SLR.

40 Fahlbeck, together with Jacob Pettersson and Lindhagen, made a reservation to the Judiciary Committee (lagutskottet) rescript. In the First Chamber debate he provided a lengthy exposition of Swedish land right tradition. See Swedish Parliament, Judiciary Committee (lagutskottet) rescript No 47 1903; First Chamber debate Minutes No 35 1903, p 32-34. Hedlund maintained in the Second chamber debate that this issue was not, as for instance Zetterstrand had presented it, to introduce a German institution to Swedish law, but rather to restore elements that were already there in the national law of 1734. See Swedish Parliament, Second Chamber debate No 40, 58-65. The question about the legality of the Gävle practice had been discussed in the Swedish Parliament, First Chamber Minutes No 35, 43-45. The identical proposals from Gävle, Swedish Parliament, First Chamber proposal 15 1904 and Second Chamber proposal 24 1904, as well as identical letters from the government from the Stockholm and Gothenburg city councils in 1904, proved extremely important in the process, as is emphasised by the Lagberedning (Land Act Enquiry) rescript over revisions of the land act, submitted in 1905. See Gothenburg City Council Documents 137 1904; SCC Appendage 5 1904, Lagberedningens, 250-51.
owed the local implementation that would take place in Stockholm. Already at this level, the traditionalism was complemented with future-oriented, even utopian shades. The SLR had, he argued, their most important mission in defining a more workable solution to the issue of home owning in the major cities. When people bought their own sites, these soon became objects of speculation instead of foundations for true home-boundedness. The SLR would preclude this temptation, at the same time as they would make it easier for people of lesser means, who currently were leading, as he described it, the rootless life of tenants, to establish home for themselves in spite of not being able to afford purchasing their own site.

This argument, which very much reminded of the 1903 proposals, was however linked to a vision of city reform, which went beyond the administrative views presented in earlier proposals. By ways of reasoning, which seemed to encapsulate the experiments with zoning regulations that had been conducted in Germany, Lindhagen proposed that the SLR should be used with the purpose to establish a zone of less densely built areas outside the old city limits. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, areas with SLR had to be homogenous in that respect, because if blended with full ownership sites they would seem to be less worth in comparison to the ownership sites – which would in its turn make the institution unpopular. Secondly, as Adickes had found, city reform could not start in the inner city, but has to be implemented on a totally new area, where new principles could be set in motion throughout. The fact that the Judiciary Committee had a totally different view about this would in the end matter less.

At the local level in Stockholm, the decisions taken on the Parliamentary level corresponded to a series of proposals for or against an increased level of land sales from the City’s land fund. In June 1905, when it was practi-

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41 Swedish Parliament, Second Chamber Minutes, No 40 1903, 54-55.
42 Lagberedningens, 257-258. It was the opinion of the committee that the SLR should not be used to found new districts, but merely as a temporary measure to regulate building at the city edge until it was reached by the city’s expansion, and would be adjusted to the typical density of the area.
43 Johan Östberg had in 1900 proposed the selling of sites against an annual due, indexed against the tax value of the site, as a way both to diminish land value rises and to tax land value. When the proposition was turned down as to difficult to administer in 1902, Östberg instead argued for leaseholds, after the models of Gävle and the German SLR. He repeated these arguments against building contractors Robert Alderin and Anders Gustaf Sällström’s proposition to increase the level of housing
cally decided that a SLR Act was in the coming, Lindhagen wrote a proposal to the City Council that critically commented the propositions for land sales as short-sighted. Instead, he repeated the arguments forwarded in the Parliament, about the necessity of stricter zoning, which would give room both for ‘garden cities’ and great parks as well as ‘green oases’.\footnote{SCC Proposal 17 1905, 4. The proposal was co-signed by G.H. von Koch, Gustaf Wickman, and Anton Wassberg. To the proposal was appended an article by architect Nils Gellerstedt, proposing the annexing to Stockholm of all neighbouring areas within twenty kilometres range.} In December 1905, Lindhagen issued a third proposal to the City Council, this time co-signed by 39 other council members, sharply criticising the idea of land sales.\footnote{SCC Proposal 32 1905, 5.}

In the end of 1906, a decisive discussion came up, when the Municipal Housing Committee (appointed in 1902, and not to be confused with the committees that Lindhagen had been proposing) presented its draft plan for the country domains. The town engineer, Herman Ygberg, had already in October 1904, shortly after the purchase of Enskede, prepared an internal draft for the domains. In the text accompanying this document, he argued against any site sales, only excepting the sale of very limited amounts in the period before the SLR Act had come into use.\footnote{Finance Board Document 1057, 1904; cf. Georg Mörner, 
*Ljus och luft, Herman Ygberg – stadsingenjör och stadsplanerare 1844-1917* (Stockholm 1997), 130.} Already in 1905, some 100 sites had been sold to building a contractor, Lennart Palme, for the settlement that would be named New Enskede.\footnote{SCC Minutes 1 June 1906 §11; Country Domains Board (CDB) FV 2 Handlingar rörande de nyförvärvade landtegendomarna, PM 15 May, 23 June, 4 June 1907.}

According to the Municipal Housing Committee, which argued eloquently and in accordance with the views that had been forwarded by the governmental Homestead Committee for the disciplining powers of combined house and site ownership, this sale should not be the last. Contradicting the provision by subsidised land sales. Lindhagen tried in April 1903 to back up Östberg’s line of argument by a proposition for a Housing Committee, to administer an improved and comprehensive land policy, as well as the proposition leading to the City Council letter to the government about the necessity of the SLR law. See SCC Minutes 1 December 1900 §20; 1 April 1902 §12; 26 November 1902 §6, 1 December 1902 §11; 13 December 1902 §2 #33; 16 March 1903 §5; 1 April 1903 §10; 19 June 1903 §7, 30 March 1904 §7, 2 June 1905 §7; Rescript 60 1902; 199 1905; Appengdage 118 1905; Proposal 15 1903.

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44 SCC Proposal 17 1905, 4. The proposal was co-signed by G.H. von Koch, Gustaf Wickman, and Anton Wassberg. To the proposal was appended an article by architect Nils Gellerstedt, proposing the annexing to Stockholm of all neighbouring areas within twenty kilometres range.
45 SCC Proposal 32 1905, 5.
47 SCC Minutes 1 June 1906 §11; Country Domains Board (CDB) FV 2 Handlingar rörande de nyförvärvade landtegendomarna, PM 15 May, 23 June, 4 June 1907.
views that Lindhagen had put forward in the Parliament, the Committee argued for heterogeneous principles of tenancy on the new areas. In other words, ‘the leasehold and sale principles should be tried against each other, so that experiences in both directions can be gained.’ With the sale of ‘a couple of hundreds sites’, it was argued, the City would be in the position to successfully compete with the private homeowner’s movement (and the unregulated suburbs). Lindhagen’s response to this was to present a fourth, and much more radical proposal – where the alternative that the City should intervene directly into the housing market and establish its own housebuilding department was demonstrated. More importantly for the moment, however, the proposal argued steadfastly against further land sales, and the blending of ownership forms on the country domains.

Just before Christmas 1906, the City appointed a committee, which would prepare a proposal for the founding of a credit institution designed especially for the SLR (a step which had been considered necessary in Frankfurt am Main, since the ordinary banks were unsure about the pecuniary value of the SLR). The committee was led by the county judge Karl Herlitz, who in a proposition to the City Council in January 1907, displayed a view of the SLR that was closer to Faucher’s original zoning ideas than to the more far-reaching ideas of Adickes. Because it would take considerable time, argued Herlitz, to actually make the SLR an established part of Swedish land law, in the short-run it was better to apply the institution only to much more limited ends. He argued that it could especially be used to make it possible to build city villas for the extremely affluent in a district of the north-eastern part of Stockholm (Lärkstaden). While this district would drive a green

48 SCC Appendage 68, p 11 (orig. ital.). In Swedish: ’att upplåtelse- och försäljningsprinciperna böra prövas mot hvarandra, så att erfarenheter i ena och andra fallet kunna vinnas.’
49 SCC Appendage 68, 9; 14. At the same time, however, it was decided that the Council should send a letter to the government demanding that the coming town planning law would make it possible to use SLR also outside the administrative boundaries of cities. A proposal about the founding of a SLR credit institution was put on respite. See SCC Minutes 1 December 1906 §16 # 1 and 4.
50 SCC Proposal 32 1906, 3; 7. Repurchase Rights, which at the time were discussed at governmental level, were dismissed as an instrument of lesser worth by Lindhagen. In another proposal, no 33 1906, 3-4, Lindhagen argued as well that the City should use the SLR to demand improvements in housing standards from the building companies.
wedge into the grid city, reasoned Herlitz, it would be easier to apply a new juridical concept to enlightened upper middle-class people than to the common people for which the new districts in the south were aimed.

In the summer of 1907, a new proposal for land sales in the Enskede area was turned down after a fierce debate, where Lindhagen and others defended the principle of homogenous districts. The Country Domain’s Committee led by Lindhagen declared as well that the settlements that were about to be built on SLR should not be considered as only temporary solutions. On the contrary, they had to be looked upon as ‘consistent for the future, so that they will not only benefit the first and possibly the second possessor, but will be a gain also for generations to come.’ If however ownership forms would be blended, the SLR would have to be made so alike ordinary ownership, that the advantages with this form would eventually be lost.

When the Credit Committee presented its rescript in January 1908, it withheld, in accordance with the opinion that had voiced by the parliamentary Judiciary Committee, that SLR should only be a temporary solution for areas awaiting high-density expansion. The main ownership form for city grounds should also in the future be ordinary (‘full’) ownership. However, soon afterwards the Country Domain’s Committee presented the opposite view, stating that ‘the turning of any area into a densely built city district according to the pattern of the inner city, should preferably be totally ruled out.’ In congruence with this view, the Committee introduced a central opposition into the system. On the one hand, it emphasised the possibilities for firm regulation, especially of the building patterns and against lodging, which would be possible with the use of clauses in the SLR contracts. On the other hand, if the SLR would be the only ownership form

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51 SCC Propositions 4 1907, 2-3. Herlitz also proposed that the Credit Committee should be appointed as the future overseer of the country domains, see Proposal 5 1907 (together with Axel Ceder, G H von Koch and Sven Palme). However, the Country Domains Committee that was appointed in spring 1907 was mainly the result of Lindhagen’s mass proposal of 1906, see SCC Minutes 13 May 1907 §24.


53 CDB Minutes 7 February 1908 §5, Appendage 68, 1. In Swedish: ’något områdes förvandling till en tätbebyggd stadsdel efter den inre stadens mönster bör helst vara alldeles utesluten.’
in the new districts, the institution had to be constructed in a way which would make it attractive enough for as large a number of builders and prospective home owners as possible. Thus, regulation could not be too firm.

Two of the regulation proposals, suggesting rent control, and the writing into the instructions that buildings at the domains should be ‘appropriate and tasteful’ were turned down by the City Council. The main points, relating to the security of SLR credits, were however approved. Although it was explicitly stated by the Country Domain’s Committee that one of the most important aims of the new institution was to bar the inhabitants from ‘taking any extra profits from other housing applicants by setting high rents or taking speculative purchase money’, the possibility to sell the SLR (i.e. the house) for a higher price than once had been paid for it could not be banned (as it would in Gothenburg). It was more important to make sure that the SLR would not be too unpopular.

The worst practical problem was the credit facilities. As pointed out by juridical historian, Erik Sandblad, the wide ranges within which the SLR Act regulated the conditions that the municipalities could put on the tenancies caused the worst problems. Most important, it was not clear from the national act under what circumstances the SLR could be confiscated by the landholder, a difficulty that also the Supreme Court had pointed out in 1906. Lindhagen had together with a social democrat colleague tried to amend the act (which was finally decided in 1907) with a proposition to the session of 1908, which asked for the SLR to be classified as real estate property. The Judiciary Committee, however, chose to turn this proposition down and the renewed proposals in 1909 and 1911 were treated in the same way. This meant that the introduction of SLR was made practically

54 CDB Minutes 7 February 1908 §5, Appendage 68, 4-5; SCC Appendage 183 1907, 19. In the proposal for a SLR credit institution, which was delivered by the Country Domain’s Committee one week later, the principle that no municipal credit should be made available for full ownership sites was explicitly stated. A last attempt to purchase Enskede sites, made by a consortium linked to the dominating, SIGA mortgage institute, was handled internally by the Country Domain’s Committee, and changed into a letting of SLR sites. Country Domain’s Committee Minutes 3 March 1908 §1, 5 February 1909 §3, cf. Mörner, *Ljus och luft*, 168-69, note 8.
55 SCC Minutes 27 March 1908 §2 #4 alt. A, #6 alt. A; 30 November 1908 §2.
56 SCC Appendage 183 1907, 35-36. *In Swedish*: ‘skaffa sig några extra profiter af andra bostadsökarne genom att taga höga hyror eller spekulative köpeskillingar.’
57 These attempts are described in SCC Appendage 7, 1925, 71-75.
impossible in all but the major cities for a long time to come (their munici-
pal administrations were large enough to found credit institutes of their
own, and thus did not have to rely on ordinary banks). As long as things
were unclear, the banks decided to wait before engaging in business activi-
ties. The only exception was the SIGA mortgage institute, led by the Palme
family, which seems to have been asked under hand by the City’s Finance
Board to invest in SLR settlements. These ambitions however competed
with the project of founding a municipal credit institution.

Opposition from the banks was it seems, however, negotiable. In 1909,
the City of Stockholm finally managed to found a credit institution exclu-
sively for SLR sites, with the help of the two major Stockholm banks.60
During the moratorium before the credit institution had acquired govern-
mental permission for its trade, the Country Domain’s Board administered
temporary loans to the homebuilders.61

As the preceding pages have shown, the implementation of municipal
landholding in Stockholm was very much connected to visions of urban
change and new patterns of urbanism. The powers given by landholding
strengthened the administration in a period when legal instruments for
town planning were still not fully developed. At the same time, the idea of
creating an exemplary district that could serve as a pattern-setter for further
development, was very important. This would also have repercussions in
the administrative realm.

59 CDB Minutes FV 5, letter received 8 October 1914 from L Pripp of Stockholms
Trädgårdsstäder AB.
60 The process is described in Sandblad, *Tomträttsinstitutet*, 73-79, and in Carl
Lindhagen, *Carl Lindhagens Memoarer III* (Stockholm 1939), 74-75, as well as in
Sven Fritz, *Louis Fraenckel 1851-1911, Bankman och finansman* (Stockholm 1994),
297. The founding document was signed by 67 out of 100 City Council members,
who had each bought at least one stock of the company, see SCC Appendage 16,
1908, 5. The only share of any size was bought by liberal, soon to turn social democ-
rat, marine officer Erik Kule Palmstierna, See Mörner, *Ljus och luft*, 137. Until 1916
the two banks appointed one board member each.
61 CDB Minutes 7 July 1908 §7; 6 May 1909 §1; 27 August 1909 §10; 22 December
1909 §3; 7 January 1910 §4; City of Stockholm Leasethold Mortgage Credit Instituti-
on (SLMCI) Minutes 8 September 1909 §6.
The Finance Board had made no secret of its view that it would have preferred the administration of the new domains had been arranged as part of its own realm, as a third department added to the two (finances and construction) it already encompassed. The appointment of the Country Domain’s Committee, however, was characterised by remarkable confidence and freedom of action – it was even explicitly stated that the Committee had the right to rush things so far that mistakes could not be avoided, at least as long as these mistakes would not be too difficult to correct afterwards. During the first months of its work, the ambition was merely to get going the plans that more or less had been taken over from a Finance Board delegation that had been occupied with the planning of the domains since the purchase. With minor revisions, effected by the Sitte-inspired town architect Per-Olof Hallman, the beautiful and medieval time-inspired town plan of central Enskede was decided the same autumn.

On June 20 1907, the Committee members Lindhagen, K. G. Magnusson and Ygberg presented a programme for the further exploitation of the areas before the Committee. The ambitions written into the programme combined on the one hand the workers’ housing that had to be provided adjacent to municipal slaughterhouse that was built on the north part of the area, and on the other the socially blended, detached garden suburbs that would take up most of the new cityscape. It was proposed that no tenement houses higher that three storeys should be constructed on the domains, and that most of the settlements should consist of detached one or few family houses, with gardens and plots and ‘the most abounding access

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63 The appointment of the committee was decided by the SCC (Minutes) 13 May 1907 (§24), and the actual appointment was carried out 1 June 1907 (§4). Except Lindhagen, the committee consisted of building contractor Robert Alderin, tram company director E G Hjortzberg, wholesaler and Finance Board chair Herman Lamm, engineer Karl G Magnusson (who had made a proposal about the provision of sites for industries), the social democrat Knut A. Tengdahl and the Town Engineer Herman Ygberg, the only non-politician. About the instructions, see SCC Rescript 122 1907, 14, Mörner, Ljus och luft, 12; 108.
64 Mörner, Ljus och luft, 124-25; 140-41.
to sun’. As Johan Rådberg has pointed out, by this programme the committee laid down a number of principles that would be guiding the building of the new domains (which were at this time still outside the city’s administrative domains) for several decades in the future. The settlements would be variously outfitted – detached and tenement houses should be blended, each house should have a limited size, be surrounded by green areas and ‘satisfy all those demands that a more recent era sets out for a town plan’.

In practical measures, this meant that Stockholm, without explicitly stating it, had introduced a zoning measure similar to that was introduced in Frankfurt am Main in the 1890s. Instead of building ordinances, however, this zoning system was manifested by different landholding systems and an administrative division. The administrative and spatial division was at the same time a division between two different rationalities of governing.

One of the leading principles finally established in 1908, was that the SLR sites should be distributed administratively. It should not be possible to acquire a certain site by offering a higher bid (on the leasehold rent, in this case). The level of rents should be decided only out of the City’s costs for the area, and the degree of exploitation (that is, tenement houses were, as it were, penalised with higher rents per square meter). With the help of the new credit institution, the Country Domain’s Board set out to create an urban structure completely different from the one that market forces had created within the inner city (as well as from the unregulated suburbs around Liljeholmen in the west). These differences, between what Lindhagen labelled as the ‘Mercantile’ (inner) and the ‘Social’ (outer) city, were brought to light especially during the laborious discussions preceding the major re-organisations of the City administration in the early 1920s.

The Social City Becomes Established
Responsibility for the real estate business and execution of town plans in the inner city remained with the Finance Board, more specifically its first

67 SCC Minutes 30 November 1908 §2; Appendage 15 1908, 6-7.
68 CDB Minutes 22 June 1908 §1, Appendage 1, 3.
department. The town engineer’s office was initially an autonomous body, but from 1909 was linked to a temporary Town Planning Commission. However, in the outer city the Country Domain’s Board retained strategic power over both preparation and execution of town plans. In 1912, the Commission acquired the power to make town plans for the outer city as well, but only under the direction of the Country Domain’s Board.69

This division of authority seems to have irritated the financially oriented parts of the administration. Already in 1909, the chair of the Finance Board, P. H. Hedenblad, issued a proposal suggesting a reintegration of the country domains with the inner city real estate administration. In the Constitutional Committee which presented its rescript in 1909, this solution was criticised by the Country Domain’s Board, approved and integrated into the enquiry instructions given to the one-man commission of the municipal organisation issue P. R. Rabe. In the voluminous circulation report issued by the Country Domain’s Board on Rabe’s proposal, presented in 1916, its critique was even more profound.70 Ygberg especially underlined the risks associated with any reintegration of the administration of the two bodies currently leading the town planning works. Apart from the special circumstances accompanying the administration of those country domains that still were agricultural, there remained a number of major differences between how the plans were carried out in the inner and the outer city. These differences serve to underline the fundamental differences between the two cityscapes that were being created.

While sites in the inner city were demarcated with the intention to guarantee maximum density, the sites in the outer city were planned with the intention to find the ideal situation of buildings. Tenancy in the inner city was of all different kinds, but in the outer city reserved almost exclusively for worker’s housing. Sites were sold in the inner city but let out with leaseholds in the outer city. Foremost, as Ygberg underlined, while the administration of the inner city had minimum responsibility for the further fate of the sites it sold, the opposite was the case in the outer city.

70 Yngve Larsson, Mitt liv i stadshuset, I, Från fåvälde till demokratisk ordning (Stockholm 1977), 24-25; 36-38; 100-01.
The prospectors of the own homes sites are generally so little used to such business, that the Country Domain’s Board staff has to help them almost all the way until the house is completed with advice and preparation of drawings and the arrangement of credit and the like. The Country Domain’s Board has thus in taking care of its mission to as much as possible lead and help its prospectors and SLR owners in spe, not only until their houses are ready, but also during the whole tenancy period after that it must look after that the rules of the SLR contract are observed […]71

Repeating turn-of-the-century arguments about the impossibility of solving the working class housing question within the confines of the old town planning rationality, Ygberg further expressed his worries about the result of a full reintegration of the rationalities of the two cityscapes. It would be just as disastrous, he lamented, if the ‘social considerations’ that characterised the planning and building of the outer city would influence the inner city administration, as the other way around.72 The economic/financial rationality of the inner city and the social rationality of the outer city could and should not be blended.

However, the Country Domain’s board under strong influence of Lindhagen, hesitatingly chose to approve the re-establishment of an integrated real estate administration (called the Real Estate Board finally established in 1919), although Ygberg, together with conservative board member K. G. Magnusson handed in their reservations.73 The town planning engineer of the Country Domain’s Board, Axel Dahlberg, underlined that what was important was that the new organisation would incorporate the two ration-

71 CDB Minutes 8 June 1915 §13, Appendage E, 5-6. In Swedish: ‘Spekulanterna på egna hems tomterna äro i regeln så litet vana vid sådana affärer, att lantegendomsnämndens tjänstemän måste hjälpa dem snart sagdt ända tills huset bliver färdigt med råd och ritningars upprättande samt låns anskaffande m.m. Landtegendomsnämnden har sålunda vid genomförandet av sin uppgift att i största möjliga grad leda och hjälpa sina spekulanter och blivande tomträttsinnehavare, icke blott tills deras hus bliva färdiga, utan även därefter under hela upplåtelsetiden övertaka att tomträttskontraktets bestämmelser iakttagas […]’
73 CDB Minutes 23 November 1915 §19.
alities without integrating them except at the highest level (that is, at the level of – still mostly amateur – politicians). The executive decisions would have to be prepared and implemented within two separate autonomous administrative bodies, one continuing the logic of the inner city, the other the logic of the outer, social city. The politicians would, however, take the leading decisions in the joint board – later named the Real Estate Board.

Lindhagen argued steadfastly for this principle in the council debate, that what was the stake was before anything else the outlook and habits of the administrative personnel. Instead of economic knowledge, the staff of the social city administration had, maintained Lindhagen, acquired a unique social understanding. In order not to risk these qualities of the staff, the instruction of the new board should, he argued, prioritise the social mission before the economic responsibility, instead of the other way around.

This was in fact an even more aggressive way of putting things than the strict demarcation that had been advanced by Ygberg (and K. G. Magnusson) and with its history as well. In 1912, two proposals were made to the City Council about the possibilities of introducing SLR also in the inner city, one by August Ljunggren and one by Carl Lindhagen and a number of social democrat and liberal co-signers. While Ljunggren motivated this with the need to stimulate housing production, Lindhagen and his co-signers were rather launching a much more encompassing attack on the municipal Town Planning Commission. The Commission had, they lamented, been more interested in aesthetic rather than social currents. With the help of SLR, it was the intention of Lindhagen and the others to introduce the garden city principles and the limitation of density as well at the areas of the inner city that had remained idle. This proposal had in 1918 not yet been taken up before the City Council, and Lindhagen made clear that his approval to the re-organisation had been informed by an expectation that the end result would be the reformation of inner city administration, rather than the other way around.

74 SCC Appendage 225 1916, 177-78.
75 SCC Minutes 18 November 1918 §14 #1, 976-77.
76 SCC Proposal 5 1912 (Ljunggren); 11 1912 (Lindhagen et al.).
77 SCC Minutes 18 November 1918 §14 #1, p 974-75. What Lindhagen meant with socially informed personnel is disclosed by the discussion a couple of years later about municipal subsidies for a college for municipal staff of different kinds. Lindhagen asked for lectures explicitly in ’humanity, sense of justice, and self-mastery’
Repeate Conflicts over the Economic and the Social
When the Country Domain’s director, Carl M. Meurling, in December 1911 summed up the years that had passed since building in Enskede started 26 July 1908, he could conclude that 2,211 rooms had been built and 189 more were under construction. So far, the project had been a success. Soon afterwards, however, Meurling presented a long memorial before the board where he discussed different ways to limit the use of SLR. The problem was, as he presented it, the aggregated amount of loans needed for the enormous investments. In the inner city, this amount could be held in check with the incomes of land sales, but in the outer city, the loans would be held for any near future (especially since leasehold rents did not include instalments). However, if the most attractive and expensive sites were sold, that is, the sites meant for business buildings and the largest tenements along the main roads, then the loan amount could be considerably diminished.

While the board accepted Meurling’s arguments, Lindhagen wrote a long reservation that was sent to the City Council along with the decision. His main line of argument was that the taking up of loans could never be wrong as long as the money was invested in a profitable way. More than the sales in themselves however, Lindhagen feared the effects on the spirit of the inhabitants in the settlements, if parts of the district was sold with ordinary – ‘full’ – ownership rights:

The works of enlightenment will in that case be completely demolished and the prejudices of the people will be maintained. The conscious endeavour to make profits without working for it will still have its arena of action, and will of course seek the course where the biggest profits can be made.

('humanitet, rättssänsla och självövervinnelse') in order to counter undemocratic and bureaucratic tendencies. Part of this was that the personnel should have the opportunity to elect their own representatives to the college board. Democratic self-rule of behalf of the administrative staff was an important part of the vision of how the social city should be administered. See SCC Rescript 410 1920, 15, Cf. Minutes 18 October 1920 §19.

78 Carl M Meurling, 'Exploateringsverksamheten å Stockholms lantområden, Återblick, framtidsplaner och erfarenheter', Social Tidskrift Vol 12:1 (1912), 23.
And when in the end the City itself has broken with the site leasehold rights and for a passing gain has sacrificed great values of the future, spiritual as well as economic, then the administration as well will be requested to do its very best to make passing gains and not to educate the people to a spirit of society and consciousness of its true and lasting best.

Lindhagen maintained in the City Council debate that he had been taken with total surprise by Meurling’s proposal. In the mean time, however, it had had the repercussions he was warning about. Before the City Council, he showed a petition that had been spread around Enskede and signed by 50 inhabitants already during the first day when it was passed around. The petition demanded that if parts of the districts would be sold, then anyone who wanted so should have the right to purchase his/her own plot. This confirmed, argued Lindhagen, how fragile the social project is by necessity. There was and remained an urgent risk that the economic domain, and its rationality, would overrun any project aiming in other directions: ‘The opinion will only bend for the fact that the City immovably stands firm with this view.’

Shortly afterwards, Meurling signed a new memorial over a proposal, by the conservative member of the Country Domain’s Board, Josef Norén. This time – and against the background of wartime (1916) stagnation in building activities – the proposal went further, demanding that sales should be the rule and SLR the exception. Before strong but as it seemed implicit resistance however, Norén decided in the City Council to limit his proposal to the appointment of a delegation, with the instructions to carefully look

79 SCC Appendage 193 (1912), 27. In Swedish: ‘Upplysningsverket intälles nämligen aldeles och människornas fördömar hållas vid makt. Det målmedvetna sträfvanget att göra minster utan eget arbete får fortfarande sitt fria spelrum och väljer naturligtvis det spel, där de största vinsterna kunna göras. Och då slutligen staden själv brutit med tomträffen för att mot en flyktig vinning för stunden ofrä stora framtidsvärden, andliga såväl som ekonomiska, blir ju också förvaltningen uppfordrad att lägga sitt bästa tjänstenit uti att skaffa dessa tillfälliga vinningar och icke uti att uppostra folket till samfundsni och insikt om sin sannskyliga och bestående fördel.’

80 SCC Minutes 17 March 1913 §20, 349. In Swedish: ’Opinionen böjer sig endast inför det faktum att staden oryggligt står fast vid denna ståndpunkt.’ The proposition was turned down in the City Council with the slightest possible marginal, 40 votes against 39.
into the possibilities of the different forms of ownership. The possibility to use Repurchase Rights was mentioned as well, while still being under enquiry in the parliamentary corridors. To the decision were appended letters from both Brännkyrka and Enskede Municipal Societies (on these organisations, see chapter six). The former spoke for Norén’s view, while the latter preferred SLR – although it demanded that if anyone was given the right to buy sites in the district, then this right should be extended to all SLR holders.

Due to the political calamities in the world and national scenes in the late 1910s and early 1920s this delegation worked very slowly, while in the meantime a couple of minor land sales were closed on the country domains. On the occasion of an industry site sale in 1916, Lindhagen objected to the use of the concept ‘full ownership rights’, arguing that property rights always are limited, and that the symbolism of the concept could provoke ‘an always to actions prepared opinion of estate owners to as unauthorised get rid of all legal or contracted restrictions of what they label as their “full” ownership’. Within the board, the liberals and the conservatives jointly demanded a limitation of the works on the country domains, as ‘defensible only from social, cosiness, or other such views’. All this showed both that the conception of a strict demarcation of cityscapes governed with the help of different rationalities was widely accepted, and that doubts were beginning to be raised as if the City really could afford the luxury of a social city.

In 1923, the delegation was re-instated (now consisting of social democrat Carl Lindhagen, liberal Mathilda Staël von Holstein, and conservative A. E. Magnusson). In their rescript, delivered in late 1924 and obviously mainly written by Lindhagen, it was (disregarding a reservation by Magnusson) clearly stated that SLR also in the future should be the rule at the country domains. The delegation however emphasised the need for a strengthening of the credit value of the SLR, by increasing ransom from the building costs.

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81 SCC Minutes 20 March 1916 §11, p 93; Rescript 42 1916; Appendage 21 1916.
82 SCC Appendage 51 1916, 1-4.
83 CDB 17 October 1916 §13 Appendage G. In Swedish: ’en alltid till aktion beredd opinion från jordägare att avskudda sig såsom obehöriga alla stadgade eller kontrakterade inskränkningar i vad de kalla sin ”fulla” äganderätt’.
84 CDB 2 May 1917 §2; 24 April 1917 §17. In Swedish: ‘sociala-, trevnads- eller dylika synpunkter’
85 REB Minutes 12 January 1923 §30.
to the actual worth of the house at the time, including certain additions. The real estate director, Nils Hasselquist had in a special circular proposed a further strengthening of the SLR. His view was that the City administration would dramatically increase its competitiveness toward other actors on the Stockholm land market by taking away the limitation of the leasehold time. As the delegation however observed, this would just as well as the blending of ownership and SLR, take away the social bonding power of the SLRs:

Also a land holding of that kind will in its turn obliterate the sense that the City still owns the land and should keep its protecting hand over the garden city. The single site holders will very soon look upon themselves as the real owners of the land and will because of that contribute to different interest assaults aiming for profit to use the land in another way, than was from the beginning intended.

The idea that SLR and ownership could be blended was with similar motives dismissed once more:

The illusion that SLR still may be used, also after ownership holdings are let loose on the country domains, is hardly comforting. It is more or less as if eager supporters of full freedom in the sale of liquors would propose such freedom, and comfortably add that the restrictions would still be in power for those, who like to use them. Probably, to be honest, the large alcohol level in the ownership holdings makes them so appreciated for a weak humanity.

86 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 11-20.
87 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 196-198.
88 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 22. In Swedish: ’Även en sådan besittning kommer i sin tur att utplåna förnimmelsen av att staden fortfarande äger marken och bör hålla sin skyddande hand över trädgårdsstaden. De enskilda tomtinnehavarna komma mycket snart att betrakta sig såsom de verkliga ägarna till marken och bliva därfor benägna att medverka till allehanda intresseanlopp för att i vinningssyfte utnyttja marken på annat sätt, än som ursprungligen ansetts.’
89 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 100 (cit); 104. In Swedish: ’Förespeglingen att tomrättsupplåtelse fortfarande kan få begagnas, även sedan äganderättsupplåtelserna
This was also, finally, the main argument against the Repurchase Rights, which although guaranteeing some influence on the building pattern for the City, in its relation to the inhabitants of the social city would ‘revoke the sense of belonging that lies in the City’s ownership of the ground’. By this contention, the City was turning the old argument of individual site ownership as a guarantee for community allegiance around, stating that civic feelings were created rather out of the common situation of close linking to the central power. Most basically, the restrictions included in every SLR contract were better known to the inhabitants, than for instance the considerations guiding any town plan could ever be. Furthermore, the inhabitants would, as Ygberg had pointed out, always have an intimate contact with the SLR administration staff – in a way that could never be the case if they would own the land. Lastly, no matter what, administrative restrictions could never help monitor the settlements as tightly, as the SLR had made possible:

Neither could they stop the establishment of for instance cafés in the community, if only the building is meeting the technical prescriptions for its approval. Within the frontier communities on the city’s fringes one find in many places a throng of cafés, meant to entice the population, not least the youth, away from the home life and into wasting away their money. On the leasehold areas, cafés can not be opened without a license. It has thus always been taken care of, that those are not given if a need can not be considered as being in place. The City can also look into, that they will not be established within the or-

[släppts in på lantegendomarna, är föga hugnesam. Det är ungefär detsamma, som om ivrare för full frihet i rusdryckskommersen skulle påkalla en sådan frihets genomförande och därvid tröstade tillägga, att restriktionerna finge fortfarande äga bestånd för dem, som ville begagna sig av desamma. Det är nog, ärligt talat, den stora alkoholprocenten i äganderättsupplåtelserna, som göra dem så tilltalande för en svag männsklighet.’
90 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 106. ‘upphäver den känsla av samhörighet, som ligger i stadens äganderätt till själva marken’
91 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 112.
ordinary housing areas, where they will cause more or less of unpleasant conditions, but be situated at appropriate places.

Site Leasehold Rights and Socialism

The democratisation of the municipal administration, finally completed in 1921 with general and equal franchise for both sexes, fundamentally changed the conditions of policy-making. As related above, during the 1910s the non-socialist parties had gradually started to adopt a stricter view regarding municipal interventions into the housing market, including municipal landholding. This meant that SLR had become a specifically social democrat (and left social democrat/communist/socialist) issue of heart. Since the social democrats had the majority position in the real estate board, and together with the communists in the City Council, there was never any doubt that the pro-SLR line would hold.

However, this only meant that the conflict between the two rationalities was displaced. In the mean time, the division between the domains of economic and social rationality was within the administrative realm played out in a prolonged exchange of ideas between the Real Estate and the Finance Boards, involving the SLR credit institution as well. The latter had appointed the conservative board member Edvard Söderberg to write its

92 SCC Appendage 7 1925, 114. *In Swedish*: 'Den kunna icke heller förhindra fritt inrättande av exempelvis kaféer i samhället, blott byggnaden uppfyller de tekniska förutsättningarna för dess godkännande. Man finner också inom nybyggaresamhälle- na i stadens omgivningar på enskild grund mångenstädes ett vimmel av kafeer, ägna- de att locka befolkningen, icke minst ungdomen, bort från hemlivet och till att slösa bort sina penningar. På tomträttsområdena får kafé ej öppnas utan tillstånd. Det har därvid alltid tillsatts, att sådana ej tillkomma annat än i den män behov kan anses förfina. Staden kan och tillse, att de ej inrättas inom de egentliga bostadsmålra- da, där de skapa mer eller mindre otrevnad, utan förlägas till lämpliga platser.' The first time when that kind of regulation was implemented in Enskede, at that time concerning a request for the establishment of a paper and cigar shop, the Country Domain’s Board convened a rather well attended meeting for the inhabitants – the whole procedure ending with the request being turned down. See CDB Minutes 10 October 1908 §3; 6 November 1908 §13; 4 December 1908 §3. After that, however, the Board seems not to have been that interested in hearing the local opinion before making its decisions. See CDB Minutes 8 January 1909 §9; 12 November 1909 §7; 26 November 1909 §16 and so forth.

93 REB Minutes 6 February 1925 §35; 3 April 1925 §42; 17 April 1925 §53; 12 June 1925 §37; 4 September 1925 §23; 7 September 1925 §4; 8 September 1925 §2.
rescript, but the board subsequently made fundamental revisions in his text, mainly implicating the deletion of a paragraph on the possibility to blend SLR and ownership rights.94

During the time that passed between the delivery of the delegation rescript in late 1924, and the City Council debate in December 1927, a number of letters were passed between the Finance Board and its chamber on the one hand, and the Real Estate Board, its office and its chair, social democrat Harry Sandberg, on the other. Again, the issue was the loan balance, together with the possibility for the City to lay its hand on the entire future value increase also if it would sell its land.95 The Finance Board, in a strange move, took matters in its own hands and demanded through its representatives on the SLR credit institute board to change the articles of association so that the institute should have the right to mortgage ownership rights as well. Because it controlled the appointment of representatives for the massive majority amount of capital (the City had in 1917 bought the two banks’ stakes in the company), it could easily get its proposal through, although some of the old stakeholders from 1909 took the opportunity to voice their discontent with the alleged drift in the aims of the credit institution.96 At the extra meeting in June 1926, held to acknowledge the changes, Real Estate Board chair Harry Sandberg had joined the opposition.97 Carl Lindhagen made an intervention of his own in the issue, where he among other things emphasised how decisive it was that the Finance Board, which allegedly always had been ‘taking the front for the mercantile land policy of the inner city’, should not have any influence in the fields of interest that belonged to the Real Estate Board – that is, the social domain.98 The net result of the conflict was that in the future the Real Estate Board was given the right to appoint a representative of its own to the board of the credit

94 SLMCI Minutes 26 June 1925 §2; 28 August 1925 §2 Appendage B (issued 26 June 1925, 4; 6-7).
95 See Erik Söderberg, Kammarkontoret 100 år (Stockholm 1980), 231-39; Rådberg, Doktrin och täthet, 225-26. Carl Lindhagen held a sideshow in this issue as well, see SCC Proposal 8 1926; Rescript 347 1927.
96 SMLCI Minutes 30 April 1926 §13. Notes of discontent delivered by Herman Lamm, Carl M. Meurling and Anna Åbergsson.
97 SMLCI Minutes 29 June 1926 §6.
98 SCC Proposal 8 1926, p 85. In Swedish: ‘gå i spetsen för den inre stadens merkantila jordpolitik’
Map VI:1: Stockholm's land Possessions 1942 (black) compared to the mostly privately owned inner city (grey). A map of governmental power.

Source: Stor-Stockholms Villastäder (Fredrik Ström ed) (Stockholm 1942), 31.
institution, in order to balance the influence of the financial arm of the City administration in matters of principle.

A similar conflict had a couple of years earlier taken place around the establishing of the Town Planning Commission as a regular board, where the social democrats Lindhagen, and Gustaf Wahl, both made reservations for its organisation instead as a part of the Real Estate Board. The argument was that this would guarantee that the ‘social’ considerations, which had been laid onto this board, would not be omitted from considerations to the benefit of the mainly aesthetic interest that the Town Planning Commission allegedly, previously had displayed. The decided outcome of this conflict was that the Real Estate Board would at least have a say before the confirmation of each town plan decision, and consequently an opportunity to control that social considerations would not be put aside. A similar issue was raised concerning the relative wage levels of the engineers employed within inner and outer city planning, where Lindhagen argued that the higher salaries paid to the former were another sign of relative downplaying of social considerations relative the economic rationalities.

The Abandonment of the Administrative Divide

The amalgamation of the inner and outer city administrations in 1919 seems to have worked rather well at the outset, although not totally without tensions. Functionaries from the Country Domain’s Board were at all the leading posts of the administration. However, already in 1924, Lindhagen

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99 SCC Minutes 12 December 1927 §3 #6.
100 REB Minutes 8 September 1920 §4 Appendage A.
101 SCC Rescript 487 1920.
102 REB Minutes 14 October 1921 §25.
103 The former country domain’s director Carl M. Meurling was appointed as real estate director as well (REB Minutes 13 March 1919 §20). The former Finance Board chair Herman Lamm held the chair until 31 March 1920, when Meurling was appointed as salaried chair of the board (borgarråd), and the post as director was abandoned (Minutes 31 March 1920 §20; 14 April 1920 §9). In 1923 Nils Hasselquist, former head of the town preparation works in Enskede (and town planning director in the Lidingö villa suburb) was appointed as real estate director. The conservative deputies voted for Ernst Eggert, head of inner city administration. The social democrat candidate was Axel Dahlberg, head of the outer city administration (and with the Country Domain’s Committee from 1907), but Hasselquist was chosen in order to gain the vote of the liberal deputy (REB Minutes 9 March 1923 §21).
issued a proposal to the City Council about a re-division of the board, arguing as Ygberg had before him, that the ‘rock desert policy’ of the inner city administration was influencing the policy of the new board as a whole. The same kind of statement was made a couple of years later, against the head of the inner city administration, concerning an area on the Northern Djurgården parkland. The issue could however be addressed from the other angle as well. In 1930, the conservative councillor, Märten Granqvist, proposed an important reduction of the social domain, in that the Real Estate Board should lose its right to comment over the town plans. The stated intention at this point was that with less circulation between administrative bodies issues would be prepared faster.

It was not until 1932 before the proposal from Lindhagen came forth in the City Council. At that time Lindhagen had himself resigned and did not protest when Sandberg, the social democrat real estate board chair, maintained that the different aspects of the work conducted by the board had changed their character to the extent that they could no longer feasibly be separated. On the one hand, he argued, some of the inner city housing projects now unmistakably had a ‘social character’, in the sense that certain qualities were prescribed to the houses and the building conditions (more about this below). On the other hand, an increased amount of tenements were changing the character of the outer city as well.

These changes in the character of the real estate administration, together with the ambition to better organise the large number of small companies operating within the building industry, were the main motivations behind an ascending new way of looking at the different objectives of the board. In a major enquiry over the housing policy of Stockholm, conducted by the real estate office and presented in 1934, the idea was presented that the office would lead the small commercial building companies in the same way as it led the small cottage builders, only on a larger scale. The instrument for this rationalisation effort would be a new department at the real estate

March 1925 social democrat Harry Sandberg was appointed as salaried chair, to remain throughout the period (and Hasselquist’s appointment was confirmed; Minutes 27 March 1925 §2; 31).

104 SCC Proposal 10 1924, 32. In Swedish: ’stenökenpolitikens’.
105 REB Minutes 31 August 1928 §34, Appendage A, 1-2.
106 SCC Proposal 17 1930.
107 SCC Minutes 25 January §5, 4.
office. Furthermore, the office asked for resources to create a comprehensive annual statistical series over the housing situation. Taken together these two propositions pointed in the direction of an autonomous (social) housing office, responsible for everything from long-term planning to the building and administration of individual houses. The same kind of views was presented at the founding of the semi-municipal company that would be responsible for the state-sponsored social housing projects mentioned in chapter two (barnrikehusen). In 1937, K. K:son Wistrand officially presented the idea in a proposal.

When, relating to this motion, a new proposition to divide the entity was presented, the driving motive seems foremost to have been a desire to rationalise the administration, connected to the society-wide rationalisation trend in all matters of society. In February 1939, a municipal reorganisation committee proposed that the Real Estate Board should be dismantled, with the ‘social issues’ gathered at a Housing Board within a special ‘Social Department’ (Socialrotel), while the administration of real estate issues per se, that is the economic realm, would be returned to the Finance Board. After recommendations of rejection from both the Building, Finance and Real Estate Boards the City Council changed the proposal, so that instead the board should be kept intact but with a profound division of the office. The Real Estate Board was at this point obliged to prepare a draft plan of the division.

Against this decision, the director Axel Dahlberg and the deputy member of the board Mathilda Staël von Holstein issued letters of objection. Both had been with the outer city administration more or less since the outset, and among their objections was the characteristic view that a social housing entity could not divorce itself from the everyday catering of the houses. This daily contact with the clientele was, as Dahlberg expressed the issue, of greater worth than ‘an academic study of statistic material’, since it gives

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108 SCC Appendage 68 1934, 126-29; 183-84.
110 SCC Proposal 38 1937.
111 SCC Appendage 5 1939. The whole issue is comprehensively presented in Rescript 226 1939, on which the rest of this paragraph is founded.
‘valued impulses and becomes the foundation of proposals, [which are] aimed to satisfy real needs’.112

A Reorganisation Committee changed the board’s plan again. The City government (Borgarrådsberedningen) decided to issue a proposal made by a special enquirer, Lambert Ljungdahl, implying that the real estate office would be kept intact after all, but that rationalisation measures would be carried out by amalgamating the different departments for the land administration of the inner and the outer city. While, as the enquirer lamented, there had earlier on been reasons for the division of the office, ‘[t]his difference of species appears however at this point of time to have become, and will increasingly become less important, as the tenement areas have become the dominating building form also on the country domains.’113 The Real Estate Board chair Harry Sandberg objected vainly about the remaining differences between the two departments, maintaining (and thereby contradicting his own view an odd decade earlier) that they lately had rather increased than the opposite.114

The Meaning of the Division

Although the division between the mercantile and the social city was firmly established and recognised during the whole period investigated here, the exact boundaries between the two entities were subject to a prolonged contestation. Shortly after its foundation, the real estate office had stated that ‘the issue, if a certain site should be let with ownership or leasehold rights should preferably not be solved through any general principled decisions or relating to any established geographical boundaries’.115 In practical

112 CDB Minutes 23 April 1940 §2, Appendages B (cit.) and C. In Swedish: ’ett akademiskt studium av statistiskt material’; ’impulser av värde och utlöser förslag, ägnade att tillgodose reella behov’. The conservative member Ekberg issued as well a statement of objection, stating the economic senselessness of the project.

113 SCC Rescript 226 1943, 1557. In Swedish: ’Denna artskillnad torde dock numera ha blivit och än mera komma att bli mindre framträdande, allteftersom hyreshusbebyggelsen blivit den förhärskande bebyggelseformen även på lantegendomarna.’

114 SCC Rescript 226 1943, 1572-78; Minutes 20 September 1944 §9, 409-10. The amalgamation was however postponed in the same year, because of financial difficulties. See Rescript 243 1945, 1593. The office is still organised in two departments, one each for the inner and the outer city (Region innerstad; Region Ytterstad).

115 REB Minutes 19 November 1919 §14, Registry 181, over proposal 5 1912. In Swedish: ’frågan. huruvida viss tomtmark bör upplåtas med äganderätt eller med
terms, however, this division proved to be of utmost importance. The most visible sign of demarcation was the building heights, and around 1930 a series of clashes were played out both between the Real Estate and the Town Planning boards, and within the Real Estate Board itself. As Johan Rådberg argues, the decisive event was probably the passing of the town plan of Fredhäll, at the southwestern part of the Kungsholmen island. However, fierce protests were made in tandem from the real estate office and its inner city department (gaturegleringsavdelningen) against a peculiarly dense plan for the Lilla Essingen island southwest of Kungsholmen. The board was however in no sense unanimous on this issue, with the communist (and tenant’s organisation activist) Otto Grimlund and the conservative Gustav Ahlbin arguing for larger houses and social democrat Carl Lindhagen while uncompromising on the issue of large houses, at the same time also argued against the increasing proliferation of tenements on the country domains at large.

Real estate director Axel Dahlberg argued specifically for the three-storey 2-3 room apartment houses, the so called ‘thin houses’ (smalhus), that were built in great numbers from the early 1930s on. As he specifically stated, it was the City’s explicit intention to continue the tradition from the own-homes/garden city movement for which sake the country domains once had been purchased. These houses were part of the social city’s extramarket rationality because the City deliberately had chosen not to maximise its revenue, in order to instead build a cityscape made in a human scale. Among the most important physical features of these houses were that they had windows both east and westwards, meaning that they would always have sun, and that the apartments consequently were through-going, and

tomträtt icke lämpligen bör lösas efter några allmänna principbeslut eller i enlighet med några fastslagna geografiska gränser”.

116 Rådberg, Doktrin och täthet, 262-66.
117 REB Minutes 18 July 1930 §38, Act 635 1929, Inner City department 22 August 1929; Real Estate Office 24 September 1929.
118 REB Minutes 23 May 1930 §43; 30 May 1930 §8; 4 December 1931 §24, Appendage A; 3 July 1933 §4, Appendages A-C; 17 October 1933 §15, Appendage A, 12-14.
119 Country Domain’s Department, Document F 87:1249-50, Real Estate Office to Real Estate Board 12 May 1939.
easily ventilated. These features were protected against changes in the building ordinances, included in the SLR contracts, and firmly upheld.\endnote{120}

Opposition came however not only from the political right and the left-wingers, but also from the economic realm of the administration. Especially firm was the critique launched by the director of the SLR credit institution, Arne Björnstad, who held the view that apart from not maximising revenue, the thin houses were expensive to maintain and would soon become unpopular as unsatisfactorily modern – which in its turn would mean that the credit institution might be risking its money.\endnote{121} In 1939, he presented a programme for an architectural contest, over the creation of cheap houses. The contest programme explicitly stated that in order to minimise town planning and site preparation costs, the houses should have ‘three or more storeys’ and that the contestants would be ‘unlimited concerning the height and depth of houses and may even, if so is held as called for, propose exceptions from building statutes that are in force’\endnote{122} Lindhagen protested with rage against this, labelling the action taken by the institution both illegal and in contradiction to the intentions of its original founders.\endnote{123} In a special statement to the Real Estate Board, its director, Axel Dahlberg, pointed out that the contest should at least not diverge from certain quality standards – such as day-around sunlight, through-going and easily ventilated apartments, and that the bathrooms should have windows – all of which was a standard of the social city.\endnote{124}

During the municipally guided building expansion from 1942 onwards Dahlberg showed intensified discontent with the increasing amount of buildings on the country domains overstepping the earlier three-storey limit. As he argued in May 1942 in a statement of opposition against the ratification of a town plan for four-storey social housing, if the City’s own companies did not follow the ‘socially’ informed ordinances, then it would in the future be very difficult to convince private building companies to

\begin{footnotes}
120 Country Domain’s Department, Document F 2B:91: 971, Real Estate Office to Real Estate Board 27 February 1941.
121 SLMCI Minutes 7 June 1939 §4.
123 SLMCI Minutes 7 March 1939 §6. Dahlberg issued a statement of opposition.
124 REB 27 June 1939 §41, Appendage A.
\end{footnotes}
build ‘socially’ responsible.\textsuperscript{125} At this point, however, the fight was practically over and the board showed little patience. When in June 1943 the question of a prolongation of Dahlberg’s appointment as real estate director for another six years (until his retirement) was brought up, the board’s appointment committee made a formal statement about lacking cooperation between Dahlberg and the board. Consequently, the board chose to limit the new appointment to no more than one year (until 31 January 1945), stating that it hoped that relations would improve in the meantime.\textsuperscript{126} Dahlberg immediately filed a letter to the board, declaring his absolute surprise with the reprimand, and when the letter came up a member of the board, Evald Johannesson, demanded that a full investigation should be conducted as to the reason for the reprimand.\textsuperscript{127} When this proposition was turned down, Dahlberg instead chose to appeal to the administrative courts and a long exchange of letters ensued\textsuperscript{128} However, the real reasons for the reprimand – and the dismissal that eventually followed, after the one-year appointment came to an end – were never made any more precise. Perhaps, the version closest to the truth is the one presented as a hypothetical example in a letter by city jurist, Sture Brück:

Ponder for instance, that a staff manager, after the board in question had made a decision, which touches upon his field but is not in compliance with his proposal, will not be satisfied with the filing of a statement of opposition to the minutes. Instead he will verbally plead energetically to members of the City Council or the Working Committee (Stadskollegiet) for his view. The result becomes, that the carrying through of the board’s proposals will meet difficulties, be delayed and the like. The staff member may be acting with the best intent and honourable conviction.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{125} REB Minutes 12 May 1942 §24, p 1; cf. Minutes 2 February 1943 §15, statement of opposition; 2 February 1943 §21.
\textsuperscript{126} REB Minutes 21 June 1943 §41.
\textsuperscript{127} REB Minutes 2 July 1943 §5, Appendage B (statement of opposition by Johannesson and deputy Aronsson).
\textsuperscript{128} All documents are filed in REB Act 358/1943.
\textsuperscript{129} Sture Brück to Harry Sandberg 4 February 1944 (copy), in REB Act 358/1943, 5. In Swedish: ’Antag exempelvis, att en chefstjänsteman, sedan vederbörande
That the termination of Dahlberg called into question the fundamentals of the administrative division is also indicated by the fact that the board received protest letters from most of the chief staff members of the City administration, as well as from some of the former board members and not least, from the garden city organisations both in the Bromma and the Brännkyrka-Enskede districts. As the garden city organisations concluded, ‘Dahlberg’s work is inseparably connected to the foundation and development of the garden cities […] which, on account of its [sic] social influence for citizens of different social classes without doubt represents one of the most peculiar doings of the municipal administration in modern times’.¹³⁰

The Working Committee was for a while considering the possibility to ask the Real Estate Board for its motives, but decided in the end to refrain from that opportunity (against which liberal Yngve Larsson issued a statement of opposition).¹³¹ Dahlberg continued to issue statements of opposition against what he considered as excessive building heights during his last months in office. But when the former director of the inner city department, Jarl Berg, in February 1945 was formally instated as real estate director, Dahlberg had already been on sick leave since mid-December.¹³² Dahlberg turned down retirement leave and was instead, ironically, employed as an expert enquirer at the finance office. There, among other things, he

¹³⁰ Letter from the Äppelviken-Smedslätten, Ålsten-Nockeby, Olovslund, and Ängby garden city/villa owner societies to the City Council Working Committee 22 August 1944, in REB Act 358/1943. The same wording was repeated in the letter from the Central Organisation of the Stockholm Garden City Societies, sent 23 August 1944, representing the rest of the societies on the SLR areas. In Swedish: ’Dahlberg’s gärning är oskiljaktigt knuten till trädgårdsstädernas grundläggning och utveckling […] vilka på grund av sin sociala betydelse för medborgare av skilda samhällsklasser utan tvivel representera en av kommunalförvaltningens märkligaste insatser i modern tid’.

¹³¹ SCC Working Committee Minutes 28 September 1944 §14.

¹³² REB Minutes 23 May 1944 §22, Appendage A; 29 August 1944 §10; 19 December 1944 §7.
prepared an alternative town plan for Vällingby without the high-rise buildings that would a decade later become world famous.  

The influence of the exemplary districts had however at this point reached into all parts of the town planning administration, and would remain even when the administrative division lost in importance. In this way, the SLR and the possibilities it had given the emerging urban reform would have effects far beyond its use in the social city proper. 

SLR and the Creation of a Social Place

As Nicolas Rose emphasises, the era from which the garden city tradition draws its heritage, the late 1800s, was an era when many different forces tried to re-establish the allegedly lost collective cohesion of days passed, with the help of instruments created out of technical and socio-technical knowledge of quite recent origin. In the form in which it was used in Stockholm, the SLR was one of those instruments. At the same time, however, the SLR areas did not diverge from the general principle of the Stockholm housing policy: except when sanctioned at the government level, social housing did not receive any subsidies. The building of the SLR areas was a business venture just as the land policy of the inner city, with the difference, however, that it was not supposed to bring in any profits. Long as well as short-term costs were accounted for and included in the different rents that were extracted from the inhabitants, and the long-term strategy became concentrated on establishing the image of the municipally-guided suburbs with qualities well worth any extra costs. That these areas should carry their own expenses was, it seems, considered as self-evident, even on occasions when this principle either drove building companies into bankruptcy or meant that the housing entities built became too expensive for the less affluent sections of the population. As the Country Domain’s Board explained in the letter in which it summarised its accomplishments before the new Real Estate Board, its cameral book keeping had consequently been paralleled by business-oriented accounts. In that way it had

133 Ytterstaden, Föredrag och diskussioner från ett seminarium kring idéer och förutsättningar för utbyggnaden av Stockholms äldre ytterstad våren 1974 (Stockholm 1974), 74.
134 Nikolas Rose, Powers of Freedom, Reframing political thought (Cambridge 1999), 78-79.
made certain that its works were performed on ‘economically sound foundations’: 135

Naturally, such principles are never as clear-cut as they may seem at first glance. For instance, it is easier to make a large building area, than a single building or just a block, paying its own costs. Discussing the need for workers’ housing by the gas-works in Hjorthagen on the north-east fringe of the inner city, for instance, the Real Estate Board proposed that unavoidable losses could be compensated by rent hike on some of the older houses belonging to the city. 136

In the outer city, the area affected was always the ‘town planning area’ (stadsplaneområde); that is, the area included in the different detailed town plans that progressively had been passed by the boards. Already in 1912, the Country Domain’s Board could declare productivity gains on its third area, considerable enough to motivate a 15 percent cut of the site rents and a consequent improvement in the City projects’ competitiveness compared to the private villa settlements 137 Perhaps the strongest declaration in this direction was made by real estate director, Nils Hasselquist, in the mid-twenties when he, as mentioned above, proposed that the SLR leases should be unrestricted in time in order to make them attractive enough to completely out-compete the private settlements 138 In spite of its municipal-commercial foundations, however, the SLR project displayed a fundamental hostility against intruding market forces.

The Control of the Market

It was from the outset established that the SLR would within reasonable limits neutralise the market forces within the bounds of the social city. In a declaration of principle from the Country Domain’s Board, prepared in June 1908 by Meurling, it was stated that the workers’ housing built on the new domains would not only separate the families, but also provide them with ‘sound and spacious’ housing in ‘a healthy and airy environment’. The condition was that the City owned a sufficient quantity of land and that this

135 REB Minutes 3 January 1919 §20, Appendage N. In Swedish: ‘ekonomiskt riktiga grunder’.
136 REB Minutes 8 October 1919 §11, Reg. 152.
137 CDB Minutes 16 February 1912 §12, Appendage H.
138 SCC Appendage 7 1925, p 196-98.
land could be let without compromising the City’s demand for a full coverage of costs. The leading principle would be that the sites be priced progressively higher the more rooms they would have to harbour. In that way, as Meurling expressed it, ‘tenancy speculation’ would be discouraged.  

This view of the own homes building on the country domains as a somewhat different kind of business venture – which would cover its costs but not generate any profits – was shared by the inhabitants’ organisations as well. It was furthermore emphasised before establishing the SLR credit institution, that it would have a ‘a semi-philanthropic character’, directly relating to the way in which the SLR would work. This was further developed in the 1930s, when the quantity of tenement buildings on the country domains was beginning to reach a considerable level. As the real estate office explained the difference between the one-family and tenement houses was not only the level of congestion, but also the latter’s character of business objects. While reasons could be presented for the City’s engagement in the stability of own-homes settlements, where the speculative aspect of housing was eliminated, it could not be expected that the City should support regular business enterprises in their ups and downs. The credit institution consciously refrained from establishing the situation value of its credit objects (thus under-valuing them), in order not to contradict the non-market principles supported by the City authorities. This meant, in its turn, that the institution had to put extra scrutiny on inspecting the maintenance activities of the owners, since tenant house owners often took into account the land price increase when calculating their incomes. If they at a too advanced stage recognised that incomes of these kinds would not be taken into account for mortgaging on the country domains, overdue maintenance costs could quickly drive them into bankruptcy because of

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139 CDB Minutes 22 June 1908 §1, Appendage A, 3. *In Swedish: ’sunda och rymliga’; ’hälsosam och luftig omgivning’; ’hyresspekulation’.*

140 For an early example, dealing with the case of the few free-grounds in the New Enskede distrikt, see Fastighetsägareföreningen å Nya Enskede/Lindegård/Enskede Gård, Letters, without date (probably 1912) to the City of Stockholm Finance Board on Lennart Palme’s homebuilding company.

141 CDB Minutes 24 April 1908 §7, Reg. No. 3. *In Swedish: ’en halvt filantropisk karaktär’.*

142 Country Domain’s Department, Document F 2B:63 p 1000a, from the real estate office to the REB 6 April 1936.

143 SLMCI Minutes 14 December 1938 §7 Appendage A, 1.
lack of credit. At the same time, the institution was obliged to provide loans for minimum costs under all circumstances, disregarding the shifts on the credit market.

Judging from the minutes of the New Enskede Real Estate Owner’s Society, one of the oldest homeowner’s societies in the area, the control of commercial establishments at the country domains seems at the outset to have received a thorough support from the inhabitants. For instance, in 1914 the society discussed the clandestine opening of a minor store in one of the houses of the neighbourhood. It was widely perceived that it belonged to the purposes of the society to make sure that sanitary and building restrictions were upheld. On the other hand, there was some discussion about the risk that a new store would out-compete the store that with the society’s support already had established itself at the spot. The decision – against which one member of the society’s board chose to issue a statement of opposition – was however that the board of the society should collect names against the store.

It seems, however, that the regulative policy of the City administration was relaxed in the 1920s. It also seems that the market regulation within the SLR settlements was largely executed under hand and was focused on limiting of competition (to entice the establishment of new stores) and the creation of specific zones for commercial activities.

Another kind of market force operating within the SLR settlements was the sale and resale of the houses. The City of Stockholm had taken a principle decision not to interfere with this business, although it obviously involved a considerable moment of speculation (and, consequently, a thinning out of the working class presence within the settlements). As Meurling summed it up, during the Great War era, the house market in the SLR set-

144 SLMCI Minutes 6 December 1944 §11 Appendage A, 3.
145 SLMCI Minutes 13 December 1939 §5 Appendage B, 2.
146 Fastighetsägareföreningen Nya Enskede/Lindegård/Enskede Gård Minutes 21 December 1914 §1. The Country Domain’s Board however chose to refrain from any action; see its Minutes 21 January 1915 §12.
147 REB 11 January 1924 §53; Cf. Country Domain’s Department Document file F 2B:11.
148 Country Domain’s Department Document F 2B 53 (1934) p 716; F 2B:72 p 1175 (1937); F 2B:90 p 716 (1938); Södra Förstadsbladet No 45, 10 November 1933, 1.
tlements had probably been the most active in the region. Interestingly, at the same time that the City administration professed its confidence that the inhabitants of the SLR areas had no interest in speculating with their houses, the credit institution decided to conduct an investigation into what they considered as extreme velocity of the SLR house market.

As long as the own-homes were not subsidised, however, there were no principal problems with these market activities. When some of the small cottages started to receive governmental subsidies for families with many children, the issue was however raised how – at least for a reasonable time – the Real Estate Board should be able to stop the inhabitants from profitably selling the houses they had acquired with the help of state subsidies. After different alternatives had been discussed, in March 1939, it was decided that with the help of an addition to the SLR contracts which linked the first owner to the house loan, the person that had received the initial subsidies would be responsible for immediate payment of the entire credit if selling the house. When the issue was raised again in 1942 by the House Building Delegation appointed by the board, it was also proposed that it should be stated in the contracts that all small cottage businesses should be conducted with the assistance of the board (in order to regulate buying prices). The real estate office, however, advised against this measure pointing to the risk of compromising the reputation of the SLR.

Minimum-sized firms, allegedly working only on subsistence levels, and allegedly out-competing professional builders built many of the middle-sized and larger one-family houses on the country domains. An enquiry presented in 1929 showed that one-third of the villas built on speculation were sold at a loss. The credit institution regulated the building market with

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149 Country Domain’s Department Document F V69 (undated and unsigned manuscript with the title Enskede, Ulvsunda och Äppenvikens trädgårdsstäder; probably written in 1918 or 1919 by Meurling, reporting over the activities of the recently cancelled Country Domain’s Board), 3.
150 Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning No. 9 1937, p 5 (Fr. Persson, head of the small cottage department of the real estate administration); SLMCI Minutes 6 October 1937.
151 REB Minutes 14 March 1939 §39.
153 See the complaints filed by the credit institution, SLMCI Minutes 8 October 1927 Appendage D.
the help of restrictions on building credits, but it seems as well that another motive was that it discriminated against what it labelled as ‘speculative building’ (a professional builder who builds a house and sells it) to the benefit of ‘own-home building’ (a prospective inhabitant receives building credits, and hires the lowest bidding builder to build the house). In the latter case, an obvious advantage was of course that the house would be sold already. It was clearly stated, however, that under no circumstances would the credit institution lend money to self-building.

In 1931, further restrictions were introduced barring ‘mediocre and dishonest’ builders from credit and refusing to give loans to houses built with credits from other credit suppliers, unless the credit institution had had the opportunity to approve the buyer. It was also decided that the credit institution would work more closely together with the real estate office in supervising the builders. In February 1939, this system was further amended, in that a formal classification of three groups of contractors (the excellent, the competent, and the incompetent) was instituted in order to facilitate the distribution of building sites. This change was motivated by the increasing competition from larger companies, enticed by the expanding tenement market on the country domains at the same time as the sites in the inner city were beginning to cease. It was explicitly stated that distribution could however not be executed in the same way as in the inner city, that is by bidding. That kind of procedure would inflate the site values and ‘stand in the most flagrant contrast to the land policy, which the City so far has been able to upheld on its own outer domains.’ Instead, the sites should be distributed by a combination of evaluation of competence, lottery within the competence classes, and negotiations.

The Administration of Lives

The message conveyed by the Country Domain’s Board to the SLR credit institution at its appointment contained two basic elements. On the one hand, it stated that it was reasonable that people who built their houses

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154 SLMCI Minutes 3 July 1929 §6, Appendage A.
155 SLMCI Minutes 9 September 1931 §8; 23 December §4. *In Swedish*: ‘okunniga och ohederliga’
156 REB Minutes 7 February 1939 §35, Act. 137/1939, Real Estate Office 3 March 1939, 2. *In Swedish*: ‘i bjärtaste kontrast mot den tompolitik, som staden hitintills lyckats uppehålla beträffande sina egna ytterområden.’
themselves with the help of friends and family should receive some kind of bonus. A two-year moratorium on the instalments was considered as appropriate. On the other hand, however, the credit institution could not be expected to give credit to these houses at the 80 percent level approved by the City Council. This high level could, as Meurling – appointed as director of the credit institution as well as under the board – expressed it, only be reserved for ‘first class cases’. In practical terms this implied houses built of stone by professional builders or the City itself, and according to some well-known model.157

Town engineer Ygberg had warned against this situation with a statement of opposition when the outline for the credit institution was first presented before the board. An administrative body, established in the form of a business venture, he argued, would be unable to give enough attention to those in most need.158 This may have been the case, but on the other hand, the economic logic of the credit institution played an important part in the regulation of the outer appearances of the settlements. In 1911, the credit institution for the first time conducted house inspection in order to make sure they were kept in shape and did not lose their – mortgaged – values. Out of 168 inspected buildings, 35 received complaints and four of the inhabitants were in the end forced to vacate their houses, as unable to maintain them.159 The inspections became annual and already in 1913 Meurling could, not without contentment, establish that:

Generally, [the inspections have] showed, that the houseowners in question by regularly making small works are maintaining their houses and that they consequently in this respect have set out on an adequate road.160

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157 SLMCI Minutes 6 November 1909 §2, Appendage, p 3-4.
158 CDB Minutes 24 April 1909 §7, Reg. 3.
159 SLMCI Minutes 11 January 1911 §7, Appendage B; 15 May 1911 §4; 24 October 1911 §6; 7 November 1911 §6. The loss of the SLR was regulated by the contract. Executive measures could be refrained to also in the case of insufficient payment of leasehold rents, but it could never end in loss of the SLR itself.
160 SLMCI Minutes 13 May §5, Appendage B. In Swedish: ‘I allmänhet har det visat sig, att vederbörande husägare genom småarbeten under hand vidmakthålla sina byggnader samt att de således i detta avseende slagit in på en riktig väg.’
The SLR were from the outset understood as a town planning instrument of both greater force and more accuracy than the Town Planning Act (of 1907) could ever bring. At the same time, during more or less the whole period investigated in this book, the authorities had to work within a structure of small-scale builders, working with minimal capital and on a low technical level. This definitely limited the extent to which the intentions could be effectuated. Although the Country Domain’s Board at an early stage had expressed its wish that larger companies would be engaged in building on the domains, this wish largely remained unfulfilled. Still, some kind of uniformity was soon established with the help of both the board’s authority to oversee and approve all building blueprints and the credit institution’s policy to give better credit conditions to houses built according to standard formulas. When in 1919 a proposal by City Council member, Anna Lindhagen, about a limited break-up of this uniformity was discussed, it was only approved provided extensive guarantees for the limitation of this project were made.

During the 1930s, interest somewhat shifted from the control of own-homes to inspection of the quickly expanding stock of tenements in the outer city. As Axel Dahlberg explained in 1941, there still did not seem to be any other way in which the quality of housing could be supervised in such a detail and with such effectiveness as with the SLR. The Real Estate Board and the SLR credit institution could in co-operation influence for instance the type of houses and even details down to the design and location of lockers. This power was however in line to be questioned. In 1936, Dahlberg had before the board tried to limit the use of a couple of apartments in a house, which had access to the sun only in one direction, in order to make sure that they would not be rented out to families with children. However, this proposition was not only disapproved by the board, it was also accompanied with a statement of disapproval from Dahlberg’s

162 SCC, Appendage 182 1907, 6-7.
163 REB Minutes 10 September 1919 §12, Reg 142.
164 REB, Act 559/1931, Dahlberg to the Finance Office 27 October 1941.
165 SLMCI Yearly Report 1938, 3.
subordinate and country domain’s department senior Thorsten Ljungdahl.\footnote{166}

At the same time, as the director of the credit institution Arne Biörnstad conceded, the building inspection could not be efficient enough to guarantee that the tenement houses, with their greater degree of complexity, would keep a necessary level of quality. Instead of the inspection rights inscribed in the SLR contracts per se, then, the administration would have to use land ownership – and the right to distribute land to building contractors – to make necessary demands on the precise organisation of the building operations.\footnote{167} For this kind of indirect supervision, the SLR was the only alternative.

Against the SLR

The expansion of the SLR for aims other than the provision of homeowners’ settlements was problematic from the outset. In 1912, the issue of loans for industrial establishments was discussed, in order to complement the housing settlements with work places and turn them into autonomous living districts. For instance, a tanner demanded that the City should accept his right to ransom for the industrial buildings he was going to erect at the site (the ransom would be his guarantee against excessive rent raises). The Country Domain’s Board turned down his request, since it could not accept to pay ransoms for industrial buildings, which in contrast to living houses, would be difficult to find an economically acceptable use for if the City had to take over them.\footnote{168} Instead, the board opted to sell this site, as well as some other sites meant for industrial use. Lindhagen and the other social democrat on the board, Tengdahl, issued a statement of opposition, with the intention that the board should show greater tolerance for minor difficulties with the SLR.\footnote{169} Lindhagen also asked for an enquiry over the subject of SLR for industrial use.\footnote{170} As the director, Meurling, maintained in this

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{166} REB Minutes 25 February 1936 §31, Act 126/ 1936 Memorial 22 February 1936.
\item \footnote{167} SLMCI Minutes 3 February 1937 §5, Appendage B.
\item \footnote{168} CDB Minutes 31 May 1912 §26.
\item \footnote{169} CDB Minutes 5 December 1912 §10, Appendages J and K.
\item \footnote{170} CDB Minutes 10 April 1913 §19; SCC Proposal 16 1913; Cf. Proposal 12 1913 (Alfred Ceder).
\end{itemize}
enquiry that it was also impossible for the credit institution to have any activities in this segment, since it implied that it would in effect evaluate not the worth of the buildings themselves (since that value was intimately connected to the company in question), but the commercial value of each business venture. By doing that kind of an evaluation, it would step far beyond any social mission, into the territory of ordinary business finances.\footnote{171}

Considerations of a more or less similar kind were from the start accompanying the financing of tenement houses on the country domains. Meurling warned in 1916 of the risks associated with the City’s responsibility for the tenement houses, which could be subject to bankruptcy because of the rent increases that had been imposed during the war. These warnings were motivated not least by an interesting conflict between the Country Domain’s Board and the commercial building company Stockholms Trädgårdstäder Ltd. (AB Stockholm’s Garden Cities) over a number of houses which the company had not been able to sell on the open market. This was why it wanted to hand them over to the City by pointing to a clause in the contract made up with the City. The board on its part pointed out that the company had acted in an irresponsible way by taking too extensive social considerations, having ‘unemployed and probably mainly impecunious people, for whose economic capacity the otherwise nice, but however large villas were absolutely inappropriate’ as customers.\footnote{172} As a result of these difficulties, the two commercial banks opted out of the credit institution and the City had to take over their stocks in April 1916.\footnote{173}

At the same time as the Real Estate Board chairperson, Harry Sandberg, around 1930 tried to redirect interest of the building industry from the inner city to the country domains, which in his opinion was near its completion, the land policy of the inner city was attracting increasing attention. Liberal councillor Söderlund argued, that at least in the short-run land leases in the outer city would not significantly affect land prices in the inner city – both because the SLR could not compete with free-grounds, and

\footnote{171 SCC Appendage 143 1914, 2-7.}
\footnote{172 CDB FV 5, Letter from Meurling to Pripp 16/10 1914, 12. In Swedish: ‘arbetslösa och i regel väl även av medellösa, för vars ekonomiska bärkraft de i övrigt tilltalande, men dock stora villorna voro absolut olämpliga.’}
\footnote{173 SLMCI Minutes 10 January 1916 §2 (Meurlings views written in the minutes); 17 May 1916 §1.
because preferences for the inner city were not easily transferable to the outer city. While his solution was that the City should sell its remaining inner city sites for moderate prices, another solution – to start using SLR in the inner city as well – was introduced by the radical attorney and social democrat city councillor Georg Branting.\(^{174}\) In October 1930, a delegation (Lindhagen, liberal Mathilda Staël von Holstein, and conservative A. E. Magnusson) was appointed by the Real Estate Board, to prepare a proposal for how SLR could be used as well in the inner city; that is, as it were, to widen the bounds of the social city.\(^{175}\) Although the main arguments would remain the same as in 1930, this commission brought to light a number of important issues relating to how the SLR could be modernised, and consequently about how the boundaries between the social and economic domains should be redrawn in the future.\(^{176}\)

In a travel report on a Central European trip made by Lindhagen on behalf of the delegation, he cited some circumstances that seemed to have had influence on the fate of the SLR in these countries. Most important among these, he summed it up, seemed to be the boundary drawn against the conceptualisation of the SLR as a measure meant to be used only within the social domain. Experiences from other countries showed that it was mandatory that the institution was given as normal a stand as possible. For instance, in the SLR model town among all, Frankfurt am Main, the SLR institution in the early 1930s was felt as a burden because the City had chosen not to collect any land value increases, but instead looked upon the leases as a sort of subsidy.\(^{177}\) A similar idea, reduction of the leasing rents, had been proposed by the right wing politicians in Amsterdam, but was resisted by the united left as a threat to the long-term existence of the SLR policy.\(^{178}\)

The opposite difficulty had appeared in the western German city Bremen, where the rents instead where determined strictly after market values (instead of production costs, as in Stockholm), which had kept the amount of

\(^{174}\) SCC Proposal 1 1929; 5 1929 (Einar Olsson); Minutes 19 May 1930 §39, 351-54 (Söderlund); 357-62 (Sandberg); 363-64 (Branting).
\(^{175}\) REB Minutes 24 October §37.
\(^{176}\) On the arguments, Cf. SCC Minutes 17 April 1939 §20.
\(^{177}\) REB Act 559/1931, 38-39.
\(^{178}\) REB Act 559/1931, 72.
leased land low. In Berlin, the main difficulty was that the City badly needed to sell land to make up for its empty municipal coffers, but the lack of a specialised credit institution for the SLR was a major difficulty as well.

Sweden’s second city, Gothenburg, presents a completely different case from Stockholm. Already from the outset, it was decided that the SLR leases should only be temporary, which is why the City acquired the right to reclaim the sites already after the minimum leasing duration of 26 years. At this point, the owner of the SLR would receive a full ransom for the buildings at the site, but the ransom would then decrease proportionally with the duration of the lease, to reach zero compensation after 89 years. Furthermore, in order to cash in on any land value rises, the leasehold rent in Gothenburg should be looked over and possibly increased every tenth year, instead of after the first full sixty years lease as in Stockholm. Concerning the social control issue, while the City administration in Gothenburg was less worried about the dangers of co-habitation than their colleagues in Stockholm, their contracts contained a statute which had no parallel in Stockholm and which dramatically diminished the value of the SLR. It was namely forbidden for SLR owners to sell, or even to rent out their sites (that is, their houses) without the consent of the administration. This statute underlined the social-disciplinary character of the SLR to a much larger extent than the vague and complex strategies against speculative behaviour that marked out the social character of SLR settlements in Stockholm.

In 1926, a range of requests from homeowners’ societies to free-purchase their sites were delivered to the Gothenburg City administration. The requests were motivated by the high rents, and the fact that sites were sold not far from the settlements, but the insecure tenancy rights and the difficulties with selling and letting the houses on the sites were mentioned as well. The Gothenburg real estate director more or less agreed

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179 REB Act 559/1931, 32.
180 REB Act 559/1931, 18.
182 GSFH 168 1912, 3; 11 (§§ 2 and 3).
with the complaints, and in 1929 the City started to sell the sites on a large scale.\textsuperscript{183}

In his summation of the study trip, Lindhagen argued for an amendment of the national SLR Act in order to make impossible the local weakening of ownership rights, and consequently give the SLR a centrally imposed sanction as an ownership form in its own right. Provided that the leasehold fees were determined from production costs and not from market values – as in Amsterdam, Bremen, Dresden, and Lübeck – the SLR would still create a harmonious relation between the inhabitants and the City authorities and their control, as an acceptable price for a haven shielded from the market.\textsuperscript{184}

This principle was proposed for the inner city as well in the discussion about the expansion of the SLR area. The main principle here, however, was that the leasehold fee should be determined by the market price of the site. As real estate director Axel Dahlberg pointed out; the only way to make the new ownership form acceptable also for market actors in the inner city was to proceed according to the principles that had been used on the country domains. Specifically, he turned his voice against the idea of increasing the rents after half the leasing period, in order to cash in on the land value increases.\textsuperscript{185}

\textbf{The Reactions from the Homeowners}

The limitations of the loan amounts soon provoked reactions from the homeowners. In 1914, the Enskede Municipal Society (see Chapter six) sent a letter to the credit institution demanding, among other things, the right to unbiased evaluations of the house values that constituted the grounds for loans. The problem was, they argued, that the credit institution systematically underestimated the value of the houses in order to reduce its risks without formally changing the amounts that had been decided by the City Council. The credit institution upheld their authority to make the

\textsuperscript{183} GSFH 25 1926; 93 1928, 1-3; 9-24; 5 1929; Minutes 28 January 1926 §24; 15 March 1928 §10; 30 January 1930 §30. In 1933 78 percent of the sites at the areas where it had been possible to buy had been sold, see GSFH Document 201 1933, 2.

\textsuperscript{184} REB Act 559/1931, part I, 87-89 (including appendages).

\textsuperscript{185} REB 14 December 1939 §3, Appendage B. The conservative member Ekman joined Dahlberg’s statement of opposition, however possibly rather motivated by the wish to limit the costs for private house owners, than by Dahlberg’s stated wish to make the SLR the generally preferred form of land ownership.
evaluation on their own, but the issue would henceforth come up in other forms.\footnote{186}

It is obvious that the conditions of the SLR contracts and statutes deeply engaged the population of the social city. When Brännkyrka Municipal Society (see chapter six) in December 1923 gathered an open meeting over the SLR, about 800 people appeared.\footnote{187} Enskede Villa Owners’ Society (see Chapter six) had at the same time made an effort to continuously follow the discussions on the conditions of the SLR taking place within the different parts of the City administration.\footnote{188} As mentioned, they participated in the discussions leading up to the amendments taken by the City Council in 1927 and their implementation thereafter.\footnote{189} This active participation in the policymaking process was referred to when, in 1928, the auxiliary of the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Enskede Tidning, started a campaign against what it considered as an unfair practice: that those inhabitants who wanted to make new deals for their mortgages (for instance, after the death of the SLR owner), had to endure new and frequently increased levels of their leasehold fees.\footnote{190} Brännkyrka Municipal Society took part of this campaign as well, and in January 1929 assembled 150 persons to a general meeting to discuss the issue. The reportedly large number of women attending may be explained by the consequence that widows who had to take over their deceased husband’s contracts were among those most affected by the increased fees.\footnote{191}

As an illustration to its minimal interest in the issue, however, the Real Estate Board waited seven years before it finally evaluated a letter from the central board of the different homeowners’ societies on the SLR area. Although the quantitative summation confirmed the homeowners’ complaints, as Enskede resident City Counillor Ragnar Lindqvist noted, the City

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186 SLMCI Minutes 13 January 1914 §5, Appendages B and C.
187 Brännkyrka Municipal Society, Book of Minutes I, Protokoll fört vid Brännkyrka kommunalföreningens allmänna möte i Enskede folkskolas högtidssal, tisdagen den 4 dec 1923 i och för diskussion av tomträttsfrågan.
188 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society Minutes 17 November 1923 §1-2.
189 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society Board Minutes 20 February 1925 §7; 20 April 1926 §6; 13 March 1928 §3.
190 Enskede Tidning 7 December 1928, 3. Cf. 17 March 1928, 2; 7 April 1928, 2; 25 January 1929, 1; 7; 2 August 1929, 1.
191 Södra Förstadsbladet 26 January 1929, 1.
Council decided to follow the board by ignoring the complaints. Similar accusations that the City authorities used the monopoly character of the SLR administration’s different bodies to introduce an ‘extra tax’, were voiced a number of times. In 1933, Södra Förstadsbladet complained about the administrative fee of 300 Crowns that was taken from all small cottage builders to finance the administration of the enterprise. The following year the issue was on the penalty imposed on delayed payments. The interest of 1% on the remaining instalment money debt, lamented Södra Förstadsbladet and conservative metropolitan daily Svenska Dagbladet, came close to usury.

However, as these complaints seem to have been well founded, the issues were closely linked to the character of the SLR as an institution created to follow the logic of the social domain. The fee hikes on the amended contracts financed simultaneous lowering of the fees on contracts closed during the war years, when exorbitant interest rates had pushed costs steeply upwards. The administrative fee was in a visible way intended to make the scheme self-financing – the alternative had been to include the administrative costs within the leasehold fees. The penal interest on the other hand, related to the repressive part of the social domain. On the one hand, as the director of the credit institution Arne Biörnstad explained, the penalty was motivated by the default rates that recently had been displayed (probably because crisis-affected workers prioritised other expenses, knowing that large-scale eviction would be costly for the City – see chapter seven). On the other, in a way resembling the Poverty Board’s separation between deserving and undeserving poor, those who could prove that they would have paid in time if they had had the chance could escape the penalty fee. With the personal enquiries needed for this claim to be validated, the credit institution in other words returned to an older form of socially-induced disciplining through direct interventions.

Perhaps the most obvious example of the way of thinking that looked upon the money paid by the SLR inhabitants as some kind of collective property was displayed a few years later. Because of sharply decreasing long-term interest rates, the SLR areas started towards the late 1930s to

192 SCC Appendage 311 1937; Minutes 20 September §35.
193 Södra Förstadsbladet 14 juli 1933, 1.
194 Södra Förstadsbladet 5 October 1934, 2.
195 Södra Förstadsbladet 12 October 1934, 1; 4.
show considerable profits. In 1936, the profit of the Real Estate Board’s stake was 195,000 Crowns. Expecting a fifty percent increase for 1937, the board in 1938 proposed that this money should be used for different kinds of betterment in the settlements, such as park gardening and the provision of houses for the local organisations. Unsurprisingly, Enskede resident liberal City Councillor Lindqvist, filed a proposition in opposition to this demanding that the leasehold fees should be adjusted instead. That the profit gained from the social city was common property was not a view that seems to have been restricted to the social democrats. In 1940, the conservative councillor Ahlbin proposed, for instance, that the excess means retained from the outer city could be used to subsidise the local traffic company. The credit institution in 1941 and 1942 decided to give 100,000 Crowns to charity projects for Finnish and Norwegian children in need because of the war. This decision was however in practice taken by the Finance Board representatives, and amidst protests from the director of the credit institution, Arne Biörnstad. A subsequent request from homeowners for a lowering of the rents was instead turned down.

Conclusions

This chapter has showed how the institution of site leasehold rights was used to create a new kind of cityscape in the outer districts of Stockholm during the first decades of the twentieth century. Referring to the framework presented in the beginning of the chapter, I have shown how the large-scale planning, which it made possible, facilitated the accessibility of this space. The City used the SLR not only to appropriate these areas and keep them in its hand, but was through its land policy also influencing the land policy of the whole region. At the same time, the fact that the City was still the landholder of the last resort, and only rented out the sites on (at least nominally) temporary leases, meant that it could retain a dominating

196 SCC Rescript 235 1938, 1734-35.  
197 SCC Proposition 16 1938.  
198 SCC Minutes 5 August 1940 §3, 241-42.  
199 SLMCI Annual Meeting of Shareholders Minutes 4 March 1942 §8; Annual report 1942, p 6.  
200 SLMCI Minutes 2 December 1942 §10.
influence over the area – not only determining the structure of the built environment, but also monitoring its maintenance and reproduction. The long-term aim was to change the way in which the expansion of Stockholm took place. Through the mixture of different cityscapes, it would be possible to govern the positive outlook of further additions to the urban structure.

The new cityscapes differed from the old ones in several ways. To start with, with the help of the SLR, a non-market logic was applied to their land market, and consequently to the allocation of land. In the inner city, land was sold to the highest bidder, who, within the limits of existing building statutes, could make as profitable use of the land as possible. In the outer city’s unregulated suburbs, land was (as I mentioned in chapter three) sold with minimum provision of infrastructure, also in order to provide maximum profit for the landholder. In the SLR districts, on the other hand, the profit motive did not exist. Although the areas should pay their own costs, they were usually also made big enough to make it possible to distribute costs between their different parts, and thus for instance make tenements subsidise sites allotted for own-homes. Prices were administratively determined according to the city building principles that were decided by the Country Domain’s Board around 1910. It has to be underlined that these non-market principles did not follow from the properties of the SLR institution in itself. The SLR rents could have been determined by the market, as was the case in for instance the German city, Bremen. They could also have been used mainly for a subsidised and thus limited project, as in Gothenburg and post-Great War Frankfurt am Main. That none of this happened was connected to the particular characteristics that from the outset were connected to these areas.

The SLR areas in Stockholm were from the beginning conceptualised as much from their difference to the cityscapes on private land, as from their own particular characteristics. The non-market rationality of their administration was identified with the rationality of the social domain – although in the last instance subjected to the laws of the market, because they were after all obliged to carry their own costs. This rationality expanded into a whole programme, guaranteeing hygienic standards far above the contemporary minimum, as well as a shield from the temptations of the city lights, a good portion of tranquillity and order and not least, a sense of belonging, provided by the collective identity of ‘garden city’ inhabitants. The daily
contact between the administration and the inhabitants was, at least by the administration, emphasised as an important property of the social rationality, as was the prohibition of speculation with the real estate property (although this prohibition was laxly executed in practice). Because the areas that were governed according to the social rationality were kept together as homogenous entities – although with somewhat undecided boundaries – the rationality also acquired a spatial quality. Out of the social rationality grew a new cityscape – the social city.

This chapter has followed the creation of the institutional preconditions for this development, and has showed that these were largely created on the local level – partly in opposition to those characteristics that had been prescribed to the SLR districts on the central level (the Parliament’s Judiciary Committee and the Land Act Enquiry). On the central level, the disciplining effects of individual land holding were still held in high regard – as the City of Stockholm showed however, social cohesion could just as well be created out of mass loyalty to a collective landholder. The urban structure was governmentalised: the execution of power was made the subject of endless negotiations under unequal power relations. The system would probably not have worked if the City had been totally unresponsive to the demands of the inhabitants. It was however clear that it always had the upper hand.

As I have showed, the way in which the SLR were used in Stockholm related closely to the zoning policy introduced in Frankfurt am Main and some other cities, in order to influence land values and expansion patterns. The zoning created in Stockholm was however at first not explicitly stated in building ordinances, but instead by an administrative separation between two ownership forms, administered by two different administrative bodies. Even when these bodies were amalgamated in 1919 to form the Real Estate Board, the administrative separation was withheld within the office during the rest of the period investigated in this book. The social city both provided examples of an alternative urbanity, and the political and administrative basis for an opposition to a purely market-led urban expansion. Defined through its difference with the ‘mercantile city’, the social city provided both the backdrop for and a showcase of urban change. This gave it heterotopical qualities.
Chapter V
Local Papers and the Politics of Space

The big city or metropolitan press is one of the most distinguishing features of an urbanised modernity. It has distinctively urban connotations: the newspaper boy standing at the corner or tabloid posters announcing the latest events. None of these phenomena would make much sense in a village street. They suppose a certain population density, a given number of passers-by, they get their life from circulation and movement from, in one word, urbanity.

As historian Günter Barth explains, (U.S.) American newspapers during the nineteenth century developed a form that displayed definite homologies with big city life itself. First, with the help of new communication techniques the content of the papers largely changed from comments to plain news, which had to be delivered at an increasingly fast speed. That is, the narrative of the newspapers became interruptive, focusing on the moment and representing a creation without either a beginning or an end – just as the industrialising city itself. Second, the news was no longer exclusively about politics and trade but started to include pure gossip as well and sensational stories about violence, tragedies, mysteries and oddities. This at the same time made the newspapers more localised, since small events out of the neighbourhood were just as interesting as the bigger ones. The more newspaper reading was democratised, with increasing literacy and the large price reductions of the so-called ‘penny press’, it was also vulgarised, if the expression can be used. On the other hand, it could as well be said that it was not until then that it started to pay attention to the affairs of ordinary people.

Barth argues that one important aspect of this phenomenon is that the uprooting of the urbanised masses had created a massive demand for contextualisation of the new urban environment. It seems as if the metropolitan press for a while filled this vacuum, by telling stories of big-city life.
from the perspective of the village tavern or Laundry Bridge. The British historian, Benedict Anderson, has demonstrated how print capitalism helped establish a national consciousness in the Hispanic American colonies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It could, I suggest, be argued that the press specifically created for the uprooted, migrated masses of the North American and European cities can be regarded in the same way as creating, as it were, an imagined community.

The Need to Read

The (U.S.) American sociologist, Robert Ezra Park, a big city journalist himself and active around the former fin-de-siècle, once remarked that in the ‘urban environment literacy is almost as much a necessity as speech itself’. It was, as (U.S.) American historian Peter Fritzsche points out, only with the big cities that large newspapers for common people became possible as profitable businesses, and in addition, only with large newspapers that common people to any larger extent were included in la république des lettres – the reading public. Apart from the more mundane requirements of searching the newspaper ads for accommodation, work, love, movables, entertainment, etc, this seems to have had to do with qualities that attached to the city itself; its incessantly changing face, its ever-flowing richness of impressions, signs, opportunities and dangers.

As the German sociologist Georg Simmel once put it, living in a modern city produced beings with detached mentalities. In the modern, commercialised big city, the amount of expressive variations is so extreme that anyone who would even try to comprehend everything happening around simply out of direct experience, probably would soon suffer from a nerv-

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ous breakdown. This makes a newspaper, producing categories and concepts that facilitate the understanding of the urban environment, fabulously useful. But newspapers were also, on a more or less intentional basis, educating their readers. They not only informed them what to see, but also how to see it; not only where to go in the city, but also how to go there, how to move around in a traffic-jammed environment, how to hang along in the crowd of over-filled streets. By adding an ‘inner urbanization’ to the outer one they reported on, and often staging well monitored urban events in which these qualifications could be tested and commented upon, newspapers prepared their public for a consumerist world. Following Foucault, it could be argued that they created a complex power/knowledge nexus by combining the transformative and performative aspects of their content into a powerful force of subject formation. On the one hand, newspapers dramatised and fragmentised the surface representation of the city, and on the other hand they did not bother very much about social divides. Citing historian, Peter Fritzsche, they ‘rewrote the ontology of the metropolis and generally ignored its sociology.’ But the city is not one; it consists of different parts; on the most general level, of a core and a periphery.

As Peter Fritzsche explains in his informative book *Reading Berlin 1900* (1996), the search for incessant change by the turn of the century turned many modernist artists’ and writers’ interest to the city’s fringes in its different variations of Vorstadt and suburbs. These were the places where either uninterrupted expansion (as in most continental cities) or the creation of another kind of urbanity (as in most Anglo-American cities) took place. However, this is not the only connection between newspapers and suburban or fringe-city life. It is obvious as well, that the metropolitan press was largely a product of the fact that people were spending more time in trams and commuter trains. This, both equipped the papers with a never-ending news story – news about the local traffic captured the public’s interest in those days as much as they do now – and gave people an opportunity, or rather, a need to read.

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7 Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 15-16; 21; 209; 219; 223.
8 Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 108.
9 Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 6-9; 245.
10 Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, 18; 70.
The conception of the fringe area as the place of most frantic change, however, needs to be questioned. As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters, from this time onwards, many cities were beginning to halt, or at least trying to control change in their outer areas. What the Stockholm City authorities were trying to establish in the Enskede and Bromma settlements might more fruitfully be conceptualised as zones not of change, but of stability.

On the other hand, this was not exactly the case. Of course, change was occurring in Bromma and Enskede too. Houses and structural facilities were built; new residential areas were created all the time. What distinguished these settlements from the tenements occupying most of the space at the fringes of, for instance Berlin, could be summed up in two characteristics. First, they should, at least in their finished state all harbour a rather non-urban kind of stability. The building measures of the settlements might include disturbances; their future existence however should not. Secondly, since these changes occurred in zones of stability, they had to be reinterpreted as not really change at all, but rather an extension of stability. That is, specific demands could be posed for the exact forms of change that were going to take place there.

Since these settlements were social cities as well, it may also be suggested that subject formation in them would take place in a different way than in the city proper. The metropolitan press, although in most cases supporting democratic demands, usually addressed its readers as passive spectators. In the garden suburbs, however, a different collective identity was in the making. As will be more thoroughly addressed in the next chapter, garden city identity was not only conceptualised from the structural features of the cityscape. The City and the inhabitants were also collaborating to create a lively civil society, dedicated to and used in the purpose of administering the new kind of settlements. This had repercussions on the local public sphere as well. Unlike passive consumers, the press was supposed to be supporting its readers in their efforts of self-organisation. The subjects of the social city would be addressed as participants of a common cause, not as spectators.

On the other hand, it has been argued that the fact that the metropolitan press was so concentrated on surface events and fragmentary narrative
forms gave it an open-minded approach largely conducive to a plurality of choices and smooth incorporation of strangers. Neither of these characteristics should be expected from the press of the garden suburbs. Their politicised character and their concentration on community forming would rather suggest an exclusionary form, and a quite one-dimensional approach to subject formation. Unless, again, all these characteristics are off-set by the fact that the garden suburbs were, no matter what the inhabitants themselves were thinking, in fact zones experiencing a rapid change. This ambivalence as well as the ones noted above, would be one condition which any press devoted to the garden suburbs must harbour and solve.

I shall in this chapter investigate how the press of the Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes contributed to make comprehensible the urbanisation of the southern districts of Stockholm during the period up until the Second World War. I shall use both the frames of analysis constructed by Fritzsche and others; that is, understanding these papers as a kind of metropolitan press and at the same time try to create a frame of my own which would also take into consideration the specific context in which the papers were created. In other words, I will analyse them both as vehicles of urbanity and as vehicles of the special kind of non-urbanity, or rather anti-metropolitanism, that was the trademark of the garden suburbs. To begin with, however, I will develop the historical background a little further.

The Swedish Press

The historian, Åke Abrahamsson, has argued that the history of the early Stockholm press can be divided into three time phases: the political press of 1830-1851, the commercial press of 1852-1866 and the transitional press of the years up until the development of the party-aligned papers that were increasing their importance from the 1880s onwards. It was this transitional press that saw the advent of modern news reporting, brought to Sweden to a large extent by (U.S.) American influence. The first Swedish penny press paper was Dagens Nyheter, established in Stockholm in 1864 by

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11 Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900, 133; 161; 169.
12 As will be shown later in the chapter, Brännkyrka parish covered the whole southern part of Stockholm. In 1931 its eastern part became a parish of its own, under the name Enskede.
13 Åke Abrahamsson, Ljus och frihet till näringsfång, Om tidningsväsendet, arbetarrörelsen och det sociala medvetandets ekologi - exemplet Stockholm 1838-1869 (Västervik 1990), 19.
Rudolf Wall and priced down to 5 öre per copy – 30 percent or more below its competitors. It was addressing the little people and competed victoriously with Fädereslandet, the radical paper of the mid-century, which at this time was turning sensationalist and right-wing. The success of Dagens Nyheter, however, depended mostly on innovations on the distribution side, and since more than half of its subscriber base was to be found in the countryside, at this time it was hardly an urban newspaper.\[14\]

Twenty-five years later, Dagens Nyheter was by a three editions paper issued by Anders Jeurling, of which one edition for the morning, one for the evening and one to be distributed outside Stockholm. The three edition form was quite short-lived, but Stockholms-Tidningen became, during the 1890s, the biggest penny paper in Stockholm. Advertising itself even more aggressively as the newspaper of the little people, it displayed a less hostile position towards the socialist movement than Dagens Nyheter preferred to do. It also sold at an even lower price – 2 or 3 öre depending on the edition – while still keeping a large national circulation. The Dagens Nyheter had in the 1880s raised its circulation from 10,000 to 26,300 copies a day, but the competition with Stockholms-Tidningen was during the following years decreasing its circulation to around 20,000 copies. Stockholms-Tidningen instead raised its circulation from 10,000 copies in 1890 to 42,000 in 1894 and over 100,000 in 1900.\[15\]

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, this structure remained mostly unchanged. Stockholms-Tidningen kept outstanding circulation figures, in the 1920s accompanied by Dagens Nyheter and in the thirties also by increasingly nazi-sympathetic Aftonbladet. The other papers tried to establish quality press niches by aligning themselves more closely to different parties, religious communities or localities. Among the larger ones, most stuck to a political current, as did the socialist Social-Demokraten, the left-wing Folkets Dagblad/Politiken and Ny Dag, the anarcho-syndicalist Syndikalisten/Arbetaren, the conservative Stockholms Dagblad and Svenska Dagbladet, while the Christian freethinking Svenska Morgonbladet in effect was a small-

\[14\] Gudmar Hasselberg, Rudolf Wall, Dagens Nyheters skapare (Stockholm 1945), 146-52; 156; 163.
\[15\] Gunnar Sundell, Ord och öden i ett tidningshus. Ur Stockholms-Tidningens historia 1889-1959 (Stockholm 1959), 14-16. As is pointed out in Otto Sylwán, Pressens utveckling under det nittonde århundradet (Stockholm 1924), 161, the largest dailies still at the end of the nineteenth century had to compete with news-weeklies with, in the case of the Aftonbladet weekly, circulation numbers of 100,000 copies.
scale national newspaper. I will return below to the ones adhering to local affiliations.

Still, the Stockholms-Tidningen never became the all-out dominating paper of Stockholm, partly because in the 1930s – unlike most of its competitors – a larger part of its subscribers were living in the countryside (see figure V:1). This gave some opportunity for Socialdemokraten (a daily from 1896) to profit from its privileged position during the general strike of 1909, when it achieved greater influence among the newspaper readers of middle stratum and the working class. While both the paper itself and parts of the social democratic movement had spread propaganda for a boycott of the ‘bourgeois papers’, because of their stand during the strike, Socialdemokraten proudly presented its circulation gains with an increase of 85 percent in some weeks, and announced its intention to keep and increase these gains by a greater provision of ‘neutral’ and ‘lighter’ material.

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**Figure V:1:** City of Stockholm share of total circulation of eight newspapers 1932.

![Graph showing the City of Stockholm share of total circulation of eight newspapers in 1932.](image)

**Source:** Gerhard Kuhlmann, *Die Stockholmer Tagespresse*, Leipzig 1938, Tab. V.

The Stockholm press established itself between 1870 and 1900 in the downtown Klara district, neighbouring the Central station. Its circulation rose steadily until the 1930s keeping pace with the population rise. The further acceleration in the thirties (see figure V:2) may be explained by the fact that the circulation of the biggest papers at this time could no longer be hampered to the same extent by the founding of new papers. The number of Swedish newspapers reached its climax in 1919, with 235 papers all over the country. From then on, the number of papers decreased, with the exception of a slight recovery just before 1930.

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Figure V:2: Aggregated circulation of the Stockholm newspapers 1900-1940.


Half the number of papers ever published in Sweden has been published in Stockholm – and this domination would be even more pronounced if we would count the number of issues printed in Stockholm with surroundings. The inner-city publishing industry was determining the conditions for any competition. As I shall demonstrate below, a considerable although specialised market however remained for local papers in the surroundings of Stockholm, covering local affairs and promoting the issues that were important for the local communities. Just as the social city had to relate to the inner city’s urbanity, however, this local press had to relate to the metropolitan papers.

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20 Per Rydén, ‘De centrifugala och centripetala krafterna’, 186.
Most metropolitan papers were, to different degrees, at the same time also *national* papers. That is, they covered a much wider area than the city where they were published, in some cases the whole country. Their knowledge about the local affairs was consequently often superficial. This opened the opportunity for entrepreneurs to take advantage of the market niches they left behind to establish *local* papers. These papers however, as most local papers, were not provincial in the usual meaning of the word. The area they covered was, although it may have seemed pastoral to some, too close to the city to be credibly represented as countryside.

In (U.S.) American press research, the concept *suburban* is sometimes used. As the Californian researcher Hal Lister explains, this concept only denotes papers actually covering politically autonomous suburban entities, that is entities which have political institutions of their own. Papers that cover just a portion of an urban area but still are relating to a central political and administrative unit, which imposes its directives over this locality as well as over a far wider area, are actually not suburban papers. They should rather be understood as a certain kind of metropolitan papers, due to the limits of their coverage. These limits, as well as the special character of their coverage, probably give them properties which are neither to be found in metropolitan proper nor in local papers. I propose to call this kind of papers the *metropolitan peripheral press*.

These kinds of papers had existed earlier in Stockholm in the older peripheries that were now parts of the inner city. Of course, there were also numerous papers covering the surrounding villa suburbs that were politi-

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22 The outer parts of the city had their own papers in the years preceding the Great War, as *Kungsblomen* (1906-09), covering the western inner-city island district; *Vasatidningen* (1905-06), covering the proletarian north-west district; *Normalms Veckoblad* (1910) covering the central city district north of the old town; *Östermalms Annons tidning* (1894-1915), covering the affluent east central district; and *Södermalms Nya Tidning* (1910) and *Söder* (1913-1916), all covering the proletarian south central district. It seems appropriate to mention some papers also in the suburban parishes who acknowledged their status as papers circulated within the confines of a metropolitan area, as *Förstads-bladet* (1905-08), *Förstäders Tidning* (1907) and *Stockholms Förstäder* (1913) – all with the prefix *förstad*, for suburb(an), included.
cally autonomous areas. The combination, however, of being villa or
cottage suburbs at a big city’s periphery, was new and asked for new forms
of representation.

The Press Situation in Brännkyrka
Although the population of Brännkyrka was probably both numerous and
literate enough to support a couple of local papers already at the turn of
the century, the first one was not published there until 1920. It furthermore
took until the later part of the decade before the local newspaper market
had stabilised.

As mentioned in chapter two, Brännkyrka was incorporated to the city of
Stockholm in 1913. However, this did not necessarily mean that it was also
considered as part of the city in many Stockholmers’ minds. Already a
superficial survey of the Stockholm newspapers in September 1920, the
month preceding the start of the first Brännkyrka paper, shows that inter-
est for the still fairly new district was minor. Two of the Stockholm dailies
at that time, left-liberal Aftontidningen and communist Folkets Dagblad, did
not publish anything at all about Brännkyrka. Four papers, Aftonbladet,
Dagens Nyheter, Stockholms Dagblad and Svenska Morgenbladet, had only one
article each, while Stockholms-Tidningen had three and Svenska Dagbladet four
articles of different sizes. The best coverage was found in moderate socialist
Socialdemokraten, which is why I chose to conduct a further survey of this
paper below.

At the beginning of the period starting with the initiation of municipal
works in Enskede in 1907-08, suburban news were found only under the
headline Från Hagalund (From Hagalund), later on complemented with a
similar headline for Sundbyberg – two small, mainly working class suburbs
north-west of Stockholm. It took until these headlines in 1909 were
changed into the more inclusive Från förstäderna (From the Suburbs), before
news from the municipalities in the south was published as well. Most of

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23 Tollin, Svensk dagspress 1900-1967, 141-43. Among the early suburban papers in the
Stockholm region could be mentioned Djursholms och Södra Roslagens Allehanda (1913-
1914), Djursholms Tidning (1895-1957), Lidingö Tidning (1910-1967), Saltsjöbaden (1908-
1948), Storängsbladet 1916-1916?), Sundbybergs och Solna Tidning (1900-1919), continued as
Stockholms Förstadsblad from 1920 (see below).

24 I chose to cover four months (February, March, August and September) each year
back to 1908, when the first works on the Enskede Garden City began.
the suburban news – sometimes up to ten items a day – were reports from meetings of the municipal and clerical authorities in the surrounding boroughs and parishes.

Nevertheless, it is also obvious that the paper was quite conscious of the need to increase its subscription base in the suburbs. After all, this was where a considerable part of the working class lived. In March 1909, *Social-demokraten* took notice of the approach of the first elections for the municipality councils, with the new, more inclusive 40-degree franchise scales. Considering this, the existence (except in Brännkyrka) of in most cases liberal-independent suburban papers was an annoying fact:

The workers of the suburbs definitely have to take more part than they have before in spreading the ‘Social-Demokraten’, and to service it by provision of news. The drab papers, which exist in certain suburbs, will never be able to satisfy the workers. They will be, and have to be, neutral in all issues where there is conflict, also on the municipal level. However, this will not be enough for us when in the coming year we will gain some saying in our municipalities. Then, if not before, an established social democratic fighting paper will be a matter of life for us.25

This ambition could have been the motivation behind an excursion some days later to the ‘villa town’ about to be erected in Enskede. However, by discursive markers as ‘We paid a visit out there’ and the like this article at the same time made it clear that the Brännkyrka community was still outside the usual coverage of the paper.26 Although in 1911, the paper established a commissioner’s office in Enskede,27 the excursion discourse was further upheld by a visit a year later at the privately built suburb of

26 *Social-Demokraten* 27 March 1909. *In Swedish*: ’Villastaden’; ’Vi gjorde ett besök därtume.
27 *Social-Demokraten* 16 August 1911.
Mälarhöjden in western Brännkyrka. These excursions remind, if anything, mostly of the reports on the rapidly changing Vorstadt, which Fritzsche mentions.

Interest increased around the incorporation in 1913, although this event as well was covered by an excursion, this time a tour around the whole parish. However, since the incorporation changed the status of the area from a suburban borough to a city district, it also meant that Brännkyrka was excluded from the reports that used to be published under the Från förstäderna heading.

The reports from Brännkyrka consisted during this whole period of about five articles of different sizes per month – a little more in 1908-09 and 1912-13, a little less during the war years. Workers’ and tenants’ societies’ meetings, accidents, and the finishing of a number of built structures were the staples of reporting. Apart from a repeatedly stated urge to increase the subscribers’ base, it does not seem as if the paper had any guiding ideas with its coverage, other than the very general one that the building of new settlements in the periphery would ease the housing situation in the city as a whole. The only identity that this kind of reporting could promote was the one of the periphery, framed by ‘the slums of Tellusborg’ and ‘the beautiful Mälarhöjden’, respectively. That is, the identity of not really belonging to the city proper. From here it seems the history of the peripheral papers begins. Just like the outer parts were defining themselves against the inner city, their press had to find representations that differed from the ones invented by the metropolitan press.

The Politics of Space

The first Brännkyrka paper, Villastäderna (The Villa Towns), issued from October 1920, was as its name indicates specifically aimed for the inhabitants of the homeowner’s settlements. That is, from the very start of the

28 Social-Demokraten 2 February 1912
29 Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900, 115-124.
30 Social-Demokraten 28 September 1912.
The Social City

As for Villastäderna itself, it seems to have been an experiment of the same kind as Djursholms Tidning (started 1895), which co-operated with metropolitan daily Svenska Dagbladet to cover the advertisement market of an affluent villa community north of Stockholm. Villastäderna instead co-operated with Dagens Nyheter. It was not until March 1922 before it could set up a local editor’s office, in Anders Hed-Larsson’s home in Älvsjö, western Brännkyrka (which in return gave him advertisement space for his site marketing office). Soon afterwards, the paper changed its name to Brännkyrka Tidning Villastäderna (The Brännkyrka Paper the Villa Towns). In its issuing address, it expressed a feeling a disappointment with what had followed on the incorporation with the city of Stockholm:

That we are a part of the city of Stockholm, in no way makes it easier for us to realise our social wishes. On the contrary, it will in many cases turn out to be harder for us to make our views heard within a big city, in itself containing many very separate interests and wills struggling between each other.

The paper declared itself as neutral in terms of party politics. In fact it had right-leanings, repeatedly and approvingly referring the anti-taxing journal Sunt Förnuft (Common Sense) but not when it came to ‘questions of society’ relating specifically to its area of distribution. A peculiarity was that it did not try to present itself as a useful paper for advertisers and readers that is to appeal to their rational self-interest. Instead, it chose to ask for their support as if the founding of the paper was part of some kind of common cause. This would appear to be a rather peculiar strategy for a paper principally living on advertisements on a commercial market. As I shall try to show, it was however part of a strategy trying to take as much

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33 Brännkyrka Tidning 18 March 1922. In Swedish: ‘Den omständigheten, att vi tillhöra Stockholms stad, gör det ingalunda lätt för oss att förverkliga våra samhälleliga önskningar. Tvärtom skall det i många fall visa sig svårare att vinna gehör för våra synpunkter inom en storstad, som rymmer många vitt skilda intressen och inbördes kämpande viljor.’
advantage as possible from the fact that these papers had a limited coverage. This strategy will be explained below.

Minor metropolitan papers could survive in the first place by creating niches for themselves that were affiliated to political or religious currents. That is, they made up for their limited size by addressing a specific part of the public, which however was spread over the whole metropolitan area. The peripheral press, on the other hand, did just the opposite: it created a community of its own out of its circulation area, declared itself non-political and changed the trade of party (or religious) politics for a politics of space. In this way, the peripheral press enhances the placeness of urban space.

According to British press researcher, Mike Glover, local papers compete with national papers by providing exactly what they can not: contextualised and meaningful news. National news can be spun up by a local touch, and most local news can be given a wider meaning. This contextualisation however, has to be of a partisan kind, although not in the usual meaning of the word. Local partisanship has nothing to do with following a party programme (unless of course it addresses a politically very homogenous community). It is instead obliged to find issues that can be transformed into important local rallying points, which at least a majority of the local inhabitants feel are important, while at the same time reporting fairly objectively or simply forgetting about other issues.34

A politics of space lives from a kind of patriotism, in this context a local patriotism, which just as much other patriotisms will leave the local power structures untouched. It will focus instead on any injustice that can be associated with outside intrusion.35 When contestations take place, they will be directed at the central level; that is, at the municipal, regional or national administrations. This also allows the creation of a special kind of political space. It is almost always in the local paper that the ordinary citizen, or group of citizens, can have a voice against the authorities ruling them. This is perhaps also the kind of story for which the news logic of the local paper works best. Local people usually have reason to feel discontent with the central administration, and the specificity of the local paper is that

34 Mike Glover, ‘Looking at the world through the eyes of….: reporting the ‘local’ in daily, weekly and Sunday local newspapers’, Making the Local News, Local journalism in context (Bob Franklin, David Murphy ed) (London/New York 1998), 120-121.
35 Lars Furhoff, Pressens förräderi (Stockholm 1963), 9.
it can change local people from being only objects of power, into acting subjects.36

As press researchers Bob Franklin and David Murphy point out, while the local papers definitely make an important contribution to the public sphere by providing room for discussions effectively squeezed out from the national (and regional) media, they may at the same time have a conserving influence on the local community.37 Local papers provide political space by politicising local space and localising political space.

This logic may also make the local paper an instrument of integration, or, as it may be labelled as well, of subject formation. According to Swedish media researchers Kent Asp, Bengt Johansson, and Larsåke Larsson, the local papers combine their two explicit and stated missions – creation of opinions and critique of authorities – with shallow mechanisms of supervision and behaviour adjustments. The papers define the matters worth worrying about in the local setting, they make people care about these matters, and they convince people to take part in political manifestations concerning these matters. Then they report about the manifestations that have taken place, making people feel involved in something they can identify as a manifestation of the local community. In short, the local press builds up local identification by involving people in collective action aiming at defending interests and values – meanings – attached to the locality.38 Its definition of locality thus becomes an important issue in the formation of a local identity.

This is a variant of the mechanism that the Swedish editor, Håkan Hanson, in 1968 identified as return information. News like the reports from a temperance society’s meeting or a sports event, are of interest principally for the people themselves mentioned in the report.39 People are supposed to read these reports mainly because they want to read about themselves, and perhaps feel a little more important than they would otherwise do. In this way the press creates both the events and makes people feel involved

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38 Kent Asp, Bengt Johansson & Larsåke Larsson, *Nära nyheter, Studier om kommunaljournalistik* (Kungälv 1997), 282-86.
39 Håkan Hanson, *Anders Persson har vrickat foten, En debattbok om bygdejournalistik och returninformation i landsortspressen* (Oskarshamn 1968).
in them. The next step is logically that these people also become subscribers to the papers, readers of their advertisements and supporting customers of the advertising firms. In the end, they will experience this involvement with the paper as an indispensable quality of their local identity. As press researcher, Per Rydén, points out, the press is instrumental in the creation of place-bound or local identities.

Or rather, this is what may be the case. A local paper may just as well make itself politically redundant for the community, by taking the wrong stand in important issues or by rallying mainly for causes that no one basically care about. If this were so, it would follow that the good editor of a local paper has to also have a well-developed sense of politics. He would have to be able to sense and understand the currents under way and to act accordingly with recourse in the last instance only to an outstanding strategic sense. There would not be much room for mistakes. Another rule-of-thumb for local papers is that competition is murderous; without subsidies there will quite soon be only one paper left in each area of circulation.

Because of this, I would propose that the press in the peripheral parts of a metropolis in some ways would behave very much like provincial papers. The exceptions are that they, firstly, do not have an existing geographical entity (a village, town, or county) to relate to but have to construct this entity from representations that are made for their area of circulation. The peripheral press is circulated within a portion of a metropolis, spanning a much larger area, where change is continuous and happens at a much faster pace than in a provincial setting. People are moving in and out of the area, circulating around the city and inner city life is always around the corner.

Secondly, they would have to construct these representations by taking into consideration both the advanced urbanisation of the more metropolitan neighbourhoods and the need to look at the urbanisation of its area of circulation as still another kind of urbanisation, with its own history and conditions of existence. The peripheral identity is, then, largely an identity of ambivalence.

The Stabilisation of the Local News Market

Brännkyrka Tidning Villastäderna closed its local office in Älvsjö in June 1923, after which correspondence was redirected to an office in the inner city. The paper declared that in the future it would concentrate on municipal affairs, but at the same time it asked the local inhabitants to contribute with news and comments. In fact, however, during the next autumn the paper became increasingly an auxiliary to Lidingö Tidning and was finally put to rest in the summer of 1924.

It took almost two more years before the next subscribed Brännkyrka paper was introduced. In the mean time, at least some news was provided by the only free paper during the period under study; Södra Förstädernas Tidning (Journal of the Southern Suburbs). This paper was started in June 1923, declaring from the start that its content would mainly be ‘tales, short stories, anecdotes and small jokes’. However, already in September the same year the possibility to subscribe to the paper was introduced (that is, while the paper in itself was still free, the costs for mailing it would have to be charged). With this followed a somewhat different expression of intent, appealing to the sense of community rather than the desire to be entertained:

Your own F r e e P a p e r has all that it takes to become the instrument and the link of unification. This is absolutely necessary for our society to gain in strength, purposefulness and esteem, and in an efficient way be able to take care of our own interests and rights. Because the individual as well as the whole parish has had to stand completely without defence many times during the passage of years.

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42 Brännkyrka Tidning Villastäderna 23 June; 14 July 1923.
44 Södra Förstädernas Tidning, 22 September 1923. In Swedish: ‘Eder egen GRATISTIDNING ha alla förutsättningar till att bliva det organ och den föreningslänk som absolut fordras för att vårt samhälle skall vinna i styrka, målmedvetenhet och anseende, samt att på ett effektivt sätt kunna taga vara på sina intressen och rättigheter; ty såväl den enskilde som hela förs. har mången gång under årens lopp fått stå alldeles försvarslost.’
It seems that there really was a need for an identity-shaping paper of that kind. In October the same year a very enthusiastic letter to the editor, from an ‘Old Brännkyrka inhabitant’, stated that the paper in just a few weeks had managed to establish itself in the consciousness of the community and was truly regarded as ‘our own’. In the next issue even a poem was published to the paper by its author given the heading ‘Our Own Voice’. Part of the explanation for this enthusiasm for what was after all a rather prosaic publication, may be that the paper unlike its forerunner – and for that matter most suburban papers – had its office situated in the midst of the community. What sets it apart, it’s office was more precisely situated in the workers settlement Midsommarkransen – that is, in a privately-owned tenement settlement. However, although the paper managed to survive until 1927, it can not be considered to have had an important influence on the guiding of local affairs. In fact, it never grew out of its habit of cracking jokes.

A Mature Press Structure

The stabilisation of the newspaper market in Brännkyrka started with the founding of Brännkyrka-Posten (the Brännkyrka Post) in January 1926. This paper was edited and published by Alfred Hansson, living in Ålvsjö, western Brännkyrka. In its address, it commented the silent disappearance of its forerunners, and the fact that the only paper still surviving featured very little news about the community. This would now change, it stated, by the running a newspaper writing exclusively about the Brännkyrka communities.

In the summer of 1927, additionally, both the papers that would become main contenders for media hegemony in the area were founded. The first of them was Enskede Tidning (Journal of Enskede). It was published and edited by one of the founders of the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society (see Chapter six), news bureau journalist Nils Hall. In its address, the paper acknowledged the absence of any paper made exclusively for the eastern part of the parish, that is, foremost the settlements founded by the Stockholm City administration on SLR. It underlined its political neutrality and added its wish to ‘gather and unite all the forces, who work for the advancement of the society, and to outwards always, where there is a need,

make itself an interpreter of the common good in the Enskede society.\footnote{Enskede Tidning, 16 July 1927. In Swedish: ’samla och ena alla de krafter, som arbeta för samhällets framåtskridande, och att utåt överallt, där detta visar sig erforderligt, göra sig till tolk för det allmänna bästa i Enskedesamhällena.’} Hall was one of the major architects behind the modernisation (and depoliticisation) of the garden city societies in the twenties and thirties and was one of the founders of the Central Committee for SLR settlements (see Chapter six).

The second of the main papers, started just two weeks later, was Södra Förstads-Bladet (Paper of the Southern Suburbs). This contender was part of a regional local news empire that was headed by printer and publisher, Linkoln Blom, in slowly urbanising Sollentuna, a borough some ten kilometres north-west of Stockholm. Södra Förstads-Bladet at first covered only the Botkyrka (from 1928), Haninge and Huddinge boroughs bordering to Brännkyrka in the south, but after the purchase of Brännkyrka-Posten in June 1928, it became a paper for the whole southern part of the region.\footnote{Gerhard Kuhlmann, Die Stockholmer Tagespresse (Leipzig 1938), 172-75; Södra Förstads-Bladet 7 July 1928.}

In September 1928, it was announced that Alfred Hansson had moved to Enskede and a campaign issue was distributed to all families in the area.\footnote{Södra Förstads-Bladet 15 September 1928.} Soon afterwards, it was announced as well that both Brännkyrka and Enskede would have their own editions, named edition B and C, respectively.\footnote{Södra Förstads-Bladet 24 November 1928.} The Enskede office was in February 1929 taken over by Gösta Blom, a son of Linkoln. Soon afterwards, it was time for a new purchase. The item this time was the short-lived Enskede-Bladet (the Enskede Paper), founded in November 1928 by the Enskede Tradesmen’s Society in a way probably too obvious to give it any chance of becoming a viable alternative as a local voice.\footnote{Cf. Enskede-Bladet 9 November 1928, 28 December 1928. Unfortunately the 1929 issues were never delivered to the National Library.} It nonetheless inspired the C-edition to take the name Nya Enskede-Bladet (the New Enskede Paper) for the rest of its existence (that is, 1929-1933).\footnote{Södra Förstads-Bladet, edition C, 13 February, 14 March 1929. The last issue of Nya Enskede-Bladet was published 8 September 1933.}

This aggressive introduction of the Blom Empire to Enskede astonished its inhabitants. When Södra Förstads-Bladet in September 1928 provocatively...
advertised itself as ‘the paper of Enskede’, Hall vainly made a raging protest. Both Blom and, at least during the first years Hall, were publishers in the true meaning of the word. They represented a particular kind of ownership very common among the papers founded in Sweden around the turn of the century. As publishers of these papers they upheld the responsibility for the whole production process. Everything, including printing, distribution, and editorial choices were under their scrutiny. However, Blom was also an organisation’s man and had been among the founders of the local Liberal Society of Sollentuna in the 1890s, where he got his political education. In an article written on his death in 1941, the editor of *Lidingö Tidning*, T. F. Winqvist, made the following characterisation of his managing director:

The multi-varied work tasks were as much a hobby as an occupation. If you were sitting together with him for a while in the evening, when work for once was not intruding, then the conversation always was revolving around the municipal issues of the surrounding boroughs, around the life of the organisations or the people active in different functions.

I would argue, that apart from a personal peculiarity or chosen life-style, this kind of deep interest in the laws pertaining to local, municipal politics and the building of local opinions, was a definite pre-condition for a successful career as a publisher of local news papers. It may not explain why these people at first chose to involve themselves with local publishing – that decision was probably taken out of more basic business-related motivations – but it definitely helped them to survive in the trade.

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52 *Enskede Tidning* 14 September 1928. *In Swedish* ‘Enskede tidning’.
54 *Södra Förstads-Bladet*, 6 December 1941. *In Swedish*: ‘De mångskiftande arbetsuppgifterna voro lika mycket hobby som arbete. Om man satt samman med honom en kvällsstund, då arbetet för tillfället icke trängde på, så rörde samtalen alltid de kommunala angelägenheterna i kommunerna omkring, föreningsslivet eller de i olika funktioner verksamma människorna.’
As can be seen in Figure V:3, Södra Förstads-Bladet/Nya Enskede-Bladet and Enskede Tidning/Enskede Trädgårdss-täders Tidning were the only papers surviving into the thirties and forties. The only competitor in these years was Nya Brännkyrka-Posten that existed for some months in 1933. Apart from this short-lived paper, Hall’s and Blom’s domination was total. Both displayed well, although in quite different ways, the function of the politician of space that I described above.

Figure V:3: Time durability of local papers in Brännkyrka and Enskede 1928-1948.

The Content of the papers

To clarify these issues we have to delve deeper into the conditions of local publishing. I have conducted a statistical calculation of the content of the Brännkyrka and Enskede papers on two different occasions: during 1927 (Brännkyrka-Posten and Enskede Tidning) and 1938 (Södra Förstads-Bladet and...
Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning). The calculation includes both classifications of the articles published in the papers, and a computer-aided factor analysis of the characteristics of their content. The aim is, apart from obtaining a comprehensive picture of the contents of the press, to analyse how the elements of this content were combined in different discourses, and how these in turn changed over time.

Out of the 102 different items analysed from the first occasion, only 21 were considered as news articles. More than half were either commentaries (37), letters to the editor (21, mainly from local notables) or editorials (19). Additionally, there were 12 polemic articles and four interviews.

Eighty articles concerned the eastern, Enskede part of the parish, 27 the western part.

In the content analysis, I classified 27 different themes. Out of these, ten were excluded since they appeared less than five times, which I considered made them impossible to use in a statistical analysis. When run through a factor analysis, they combined to form three different factors, or as I would also call them, discourses (on this method, see Appendix 1). The first of these showed high factor loadings, either positive or negative, only on two themes, namely:

**Factor 1**

**This or that behaviour or feature is out of line:** 0.87 (22 occ.)

**There is a need for enforced supervision:** 0.39 (11 occ.)

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55 *Feuilletons* and sports news, as well as minor notices were not included. Neither did I include news reports where no specific views were voiced.

56 Twelve of the articles got two classifications.

57 Again, five articles concerned both parts.

58 The remaining 17 themes were: The common people are going to oppose this; Idealisation of Brännkyrka inhabitants; The authorities are breaking their promises; The actions taken by the city will be too expensive; Dystopian views of the area concerned; The municipal authorities are not helpful; Nice settlements in green surroundings; It is important to unite against the authorities; Idealisation of the built environment in Brännkyrka; The town is too slow in responding to complaints; The actions taken by the authorities are incomprehensible; This or that behaviour or feature is out of line; The importance of sticking to facts; Numbers used as proof; The authorities take a positive stance on this; There is a need for improved supervision of dangerous persons; Ordinary people are reluctant toward the actions of the authorities.
This discourse, which was not only the most comprehensible but also, it seems, judging from the number of occurrences of its elements, a quite common one, is here labelled the *disciplinary discourse*. The second factor numbered more elements, both positive and negative:

**Factor 2**

**The authorities are not helping us**: 0.46 (20 occ.)

**Dystopian views of the area concerned**: 0.46 (22 occ.)

**Ordinary people have doubts on the actions of the authorities**: 0.35 (10 occ.)

**Idealisation of Brännkyrka inhabitants**: -0.31 (20 occ.)

**Idealisation of the built environment in Brännkyrka**: -0.29 (12 occ.)

This factor seems to depict a discourse of disappointment and despair, which I have labelled as the *complaining discourse*. The third factor, lastly, contains the following themes:

**Factor 3**

**Idealisation of Brännkyrka inhabitants**: 0.45 (20 occ.)

**It is important to unite against the authorities**: 0.44 (19 occ)

**The importance of sticking to facts**: -0.41 (9 occ.)

**This or that behaviour or feature is out of line**: -0.24 (22 occ.)

This third discourse, on the other hand, while still holding on to a critical stand (the importance for idealised inhabitants to stick together against the municipal or other authorities), still displays quite different features from the one discussed above. The negative correlation toward sticking to facts and staying in line does not, I think, suggest an irresponsible attitude, but
merely that this discourse did without complaints about how others were forwarding their arguments. Rather, it seems to display an idealised view of the community and may perhaps be seen as the manifestation of a rallying cry. I would call this the *utopian discourse*.

It must be added, again, that this analysis is far from conclusive. Taken together, these three factors, or discourses, explain as little as 28.3 percent of the outcome, which is a quite meagre outcome (KMO 0.55). The first of them explains 12.2, the second 9.3 and the last one 6.8 percent, respectively. This means, keeping in mind the large amount of themes previously excluded because of a too minor number of occurrences, that there was a large amount of variation among the themes present in the newspapers. Still, the themes above were the strongest and may, among the great variety of other themes, well have been dominant in the discourses of the time.

A closer examination, with the help of a correlation analysis (Pearson’s *rxy*), shows that *Brännkyrka-Posten* is negatively and *Enskede Tidning* positively correlated to the first factor, the disciplinary discourse. The disciplinary discourse was in other words much more frequent in the latter paper. This fits the suggestion that the paper based in the municipally monitored social city in Enskede, would be more keen on behaviour-related questions, than the paper based in the less well-ordered western part of Brännkyrka. The letters to the editor correlate, as could be expected, positively (0.28) to the complaining discourse, while the polemics instead correlate positively to the disciplinary discourse (0.35), and negatively to both the complaining (-0.27) and the utopian (-0.27) discourses. This is perhaps explained by the fact, noted above, that they were mainly from local notables.

While it could be expected that youth issues would correlate positively to the disciplinary discourse (0.35), it may surprise that the discussions about the need to divide the parish did so as well (0.24), while correlating negatively to both the discourse of complaints (-0.26) and the utopian discourse (-0.30). This peculiarity will, I think, be explained below. Less surprising is probably that articles about roads and hygienic questions correlate positively to the complaining discourse (0.33), and that the interviews correlate positively to the utopian discourse (0.28).

To sum it up this far, it seems as if we have to do with two papers of quite different kinds – one of them much concerned with the behaviour of

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59 All correlations are significant on at least the 5 percent level.
the inhabitants and the general outlook of its circulation area, the other conducting a despairing discourse of complaints about roads and hygiene questions. Both seem, to have been highly politicised publications, quite unlike the metropolitan papers discussed by Fritzsche and others.

At the time of my second factor analysis, in 1938 it appears however as if this pattern largely had been shattered. Hall’s paper, now called *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning* (Paper of the Enskede Garden Cities) was at this time largely an auxiliary to *Bromma Tidning* (Bromma Paper), and mixed gardening advisory articles with nostalgic retrospectives and statements from the City administrative personnel. *Södra Förstads-Bladet* on the other hand had firmly strengthened its coverage to include the eastern districts as well while putting less emphasis on its politically leading role. Only a few items in each issue expressed any views which could be attributed as the paper’s own – in many of the issues no articles at all of this kind were to be found. It would seem reasonable to relate this development to the less intensive stage of competition at this time. Out of the 61 articles picked this year (including the first four months of *Södra Förstads-Bladet* and all issues during the year of *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning*), only 13 are from Hall’s paper (gardening articles and the like omitted, as well as articles concerning the Bromma settlements). Half of the articles are taken from a series in *Södra Förstads-Bladet* concerning the 25th anniversary of the incorporation of Brännkyrka, when notables from all over the two parishes were interviewed. This may seem as an untypical sample, but as most of the articles stating any kind of view at this time were in fact interviews with representatives from organisational life or the City administration, this sample, with its great concentration of this kind of does not seem too awkward.

On the other hand, it is clear that there were not same kind of visible regularities as in the previous analysis. The KMO-test showed a miserable level of 0.42, which, statistically speaking, makes the analysis worthless. It will however, I would argue, still give a rough view of the structure of discussion. Considering the quality of this computation, I will nonetheless make my comments very brief.

The factor analysis this time brought forth four factors. The first of them consisted of allegations about the favourisation of Bromma (0.80) and the inner city (0.59), as well as a negative loading towards the theme suggesting that the City administration was doing well (-0.28).
The second factor had a strong loading towards the allegation that the City administration was breaking its initial promises towards the inhabitants (0.82), as well as in the same way as the first factor having a weak loading towards the theme suggesting that the administration was doing well (-0.22).

The third factor had a strong loading towards the suggestion that the inhabitants have to stick together (0.78) and contrary to the first factor, a weak negative loading towards the suggestion that the City administration was not doing well (-0.21). The fourth factor, lastly, showed on the other hand a strong loading towards the theme, that the administration was not doing well (0.51), and weaker positive loadings towards the themes suggesting that things took too much time (.30) and that the inner city was favoured (0.25), at the same time as it showed negative loadings towards the theme suggesting that the administration was doing well (-.40) and that Bromma was favoured (-0.25).

While the first two factors/discourses were obviously basically two ways of formulating irritated complaints towards the City administration – relating, I would suggest, to the ongoing disputes about who would pay for the hygienic facilities and roads urgently needed in parts of western Brännkyrka at that time, the second two are less easily explained. Tentatively, I would suggest that factor three – which feebly correlates to complaints about the tramway company (Pearson’s $r_{xy}$ is 0.32) – has to do with the fact that a large amount of the analysed statements were made in connection with the anniversary, where it after all had to be conceded that over the years important positive accomplishments had been made. The fourth theme may represent the bias of the Enskede inhabitants where the organisation representatives still were reluctant to view Bromma as a competitor at the same level as the inner city.

I want to emphasise that all these comments are made on results based on a very weak material, and should not be taken much further. The most important result of the analysis of the material at the latter period is that the views put forth to a much larger extent were put forward not by the papers themselves, but by different local and central actors who could in effect use the papers as mouthpieces. Only ten of the sixty analysed articles were editorials and five more were comments on news. On the other hand, there were thirty interviews and fourteen letters to the editor (and two plain news articles, voicing views other than those presented by the people
and organisations covered by the reports). Among the people speaking in these articles, 26 represented various organisations, eight represented the City or the Church (none the state) and one presented himself as Enskede pioneer. Those figures in all respect indicate a fundamentally different press structure that at the first event.

The East against the West

With all this in mind, the obvious personal animosity between Blom and Hall, which probably dated further back than the quarrel briefly mentioned above, was in fact an outflow of a much deeper conflict between the two papers and the communities they wanted to represent. This has important bearings on how the position of the social city within the urban fabric should be understood. The garden suburbs of Enskede were built with the support of the City’s administration and funds, literally in order to make sure that settlements of the kind already standing in the area around Lilje-
holmen would never be built again. It should not surprise that this kind of representation was not as willingly accepted in western Brännkyrka as in the eastern Enskede part. Western and eastern Brännkyrka developed quite different, even contending, conceptions of themselves and of each other. These representations were developed out of two different, mutually ex-
cluding, conceptions of space that the two papers, each in its own way, did their best to propagate.

On the one hand, Brännkyrka-Posten and its follower Södra Förstads-Bladet, were both eager to concede that the settlements in the western part of the parish were not in their best shape. The deplorable condition of (western) Brännkyrka should however, it was argued, be mostly blamed on the City administration that did not want to give to these parts of the city the same goods and services as it did to other districts. This was the case not least if one considered the long time that had passed since its incorporation with the City of Stockholm. The inhabitants of the western part of Brännkyrka were paying the same taxes as the rest of the districts, but still had to live in miserable surroundings:

You can see that there is a lot more to do before the suburban societies can be considered ‘ready prepared’. Much is badly catered for and the City of Stockholm has this tendency to all
the time let these communities be the last in line concerning modernising reforms.60

The allegation about the mistreatment of (western) Brännkyrka could be spelled out in three versions. They all presuppose that if Brännkyrka did not get enough resources, that must be because somebody else is getting them instead. In that case there would appear to be three alternatives: firstly, that the inner city got them, in that case because the City authorities only took notice of what lay nearest at their feet. Probably, it was suggested, they did not even know much about what it was like in Brännkyrka.

This was the logic behind the perhaps most clear-cut example of spatial politics as opposed to party politics in the Brännkyrka papers. Södra Förstads-Bladet conducted an annual audit about what those City Council members who themselves lived in the parishes south of the inner city had done for their communities during the past year. This tradition started in 1932 with a letter to the editor stating that the council members had far too much let themselves be dominated by their respective parties, instead of looking after their communities.61 The letter’s suggestion of an audit one year later was affirmed by the paper, and set a tradition that would last until the war period.62

However, the second and third alternatives, although far from being uncommon, presented more delicate political problems for the paper. These alternatives were suggesting that resources were deprived from Brännkyrka to be applied instead in either Bromma, or alternatively, in both the Bromma and the Enskede garden suburbs (because they were the City’s own suburbs, and because the people responsible for municipal administration themselves often lived there). This would leave the inhabitants of western Brännkyrka to struggle alone against the powerful City administra-

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60 Södra Förstads-Bladet 5 January 1929. In Swedish: ’Ni ser att det är en hel del som fattas innan förortssamhällena kunna vara ”färdiga”. Mycket vanvårdas och misskötes och Stockholms stad har den benägenheten att jämt och ständigt låta dessa samhällen komma i sista hand när det gäller tidsenliga reformer.’

61 Södra Förstads-Bladet 16 April 1932.

tion. Although not too frequent, these kinds of allegations were certainly launched from time to time.63

However, there were also occasions when the paper – to counter the influence of Hall’s propaganda – tried to convince at least the Enskede inhabitants that they actually had the same interests as the inhabitants of the settlements in the western part of the parish. The Brännkyrka inhabitants were, as the paper put it, too frequently the victims of ‘a division in categories by considering themselves either as inhabitants of leasehold sites or of free ground sites’. As long as this division was upheld, so was the wisdom constructed, it would be easy for the City administration to discriminate against the southern districts to the benefit of the inner city:

The City is only making distinctions between suburban inhabitants and inhabitants of the inner city, and there is no reason whatsoever for the former to in one way or another classify themselves internally.64

This spatial political logic was also advanced against the political parties, who were often more interested in their own programmatic decisions, than in what the Blom press empire thought was the appropriate policy for this or that geographical entity. On some occasions, these differing views surfaced in press debates between Södra Förstad-Bladet and the party paper Socialdemokraten.65

In other words, the geographical demarcation preferred by the western Brännkyrka papers, would confrontationally pit the whole southernmost region of Stockholm against both the inner city and its auxiliaries on the west and east fringes. However, the papers representing Enskede saw it all differently. Presenting its deepening co-operation with Bromma Tidning, the local paper of the western periphery, Enskede Tidning disclosed a quite dif-

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63 Södra Förstads-Bladet 26 January 1929 (rare critique of the City’s policies against the SLR inhabitants), 31 August 1929.
64 Södra Förstads-Bladet 14 September 1934. In Swedish: ‘En annan sak, som förortsborna måste undvika, är att kategori- klyva sig själva genom att skilja på tomträttsbor och fri- grundsbor.’; ‘Staden skiljer endast mellan förortsbor och innerstadsbor, och det finnes icke den minsta anledning för de förstnämnda att på ett eller annat sätt klassificera sig inbördes. See as well 27 December 1930, 1.
65 Södra Förstads-Bladet 27 May 1938; Cf. note 118.
different conception about which spatial connections were of most significance:

The similarity between the two communities founded on the City of Stockholm’s lands, is however so great, that every issue of any importance in the majority of cases is a common matter, where a concise discussion will bring the greatest results and a united action the greatest strength.66

This stand paralleled Hall’s private move to the more affluent Bromma settlement. Some years later, it seems to have influenced the decision taken by the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society to turn down a proposal to join the Working Committee set up by (some of) the older homeowner’s societies in Brännkyrka, for the option to unite the organisations of all SLR settlements instead. It also had wide repercussions for the editorial policy of the Enskede papers.67 Enskede Tidning was eventually renamed Trädgårdsstädernas Tidning, Enskededitionen (Journal of the Garden Cities, Enskede edition), and was to be more and more dominated by news about Bromma.

With a couple of exceptions, the opinion voiced by this paper was steadfastly that Enskede and Bromma had most in common.68 One important consequence was that instead of the fiercely confrontational spatial politics pursued by the western Brännkyrka papers, the Enskede papers disclosed a far more appreciative view of the City administration.69

The logical extension of this view was demonstrated in November 1933, when the paper proposed that since most of the ‘economic’ conflicts between the garden suburb inhabitants and the administration had now been solved, the garden suburbs should instead occupy themselves foremost

66 Enskede Tidning 11 January 1929, 3. In Swedish: ‘Likheten mellan de olika på Stockholms stads mark grundade samhällena är dock så stor, att varje spörsmål av någon räckvidd i det största antalet fall är en gemensam angelägenhet, där en samlad diskussion ger den största effekten och ett gemensamt uppträdande den största slagkraften.’


68 Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 11 December 1931, 3.

69 This is perhaps best shown in the kind of interviews and sometimes even heroising portraits of important politicians and staff personnel, which now and then appeared, as e.g. in Enskede Tidning 10 September 1927; Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 22 June 1932, 3; 15-31 December 1934, 1; 28 November-15 December 1935 8.
with adjustments of their outer appearances. These statements were followed by a sequence of articles on the art of gardening and even by the forming of a gardening society. Since the settlements of the Brännkyrka parish at the same time reached their all time low with their relations to the City administration, they had nothing but ridicule left for Hall’s concern about gardening.

The issue was, however, more serious than that. Associated with the idea of the Enskede and Bromma settlements as especially distinguished areas, where no effort should be saved to keep their outlook as excellent as possible, was also the idea that they should be spared from anything reminiscent of the despair found in the western part of Brännkyrka. To start with, this motivated resistance against the erection of tenements, an issue I will return to in the next chapter. But Enskede Tidning and its followers did as well show a reluctance to accept the building of Magic Houses areas within the Enskede confines that started in 1927. Already in one of the first issues of the paper, in August 1927, Hall blamed an excessively slack regulation concerning acceptance of new homeowner recruits for allegedly increasing levels of crime. Only weeks later, he spelled out his contention that the problem he experienced was really with the ‘less desirable development of the dwellings into small matchbox houses’.

Even if the critique of the Magic Houses soon would disappear, perhaps since Hall realised the risk that it would split the Enskeders into different camps, hostile but more general formulations about allegedly mean settlements continued to surface. The ideas behind them were implicit in the change of the name of the paper to different variations of the garden city theme – a manoeuvre which it later tried to deny the journal of the Magic House organisations. In the name of the unity of the Enskede parish, the paper was however in the end ready to accept even the tenement settlements in the north, which were erected from the end of the thirties, as at

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70 Trädgårdsstädernas Tidning, Enskedeupplagan, 15 November 1933, 3.
71 Södra Förstads-Bladet 6 October 1933, 1.
72 Enskede Tidning 6 August 1927, 2; 3 September 1927, 2; 24 September 1927, 2 (cit.).
  In Swedish: ’mindre önskvärd utveckling av bostäderna till trånga tändstickshus’.
73 Enskede Tidning 4 October 1929, 1 (On Hagalund ‘and the likes’, see Trädgårdsstädernas Tidning, Enskedeupplagan No 510-11 1943, 7. See Enskede Tidning 7 June 1929, 4 for a more balanced view, and Ibid 21 June 1929, 7 as well as Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning May 1935, 15 for critiques of the condemnation of the Magic Houses.
least garden suburbs of sorts. The Enskede papers were thus not only providing the social city with a local identity but were also putting much effort into defending its specific character, and into defining and protecting its symbolical and spatial borders.

Enskede for the Enskeders!

The exclusionary stand taken by Enskede Tidning and its followers paralleled both the launching and the subsequent success of the most important of the campaigns that the paper championed: The campaign for the creation of a separate parish. The proposal to divide the Brännkyrka parish was presented for the first time as early as February 1922 at the foundational meeting of Enskede Villa Owners’ Society. The first unsuccessful attempt was made the following year. A proposal for a partition made by the local Parish Board was defeated at the Parish Assembly with 356 votes against 82. The Parish Assembly was still at this point directly democratic; every parish member at majority, who cared to attend, had a vote. It seems that the board was taken by surprise by a huge mobilisation of social democratic and communist supporters, probably from all over the parish, who opposed the partition on economic grounds. The anonymous report published in Villastäderna at the time seems fairly neutral concerning the issue at stake, but could not resist the temptation to ridicule the working-class assembly speakers who allegedly ‘exposed themselves as having a certain lack of soul curing by their ignorance of the right use of the tongue’, and so on. By these remarks, the anonymous reporter conformed to a pattern that would abound throughout in the reporting about the partition issue.

With the introduction of Enskede Tidning in mid July 1927, everything was set for a forceful boosting of the SLR settlement as an autonomous entity. The plans for the extension of the settlement, that were presented that

74 Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 15 January 1937, p 1. Similar views were also expressed in Nya Enskededbladet 26 September 1931, 1 (on the plan); Södra Förstad-Bladet 14 June 1940, 1.
75 Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Minutes 2 February 1922 §9, (ARAB); the decision to work for this goal was taken without much hesitation, 24 February 1922 §4.
76 Brännkyrka Tidning Villastäderna 19 May 1923, 2. The reporter was probably the liberal sites marketer Anders Hed-Larsson. In Swedish: ‘röjde själva en viss brist i själavården genom sin okunnighet om tungans rätta bruk.’
spring, were hailed as setting the pace for ‘a true Greater Enskede’. The paper even dared to compare Enskede with Djursholm – that is, probably the most exclusive upper-class villa settlement in the Stockholm area – when pursuing an argument about the lack of resources in the community. When the parish partition issue was re-introduced in early October 1927, it was presented as a ‘Break out’.

The article followed upon a decision by the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society’s board a couple of days earlier to re-launch the issue at a public meeting. This meeting, however, to the disappointment of the board members, had a course very reminiscent of the Parish Assembly meeting four years earlier. A strong opposition, led by the social democratic and communist deputies of the Parish Board, argued steadfastly against the proposal. After prolonging the meeting until most of the people attending it left (it was held on an ordinary weekday), the partition supporters managed to get through an affirmative resolution text. The voting numbers were at this late hour 38 against 22, but earlier in the evening about 200 people had attended. In *Enskede Tidning* the opposition was described as ‘a small clique who made it their specific mission to cause as much trouble as possible for the Parish work’, making ‘scampy charges against the Priesthood and the Parish administration’. Remarks of the same kind were continuously made during the following weeks also, and were even backed up with the unproven statement that ‘the presently resident workers’ population’ had lost its confidence in the opposition as well. Perhaps, partly to prove this, it was decided at the meeting of the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society 10 November 1927 that the organisation would back up the proposal with a name gathering campaign, within the range of the Enskede-New Enskede

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77 *Enskede Tidning* 16 July 1927, 1. *In Swedish:* ‘ett verkligt Stor-Enskede’ (Orig ital).
78 *Enskede Tidning* 30 July 1927, 2; 6 August 1927, 2.
79 *Enskede Tidning* 8 October 1927, 2. *In Swedish:* ‘Utbrytning’.
80 Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Board Minutes 3 October 1927, §2, 3 (ARAB). The final decision was made at a member’s meeting, Minutes 10 November 1927 §1.
81 *Enskede Tidning* 15 October 1927, 1; 4. *In Swedish:* ‘en liten klick, som har till sin speciella uppgift att i Brännkyrka ställa till den största möjliga oreda i församlingsarbetet.’; ‘slyngelaktiga utfall mot prästerskap och församlingsanordningar.
82 *Enskede Tidning* 22 October 1927, 2; 29 October 1927, 1 (cit). *In Swedish:* ’den här bosatta arbetarebefolkningen’.
settlement as well as neighbouring Skarpnäck and Stureby. The rallying cry was ‘Enskede for the Enskeders’.

Why, then, was it so important for the partition supporters to have their own parish? Although openly supported by the local priests, there is hardly any reason to suspect that these persons were excessively religious. It would probably be erroneous as well to suspect that the power base that a parish partition would provide them with could be reason enough to motivate a campaign as vigorous as this one. Apart from the Church’s own business, some charity and the population registers, the Parish was responsible for the elementary schools. It may well be the case that schooling was, as Enskede Tidning argued, one of the most important matters in the society, but just getting autonomy over the School Board can hardly have been the core of the issue. Rather, I would argue, this campaign for an own parish was a substitute for the fact that Enskede, although as the paper argued, large as a middle-sized Swedish town, would never have the opportunity of becoming an independent municipality.

The understanding that the attitude of the administration on this issue was not going to change explains, I would argue, how it came about that some of the Enskede inhabitants now embraced this quite limited enterprise of theirs as nothing less than ‘our community’s declaration of independence’. That it had a lot to do with local identity seems clear as well. This identity was, it seems, largely made out of the perceived differences between the two halves of the Brännkyrka parish. The opinion that the western part represented a less desirable state of affairs is plain to see in the documents.

The main problem with present conditions, as the paper put it, was that ‘guidance is at large placed in distantly situated Liljeholmen or Brännkyrka [sic!], which represent a type of society, with which the garden cities lack almost any trace of resemblance.’

83Enskede Tidning 12 November 1927, 1-2 (cit; Orig ital). In Swedish: ‘Enskede åt Enskedeborna!”

84The argument is based on the editorial in Enskede Tidning 12 November 1927, 2. Citations In Swedish: ‘Enskede åt Enskedeborna!”’, ‘vårt samhälles självständighetsförklaring’, ‘ledningen i det stora hela är förlagd till de avsides belägna Liljeholmen eller Brännkyrka, som representera en samhällstyp, med vilken trädgårdsstäderna nära på sakna varje spår av likhet.’
The Social City

The partition campaign was definitely an outflow of the exclusionary politics of space, which *Enskede Tidning* was practising toward the older settlements in western Brännkyrka. Its ultimate aim was, although it is not clear how an own parish would accomplish that, ‘not at the expense of gardens and free spots have too much of that kind of town building that it [that is, the Enskede model community] is set to counteract.’

The Brännkyrka Municipal Society opposed the partition from the start in 1923. It continued its resistance throughout. At the Parish Assembly in the beginning of December 1927, about 1,000 people, probably mostly from western Brännkyrka, showed up hoping to be able to influence events (but had to leave disappointed). There was resistance also in Enskede itself. In an attempt to counteract the influence of *Enskede Tidning*, the local social democrats printed and spread leaflets with extracts from their party paper *Socialdemokraten*, where they had been given some space to explain their view (which they for some reason never did in *Enskede Tidning*). Apart from trying to convince their supporters not to sign the name gathering lists, they also protested against the rude language used against them, as demonstrated by the citations above. They were as well, together with social democrats over the whole parish, among the organisers of the above-mentioned mass-mobilisation for the Parish Assembly.

The unprejudiced ways used by Hall against the adversaries of the parish partition camp were protested also in *Brännkyrka-Posten*. The editor expressed his contention that *Enskede Tidning* (not mentioned by name, though), ‘takes as its task to lead the public astray, and uses tasteless invectives and purely personal attacks.’ The less partisan reporting of the voice of western Brännkyrka motivated in April 1928 a joint effort by all political parties in the parish to purchase and spread 2,000 issues of *Brännkyrka-

85. *Enskede Tidning* 31 December 1927, 2. *In Swedish*: ‘ej på trädgårdarnas och de fria platsernas bekostnad få alltför mycket i sig av det slags stadsbyggande, som den är avsedd att motverka.’
86. Brännkyrka Municipal Society Board Minutes 15 March 1923 §5 (ARAB).
90. *Brännkyrka-Posten* 11 October 1927, 1. *In Swedish*: ‘tager till sin uppgift att vilseleda allmänheten genom att förvränga andras uppfattning och använder sig av osmakliga invektiv och rent personliga angrepp.’
Nothing of this however seemed to have bothered Hall very much. Apparently, he considered it his right to use any names and allegations he liked against adversaries, and would persist in that habit.

Neither should it, since the name gathering that his paper had led, present an impressive number of about 2,400 names, all persons of majority (out of about 15,000 inhabitants of all ages, altogether). This notwithstanding, the petition signed by the 2,400 was voted down with 385 votes against 314 at the Assembly held in Enskede in April 1928. ‘Communist crowds’, as the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society chair chose to label his adversaries, had been using trucks to transport people from western Brännkyrka to the spot.

As could be expected, from 1 January 1931 the parish actually was partitioned, after the issue had taken some turns in various bureaucracies. It is telling, however, that even at that time Brännkyrka Municipal Society would not give up its opposition, stating that the budgets of the two parishes was still to be decided as one (according to the construction on which a showdown in the negotiations had been reached at last). This ‘economic association’, it argued, would perhaps still suffice as the base from which to launch demands that would certainly be more effectively made on behalf of 50,000 people, than on behalf of just a portion thereof.

The Papers and the Societies
As indicated, there were other alternatives than the local papers for organisations within the parish(es) which were opposed to the politics managed by those elites that had access to the local voices. Both, the left socialists and communists on the one hand and the social democrats on the other, had to rely on their national dailies, Folkets Dagblad/Politiken and Socialdemokraten, respectively. This sometimes may have given them the advantage of faster reporting, but on the other hand they would of course always be

92 Enskede Tidning 19 November 1927, p 2; 26 November 1927, 2.
93 Enskede Tidning 28 April 1928, 2. Brännkyrka-Posten opted instead to publish the entire debate, see No. 9 1928, 3; 8.
The Social City

at risk of not having the material they desired published at all. Even if it were published, it would seldom get the attention that the same news could be given in papers with much lesser areas of coverage. And, on top of this came the problem of time span. The daily newspaper would only be available for one day while the local would be there for a week. In fact, if the daily paper had not turned up at the time for the workers to get on the commuter trams to the city it would probably not be read at all. The number of subscribers of Socialdemokraten continued to be far below what would be necessary to make it into a really viable political weapon. For the left socialist and communist papers, this was even more so. The dailies would inspire and rally the elite of the organisations, but it could not reach the great majority of Brännkyrka-Enskede inhabitants. Even if they sometimes despised them, the local organisations needed the local papers.

On the other hand, the papers needed them as well. This declaration, by Villastäderna in March 1922, was to be followed by many of the various papers, with more or less the same content:

The character and development of a community, all outward factors notwithstanding, is to a large extent depending on the social spirit of its settlers. The societies, and the associational life, is here doing a much larger share than what one might at first be inclined to believe.

In this way the local papers tried to launch themselves as some kind of auxiliary to the civil society of their area of coverage. This would both provide them with a network of active readers who would regularly service them with news, and be loyal subscribers to the papers (to be able to read

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97 Local organisations Stockholm, Enskede western Social Democratic Society 1932-1940, Minutes 9 November 1932 §11; SL Enskede Tramdriver’s Social Democratic Local Union, Board Minutes 14 April 1927 §3.
98 Villastäderna 18 March 1922, 2. In Swedish: ‘Ett samhälles karaktär och utveckling är, alla yttre betingelser till trots, i mångt och mycket heroende på dess bebyggares samhällsanda. Föreningarna och föreningslivet spela härvidlag en mycket större roll än vad man vid ett första ögonkast kan vara benägen att tro.’
the news they had just reported), and gave them an opportunity to pick up certain events from the regular reporting, which would be possible to transform into breaking news. Not less important, perhaps, is the insistence on their role as providers of feelings of community bonding. The societies were there not only for their own sake, but also as expressions, as it were, of the settlement’s soul. To enter one’s villa society was, as Södra Förstad-Bladet put it, the ‘minimal claim of solidarity’ that one could make on any inhabitant.[99] That said, it was of course also the case that the same spatial-political priorities as otherwise were mirrored in the paper’s relations to the societies. Enskede Tidning and its successors underlined their affiliations with Enskede Villa Owners’ Society and were especially interested in promoting the unity of the different garden city societies, in both Enskede and Bromma.[100] Brännkyrka-Posten/Södra Förstad-Bladet, in its turn, particularly emphasised instead the proceedings of the Brännkyrka Municipal Society, and its work to build a base for the political demands of the whole Brännkyrka-Enskede community. More than Enskede Tidning, it showed appreciation for all the societies in the area.[101] Apart from the usual reporting on meetings, both papers devoted a lot of space for publishing in toto on behalf of the societies also of much heavy material, such as correspondence with administrative courts or between municipal authorities.[102]

To some extent, the societies seem to have been fairly keen themselves on using the local papers for their own purposes. Meetings were regularly reported and now and then even the chairperson chose to add his (or, at rare moments, her) comments on issues of special importance. Some of these spokespersons even become local notabilities, celebrated at major birthdays and remembered by voluminous obituaries when they passed away.[103] On various occasions the societies used both the local and the metropolitan papers quite consciously as instruments against the City

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100 Enskede Tidning 17 March 1928, 2, Enskede Trädgårdsstads Tidning 14 February 1931, 1; 21 February 1931; 7 March 1931; 20 November 1931, p 1; 11 December 1931, 1.
101 Södra Förstad-Bladet, ed. B, 9 March 1929, 4; (ed A) 17 November 1933, 1; 5 March 1937, 2; 21 January 1938, 1; 3; 28 January 1938, 1; 4.
102 Enskede Trädgårdsstads Tidning 10 June 1932, 1; Södra Förstad-Bladet 15 May 1936, 1.
103 Enskede Trädgårdsstads Tidning 6 September 1930, 1; Södra Förstad-Bladet 28 September 1934, 2.
authorities and other powerful adversaries. The papers could also be used as arenas for conflicts within the societies, where principal arguments could be spoken out before a larger public than the one actually attending the regular meetings. These functions were not specific for the papers published in the social city.

Looking closely into the views of the societies, however, it seems furthermore as if their view of the politics of space was slightly different from the one that the representations of the two papers would suggest. In particular, it seems as if the Enskede societies at large shared the picture depicted in Södra Förstads-Bladet of being a suburb deprived by a City establishment, which instead favoured middle-class Bromma. The social democrats of Enskede even used this representation to ridicule their own district-level party establishment. The one question where this feeling of unity over the whole area of southern Stockholm would be strongest was also the area where Södra Förstads-Bladet launched its most elaborate campaigns.

The Tramway Troubles

The question of local traffic is intimately connected to the metropolitan press. It had however also a special relation to the garden suburbs, since the building of effective and cheap tramways from the start was conceived as part and parcel of the garden suburb project itself. The older, middle-class suburbs of Stockholm had on private initiative been equipped with extensive local railway facilities. The workers’ suburbs of western Brännkyrka were instead built around the national railway stations at Älvsjö and Liljeholmen, which left them with quite ineffective transportation.

The garden suburb in Enskede was, on the other hand, built on virgin agricultural land, far away from any railway. This, and the need to make the

104 Enskede Trädgårdsstads Tidning 18 October 1930, 1; New Enskede-Lindegård-Enskede Gård Real Estate Society Minutes 15 September 1941 §3; 28 March 1941 §9; Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Minutes 9 October 1941 §6.

105 Södra Förstads-Bladet, ed. B, 11 April 1931, 1; 13 June 1931, 2; 27 June 1931, 1.


experimental settlement attractive for any prospective settlers, seems to have been the motivation behind the determined actions taken by the City in 1907-08 to secure for itself both half ownership of the Southern Tramway Company Ltd. and a decisive saying in the design of the tramway to Enskede. This tramline, No. 8, was opened already in April 1909, while still actually very few settlers were in place.108 The tramway to the western part of Brännkyrka, from Midsommarkransen, Tellusborg, and Hägersten to Liljeholmen (where transfer to the railway was necessary) was not opened until 1911. A tram effectively connecting the Enskede and Brännkyrka parishes, running from Johanneshov in the north-east to Örby in the south-west, was not opened until 1932.109 Apart from the old free-ground settlement Örby, effectively situated in the middle of Brännkyrka, the area affected by this last tram was however not much developed until the 1920s.

The connection between the housing question and the tramway fares was underlined by the Enskede Social Democratic Society, which organised the first protests in 1920 and 1921. This point was at that time made even against their own representatives in the City Council, who instead chose to place priority on the capital accumulation requirements of the tramway company. In 1925, the Enskede social democrats added that a rise of the fares even jeopardised the deal they argued had been set between the City and the settlers at the beginning of the garden suburb project. In effect, they thought it would be unfair if the settlers would have to pay extra for their tickets in comparison to the inhabitants of the inner city. They, allegedly, already paid enough with all the trouble they had to get downtown.110

This was also the view taken by Brännkyrka Municipal Society. As its secretary Hjalmar Lindqvist put it (according to the minutes), the Society had to ‘respond against the way in which the City’s real estate office has started the building on the Enskede area with various prospects, which [the real estate administration] obviously never has had serious intentions to

108 The City entered the company (Södra Spårvägarnas Trafikaktiebolag, founded in 1891 and covering Southside Stockholm) 1 January 1908, but projected and built the Enskede tramway all on its own, after which it was delivered to the company. See Thomas Lange, Linje 8, Slussen Skarpnäck (Stockholm 1996), 6-7. Thanks to Anders Jonsson for this reference.
109 Södra Spårvägarne tjugofem år (Stockholm 1912), 34; Magnus Svensson, Linje 19 Slussen Örby (Stockholm 1992), 5.
110 Enskede Social Democratic Society A1:1 Meeting Minutes 1919-1932, Minutes 19 March 1920 §5-8; 27 October 1921 §4; 7 December 1925 §2 (ARAB).
redeem. Presently a considerable population is stuck out here and taxed by the tramway company under the admission of the real estate office in a way close enough to sheer exploitation.\footnote{Brännkyrka Municipal Society Minutes 11 October 1921 §4 (ARAB).} That is, to the obvious conflict between centre and periphery had been added the particular background of the settlement.

As may be seen here, on the grassroots level there were at this time no conflicts between the inhabitants of the eastern and the western parts of the parish. The tramway company would also further on lend itself well to be the scapegoat allegedly representing the interests of the inner city as the inhabitants of the parish used the City’s discourse against itself.

Between the papers, however, this was not exactly so, although the differences were visible only after a while. At the outset, \textit{Brännkyrka-Posten} and \textit{Enskede Tidning} pursued almost the same politics, both following the homeowners of Örby and Stureby, and for the rest of the area the opinions of Brännkyrka Municipal Society and Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, respectively.\footnote{Brännkyrka-Posten March 1927, 1; April 1927, 1; May 1927, 1; Enskede Tidning 16 July 1927, 1; 23 July 1927, 1; 17 September 1927, 1.} Over time, however, a difference appeared which seems to have had a lot to do with the two papers’ different relations to the City authorities. In the 1930s, \textit{Södra Förstads-Bladet} acquired a leading role in these actions, promoting meetings arranged by the Brännkyrka Municipal Society and reporting about the resolutions taken at these meetings. It did not hesitate even to proclaim this role for itself, or to complain when the numbers it had expected had not attended a meeting it had announced.\footnote{Nya Enskedebladet 29 November 1931, 1-3-4; Södra Förstads-Bladet 2 March 1934, 1-4; 9 March 1934, 1-4; 27 April 1934; 16 August 1940.}

\textit{Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning}, on the other hand, almost the opposite view was voiced. In 1931, it declared that the protests against the fare rises, put forward by the Brännkyrka Municipal Society, were misplaced. The organisations had not, it stated, properly understood that the money that could be accumulated through these raises was urgently needed for the

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\begin{itemize}
\item[112] Brännkyrka-Posten March 1927, 1; April 1927, 1; May 1927, 1; Enskede Tidning 16 July 1927, 1; 23 July 1927, 1; 17 September 1927, 1.
\item[113] Nya Enskedebladet 29 November 1931, 1-3-4; Södra Förstads-Bladet 2 March 1934, 1-4; 9 March 1934, 1-4; 27 April 1934; 16 August 1940.
\end{itemize}
extension and modernisation of the local traffic network. This position was at that time also taken by the local social democrats, in support for their City Council deputies. The shift of priorities taken by this step was further underlined by an implicit acknowledgement of the need of fare zoning, as long as it served the goal of obtaining funds for modernisation:

We need bridges, tunnels and good trams, so we can travel fast, comfortable and without unnecessarily waiting [when we go] out [of] and in [to the city]. We maintain these demands in the garden cities and we do not ask others to pay the journey for us.\(^\text{114}\)

As was underlined some years later, their view was that the main danger with the way in which the tramway service was run was that it did not meet the demands for modern amenities that were caused by the continuous modernising of the garden suburbs themselves.\(^\text{115}\)

These differences apply as well to the different attitudes taken to the second of Södra Förstads-Bladet’s great campaigns, soon known under the name Brännkyrkakriget (The Brännkyrka War). The background was that the City in the negotiations held with the Borough Council preceding the incorporation of Brännkyrka in 1913, had conceded to that the settlements in western Brännkyrka without charge should be provided with the roads, water and sewage systems that the private land speculation companies never had given them. However, after the Great War period the City was unwilling to concede to these huge investments. It was arguing that the arrangement effectively would mean that the inhabitants in western Brännkyrka would get for free what the inhabitants in eastern Brännkyrka were paying for, since these costs were included in the SLR rates. It was not until the amendment of the new Town Planning Act, before the authorities got the right they in the mean time fiercely had argued for to charge the City’s costs upon each individual estate owner.

\(^{114}\) Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning 27 November 1931, 1 (cit; Orig ital); 4; 4 December 1931, 1. In Swedish: ‘Vi behöva broar, tunnlar och goda spårvagnar, så att vi kan resa ut och in snabbt, bekvämt och utan väntan i onödan. Vi vidhålla dessa krav i trädgårdsstäderna och vi begär inte att andra skola betala resan för oss.’

\(^{115}\) Enskede Trädgårdståders Tidning 15-31 December 1936, 1.
Against this, the estate and villa societies first argued that most of their members were pretty poor and could not help that the old speculation companies once had run away with the money (or gone bankrupt). Second, that it was unfair that the inhabitants of the suburbs should have to pay for something that the inner city estate owners got for free (the costs of the inner city planning system were covered by profits from the City’s estate affairs). Thirdly, that the legal situation was not as straightforward as the City believed.

While all this went on, some of the settlements in Brännkyrka remained in extremely bad hygienic conditions for almost a quarter of a century. This situation provoked large protests, reaching their climax in the period 1935–38 but endemic during the whole period. From 1933, the Brännkyrka Municipal Society conducted round tours within the two parishes, where they noted fallacies of various kinds. This was in line with the views of the Enskede paper, only so long as the cruises only were made within the confines of the Brännkyrka parish. When in 1934 demands by the Municipal Society were made on Enskede’s behalf as well, the initiative was condemned. According to Hall, the Society had by crossing the parish border instead of making justified claims painted a picture of Enskede as a ‘pit of dirt’, and severely damaged the imagery of the area which his paper tried to uphold. Whatever claims should be made on behalf of Enskede, they should not be made by publicly exposing its state as deplorable.

In May and June 1935, the protests reached the state of mass mobilisation. First three hundred women travelled by bus to personally see the chair of the Real Estate Board, Harry Sandberg. A deputation of five were received and got to leave their message. This rally was ridiculed on sexist lines by papers of both the ruling social democrats and conservative or extreme-right leanings, a stand fiercely condemned by the Södra Förstadens-Bladet. In June, a thousand people met in a rally organised by the Central Committee of the Homeowners Societies. This was enough to convince locally resident members of the City Council from all the parties, except the communists and left socialists (who were not allowed) but including

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116 See Real Estate Board, Act 137 January 1935.
117 Södra Förstadens-Bladet 17 June 1933, 1; 17 November 1933, 1; 2 March 1934, 1.
119 Södra Förstadens-Bladet 14 May 1937, 2-3; Aftonbladet 12 May 1937; Svenska Dagbladet 13 May 1937; Socialdemokraten 13 May 1937.
the ruling social democrats, to rally with the homeowners. It was obvious that the long-lasting campaign for politics of space instead of parties at this time finally had met with success.\footnote{Södra Förstads-Bladet 4 June 1937, 1.}

Summary and Discussion

This chapter has been structured by a counterpoising of the press voices of the two, highly different cityscapes that made up the southern part of Stockholm, after incorporation of the Brännkyrka borough in 1913. The local papers of the western, largely industrial, private and to some extent unregulated cityscapes have been compared with the papers of the municipally monitored model settlements in the eastern part of the former borough, what would from 1931 make up the bulk of the new Enskede parish. We have seen fundamental similarities between these papers. Both connected tightly to local organisational life and were in that respect actually an important part of the civil society in these districts. It has also been demonstrated how they, in their role as \textit{metropolitan peripheral press}, have been conducting a politics of space by rallying around a number of issues that have in different ways enhanced the character of the areas of coverage that they have chosen to launch. These characters, and the ensuing messages underlining them, have however largely differed. This suggests in its turn widely different relations between the papers and the governmental authorities of the City administration.

The papers covering the western part of the former Brännkyrka borough, for most \textit{Brännkyrka-Posten} and \textit{Södra Förstads-Bladet}, generally conducted an inclusive politics, claiming to represent the whole southern part of Stockholm (as well as, for that matter, the southern neighbouring boroughs). They did not recognise the boundary between the western part of Brännkyrka and what was to become the Enskede parish. On the contrary, they most often chose to underline the differences between the southern area as a whole, and the inner city as well as the affluent villa communities in the western Bromma districts. This confrontational politics towards the City’s administrative authorities seems in the end to have been the more successful one, in terms of competitive survival. \textit{Södra Förstads-Bladet} was the only paper that was still existing at the end of the period. This politics was conducted through what I have labelled as \textit{a complaining discourse}. Important elements were the open statements on the miserable state of affairs in the
area, and at the same time implicating that this state of affairs was the result of some kind of betrayal of the southern periphery. This was a kind of politics that also met support from many of the local organisations, which in the later part of the investigated period seem to have turned the paper more or less into their mouthpiece.

In the eastern part of the erstwhile Brännkyrka borough, which was dominated by the municipally monitored garden suburbs in and around Enskede, *Enskede Tidning* and its followers were constructing an exclusionary discourse. This discourse was increasingly emphasising superficial features of the area, such as gardening and the resistance against blending of homeowner’s and tenement districts. It reached its culmination with the demands for a partition of the Brännkyrka parish, and the flood of invectives that was used against the adversaries of these demands. Although this kind of spatial politics seems to have been successful for a while – as indicated by the impressive outcome for a name gathering – the level of polarisation against the neighbouring settlements may as well explain the rather early demise of the Enskede papers. The politics of space conducted around Enskede, in close co-operation with the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, presupposed a rather different conception of spatial demarcations. According to the Enskede papers, the relevant demarcations should be made between the municipally monitored suburban districts both to the south and the west of inner city Stockholm, on the one hand, and the less well ordered districts in western Brännkyrka (from 1931 the Brännkyrka parish) as well as the inner city itself, on the other. The crucial variable was thus not spatial closeness or distance from the centre, but the kind of site ownership form on which the settlements were built. The Enskede papers were as well displaying a less confrontational view on the City administration, even at occurrences when this pitted it against the general opinion of the inhabitants of its area of coverage. By implication, this meant that at least momentarily they became an instrument of the governmental politics of rule conducted by the City administration. However important in view of municipal politics at the time, this did not prove to be a viable commercial long-term strategy.
Chapter VI
Governmental Rule through Voluntary Societies

This chapter will take a closer look at the relations between the organisational life in the social city and the City administration. As it was demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the introduction of municipally monitored SLR districts in the eastern part of Brännkyrka soon led to tensions between the two increasingly heterogeneous parts of the parish. One reason for this, it was suggested, was that the organisations in the municipally monitored settlements in and around Enskede were entertaining closer relations to the administration than the organisations in the settlements on mostly private grounds in the western part of the district were. If this was so, it must be asked how and why this kind of relation came into place. Furthermore, another important question would be whether this kind of relation gave them better opportunity for opposition and resistance than the less integrated position of the organisations in the western part of the parish could have. Apart from this, I will also look into the relations between the organisations and that part of the population, which did not participate in organisational life to the extent that it could actually influence it. What chances did they have to have a say about the politics conducted by the societies – and to what extent did the societies influence them in their daily lives (a theme which will be addressed more thoroughly in the next chapter)?

In this chapter, I will, after a short theoretical discussion, describe some background of organisational life in Sweden at large, and in the districts investigated here in particular. After a broad description of the role of voluntary organisations for the pending democratisation of Sweden, I will proceed to an analysis of the relations between the early organisational life of the Enskede settlements and the City administration. I will then continue with an analysis of the forms and levels of integration into the municipal administration of parts of the voluntary sector in the settlements. This
integration naturally resulted in a mutual influence that I also try to trace. Furthermore, I will look into how the organisations tried to influence the everyday life in the communities, as well as both the general superficial outlook of them and some of the forms of public life. The last part of the chapter will be devoted to a brief discussion about some of the most important limits of the public sphere in this period.

Organisations as instruments of Governmentality

In his dissertation about the allotment movement in Gothenburg during the first half of the twentieth century, the Swedish ethnologist, Magnus Bergquist, emphasises the double role that these organisations were performing. On the one hand, the allotment societies organised the practical tasks at the colonies. On the other, the philanthropic activists and municipal authorities that had had a large influence in setting them up also regarded them as instruments for the reforming of the workers involved into respectable citizens. Not least, the allotment organisations were supposed to be public spaces where social classes could blend, and where the lower classes could become accustomed to the alleged middle class practice of vigorous planning for orderly living. The Canadian philosopher, Nancy Fraser, calls this kind of organisation that is tightly connected to powerful authorities, a subaltern public.

Bergquist turns our attention also to how the allotment colonies were laid out in designs reminding of early utopian urban forms with a high level of transparency and lucidity. At the same time as the family and its privacy were firmly underlined – and enforced – the allotment proprietor was supposed to link his (or her) allotment into the grid of small proprietorships that was forming a quasi-urban outlay of the community. By tending to these regulations, the proprietors proved their belonging to the community while at the same time conforming to the decided rules of conduct. Although the allotments should be thoroughly surrounded by

2 Nancy Fraser, ‘Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy’ *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Craig Calhoun ed) (Cambridge Mass./London 1992), 75-76.
3 Bergquist, *En utopi*, 71; 96
fences, they should be neither high enough nor thick enough to stand in the way of a clear view of the whole area. At the same time, the allotment sheds should be roughly alike and built in regimented shapes in order to form parts of a single pattern.

The allotment societies were in no way one-sidedly dominated by either the philanthropic organisations or the municipal authorities to which their politics conformed. The various posts in their boards were also shared between people of different classes. Nonetheless, they proved to be surprisingly effective vehicles for liberal governmental activities striving to spread middle class values to the working class. This feature links them to the housing reform movement.

Perhaps the most well known example of how housing and neighbourhood organisations could be used as instruments for control in this period in any democratic country was the Austro-Marxist regime of Vienna – mentioned already in chapter three. As (U.S.) American historian Helmut Gruber explains, the all-encompassing project of ideological class warfare in the Austrian capital was in fact more or less growing directly out of the municipal housing programme. It is understood that in neither of these cases were the governmental aspirations carried out without conflicts. On the contrary, governmental practices involving democratically controlled organisations are bound to meet resistance and attempts to reverse or appropriate the political means for other purposes than those intended. Still, this technique may, when it works, prove both economically (much of the costs of governing are met by the subjects) and politically (it is easier for the subjects’ own organisations to win legitimacy for unpopular actions) advantageous.

This much said, it must further be remembered that the road to establish a kind of conduct after one’s will is both long and bumpy. If the organisations are not directly founded (and funded) by the authorities whose interpreters they are supposed to become, they will involve traditions and priorities that are more or less difficult to bring into correspondence with the new tasks. At least for a while, much effort must be put into the work of continuous adjustment of the organisational differences between the commissioner and its ideological and political

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undertakers. Social democratic organisations turned into semi-official bureaucracies will find themselves contended by both left-wing and right-wing opposition, either demanding measures that are more radical or the deployment of lesser means. Neighbourhood organisations turned into monitoring units must be prepared to defend themselves regularly against allegations of being the disguised arms of centralised power.

As the example of the Brooklyn garden suburb Sunnyside, next to its better known sibling Radburn shows, this kind of organisation could, if influenced by a cadre of experienced and radical organisers, turn into a major contender for power in the community. The large emphasis that in the example of Sunnyside was put on moral arguments, drawing on the philanthropic discourse of its erstwhile founders, shows similar kind of oppositional tactics that would also become important in the case of the Enskede settlements.

Voluntary Societies in Urban Sociology

It is hardly possible to understand the role of voluntary societies without taking into account the socio-economic context of their work. The role of organisations in founding of new housing settlements has been an important subject in (U.S.) American urban sociology. As one of its most renowned representatives, Herbert J. Gans, once noted; while differences between urban districts are often attributed to spatial factors, in most cases they may instead be better explained as consequences of the social class or life cycle position of their inhabitants.

As Gans further noted, the reasons why people join voluntary organisations of different kinds may have as much to do with affective needs as with political (even taken in a broad sense) motives. That is, people may use the societies both as places to meet new people and as purposes in themselves, which can give some meaning to their lives. As Ruth Durant his British colleague explained, a residents’ society first fills up

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6 A helpful theoretical discussion of these problems is Sune Sunesson, Politik och fackförreningsrörelse, Staten och arbetarklassens organisationer (Lund 1974), 69-75.
the vacuum created as a consequence of the absence of social bonds between the inhabitants of a recent settlement. Especially for the women (provided the gender positions tell the women to stay at home while men commute to work) there is an urgent need for meaningful collective activities. Once, however, the district has settled, a homebound social existence take the place of these activities and the voluntary society will vane – or split into warring factions maintained by an enthusiastic few.\[10\]

The anomic assumedly present in the settlement at first would explain the first years’ *Sturm und Drang* period as people express their affective needs and strive to establish internal power relations. Afterwards, when the inhabitants are integrated into an established order, these excesses could be looked upon in a forgiving light. Newcomers will have to find their place or establish themselves as outsiders.

One important factor explaining the affective functions of urban associations may be the degree of continuity of the settlement. In their seminal study *Family and Kinship in East London* (1957), the British sociologists Michael Young and Peter Willmott suggested that while newcomers were mostly quite smoothly integrated in Bethnal Green, which is an old district situated at the outskirts of London, the situation was quite different in the recently built New Town settlement which they called ‘Greenleigh’. These differences could, they argued, be explained by how long the main part of the population had stayed in each of the districts. The interactive structures of expanded families and neighbourly contacts that facilitated integration in the old district were, they argued, not in place in the new district. People had arrived from many different places.\[11\]

Instead, as Durant emphasised in her article about a London estate built during the period investigated in this chapter, it seems as if the inhabitants chose to use their residents’ organisation as the preferred instrument of integration. When first arriving they were deprived of all the old structures of interaction – even parts of the commercial service and entertainment networks were missing – but through the residents’ organisation they were able to build new networks to some extent.

However, the residents’ organisations could also have destructive consequences, as they may have a tendency to perceive newcomers with suspicion and vigilance. The closer the settlement studied by Durant came to completion, the less effort seems to have been put into the preservation of the organisation; and as organisational life acquired a greater share of pluralism, the unity upholding the strength of the central organisation dwindled. Paradoxically enough, inhabitants become more homebound when they got accustomed to the estate.  

Tensions between newcomers and older residents at housing estates, which were part of this disorganisation, have been given an eloquent interpretation by Leicester sociologists Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, in their study *The Established and the Outsiders* (1965). While the community of established settlers tends to look at itself in an idealising way, the outsider group of newcomers tends to be judged on a par with its most badly behaving members. If Elias and Scotson were right when they argued that this was a pattern ‘not untypical’ of expanding industrial cities, there is reason to expect it also at the south fringe of Stockholm.

**Voluntary Societies in Swedish History**

As (U.S.) American historian, Madeleine Hurd, recently pointed out, the strong structure of Swedish voluntary societies was one of the determining influences behind the inclusive ‘Folk’ identity of late nineteenth century liberalism in Sweden, and thus for its alliance with moderate socialism. Social historians of the 1970s and the 1980s have emphasised the long-term influence of these movements both on the shaping of democratic institutions and practices, and the forming of social selves. From the late 1980s onwards the emphasis of research has increasingly been focused on the processes of spontaneous adjustment to the ruling order, including the development of civic competencies, symbolised by the difference between

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14 Elias & Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders*, 156.
16 A comprehensive overview of this research up until the date of its publication is Sven Lundqvist, *Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850-1920* (Uppsala 1977).
‘the rough and the respectable’ (egensinniga and skötsamma). While in this way, the didactic as well as the socially exclusionary aspects of the social movements were underlined; less emphasis has been laid on their role in the reproduction and even strengthening of rigid gender divisions.

These effects on subject formation must be understood from the perspective of political conditions in a still nascent democracy. When the coppersmith J. A. Wallin from Gröndal in western Brännkyrka was elected to the Swedish Parliament’s second chamber in 1908, this was the result of co-operation between the local branches of the temperance and the workers’ movements. The popular demands for suffrage and prohibitions of liquor consumption were a platform broad enough to unite these vast movements at the national level. With a local base, and giving reverence to the tradition of respectability, they could also agree on supporting a ‘man of the workers and little people’, who ‘by his calm and moderate, but still clear and determined behaviour’ had qualified as a lower-class person competent enough for official duties.

According to the Swedish sociologist, Mats Franzén, the Stockholm inner city was peculiar for its dominance of the labour movement among the voluntary organisations. The free congregations or the temperance movement never gained the same hold over the working class in the tightly-built grid city as in other parts of the country. The urban environment offered powerful alternatives to the often regimented and puritan life of the other social movements, and the concentration and worker militancy precluded the dominance of the moderate social democratic party that was the rule in smaller industrial settings.

19 Gunnar Hjerne & Ulla Karlsson, I förändringens tid, Folkrörelser i Söderort omkring sekelskiftet 1900 (Uppsala 1994), 33-34. Citations In Swedish (from the original election material): ‘arbetarnas och småfolkets’; ‘genom sitt lugna och sansade, men likväl klara och bestämmande uppträdande’.
20 Mats Franzén, Den folkliga staden, Söderkvarter i Stockholm mellan krigen (Lund 1992), 381-82.
Outside the inner city, however, the industrial concentrations in Lilje-
holmen, in Sundbyberg to the west and in Nacka to the east of Stockholm,
were at this point more reminiscent of the Swedish small-scale and patriar-
chial bruk tradition. The industrial work forces there were of course more
able to move around than in rural areas, but the settlements were nonethe-
less often run like private towns by corporate oligarchies, while the workers
organised in congregations and temperance societies. It has to be under-
stood that the new districts built in the Brännkyrka areas during the first
decades of the twentieth century, were inserted into this non-urban envi-
ronment – in addition to the fact that they were intentionally planned as
alternatives to urbanity.

The Voluntary Organisations in Early Twentieth Century Brännkyrka
The first recorded free religious congregation in Brännkyrka was founded
in 1880. The temperance movement is believed to have included about 15
percent of the population around 1900 and the labour movement gained
rapidly in strength in pace with the industrial expansion around Liljeholmen, and with the level of democratisation in the society as a
whole.21

The earliest congregations were formed in the urbanising and
industrialising parts of western Brännkyrka. Although it seems that a
majority of the members were women, it was often men who were elected
to the local borough and ecclesiastical assemblies as well as exerting
political influence created by the movement.22

The influence from the temperance movement was, during the first
decade of the century, indicated by the Brännkyrka Borough Board’s
reluctance to sanction any permission for liquor sale in the area. The
influence of the liquor industry on neighbouring Reymersholme was already
all to strongly felt.23 Around thirty branches of the different national
organisations – the Templars, the Good Templars and the radicals in
Verdandi – were formed in the period up until incorporation with the City

21 Hjerne & Karlsson, I förändringens tid, 34-35.
22 Hjerne & Karlsson, I förändringens tid, 59-60.
of Stockholm in 1913, often with eager help from activists in inner city Southside.24
The development of the labour movement, lastly, was for political reasons following a somewhat less continuous pattern. A local branch of the Social Democratic Labour Party was formed in 1904 or 1905. One of its first achievements was the building of the first secular popular hall in the borough, the People’s House in Liljeholmen. It was opened in 1906 and had a hall for 150 people. Economic hardships in 1908 and the defeat of the national general strike in 1909 reduced the membership by half, to a still considerable number of 280 people. It was not until after the incorporation before the organisation regained strength, a fact for which it incidentally blamed both the athletic movement and the striving among workers to become owners of their own homes.25
Apart from these, there were also a host of other organisations in the area. The first soccer club, Linnéa, was formed in Årstaskog in 1908. Cooperative stores were opened near the industrial settlements around Liljeholmen from the late 1880s onwards, and a store affiliated to the regional network Thule was opened in Enskede Garden City in 1909. In 1890, a sharp-shooter’s society was formed in Liljeholmen, which in 1908 had as much as 850 members and even produced a couple of champions at the 1912 Olympic.26
When the Enskede settlement was founded in 1908, there was another settlement already at the place in the western part of the borough since thirty years. Although being the poorest and most destitute part of Stockholm, the districts around Liljeholmen had developed as a vigorous civil society without help from the authorities. It could be expected that the western parts of the parish, at least at the outset, were both a role model and a threat for the Enskede pioneers.

**Governing as a Matter of Friction**

Although the power rationalities of the garden suburbs in Stockholm did not involve much of direct interventions into the habits and actions of the inhabitants, the regulating powers were on the other hand never totally

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26 Hjerne & Karlsson, *I förändringens tid*, 135; 142; 144-49.
absent. As Bruno Latour, the French historian of sciences puts it, governing within a liberal capitalist power structure generally takes place ‘at a distance’, with piecemeal actions aimed at reproducing environmental characteristics that are found necessary for the system of governance.

However, these interventions are also expressions of power, however delicately performed, and will therefore now and then provoke dissent. This is more so if the objectives of the actions taken can not be explained, or are unintelligible or otherwise unacceptable for the people that are made subject to them.

Before the City authorities could take the step from administering the SLR settlements as purely disciplinary communities to the negotiating practices of a governmental power, contact had to be established between them and the representatives of civil society in the new settlement. This proved to be a demanding task for both parties.

The Gravel Theft

In 1910, one year after the first houses had been completed, a growing number of indications had reached the Country Domain’s Board, about difficulties between the Enskede settlers and the board’s field personnel. In May that year, the head supervisor of the municipal works, Nils Hasselquist, had reported gravel thefts from the municipal roadwork depot. In the report he had also made clear his irritation over not only the thefts, but also the fact that they indicated proletarian wilfulness (as well as possible confusion about the rules of property rights pertaining to leaseholding):

The thought has been expressed that the leaseholder, is fully right, when he transports gravel and dirt to his (= the city’s) site from the city areas. In any case, every well-motivated objection against this [practice] is considered as an unmotivated harassment from the administrative personnel.

At this first occurrence, the board asked him to come back with evidence.

In early June, the inhabitants’ organisation, the Enskede Municipal Society

28 CDB (CDB) Minutes 20 May 1910 §17, Appendage N. The citation In Swedish: 'Den uppfattningen har uttryckts att tomträttsinnehavare är i sin fulla rätt, då han till sin (=
(which in spite of its name resembled more a residents’ organisation, but on some occasions participated in the election appointments as well — more on this below), sent an application for the arrangement of a Mid Summer’s feast in the recently prepared residential park (Margaretparken). This application was turned down and instead the feast had to be held at a nearby forest hill.  

The board’s decision was not well taken, and in October the antagonisms escalated between the settlers and the personnel. The local Municipal Society filed protest to the board over the fact that the administrative personnel for austerity reasons had apparently restricted street lighting without asking them. To the inhabitants this seemed unnecessary, especially as the costs for the lighting were met by the leaseholders themselves. The Municipal Society this time demanded that the board

should tell that part of its personnel, which has as its assignment to administer issues concerning Enskede and its inhabitants, to conduct a more appropriate attitude towards the inhabitants of the communities, than has recently been the case […]

This time the board abstained from action. Nor did it act when the Municipal Society a couple of weeks later complained about dust blowing up around the Enskede main street when the tram passed. Instead, the Municipal Society now turned directly to the City Council, which in its turn passed the letter on to the board to let it have its say. The board now stated that the dust clouds could not be a municipal question since the tramway

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29 CDB Minutes 10 June 1910 §21, Appendage T, U. Midsummer is a traditional Swedish holiday between 23 and 25 June and is second in importance in Sweden after Christmas.

30 CDB Minutes 7 October 1910 §8, Appendage G. In Swedish: ‘att landtegonds-nämnden måtte tillhålla den del af sina tjänstemän som hafva till uppgift att ordna frågor rörande Enskede och dess befolkning, att iakttaga en lämpligare hållning gentemot samhällenas inbyggare’.
company was privately owned. Arguably, this only added to the settlers’ disappointment.

At the next meeting, a letter from the field personnel in Enskede was discussed. They were upset by the fact that some of the problems in their relations to the Enskede inhabitants had reached the local press. Furthermore, they believed that the Municipal Society and its chairperson, ‘conducts a disintegrative way of action, about which at the latest ordinary meeting some members voiced their fiercest discontent.’ The letter signed by eleven members of the staff demanded a meeting be arranged between the staff and the people responsible within the Municipal Society. The board conceded to this and gave the board’s chair, Carl Lindhagen, the responsibility to convene this meeting.

It seems that the administrative personnel had two reasons to call for this meeting. On the one hand, the work they were hired for was near its completion (the preparation of the first town plan of Enskede). They had to protect their reputation and not risk their contract chances for the next area as well. On the other hand, however, it is also obvious that the behaviour and the language of the Municipal Society’s chairperson, the typographer Lars Brolin, had posed serious problems for them. The irritation they disclose comes close to a Bourdieuan class distaste.

The problems originated from the fact that the City’s building inspector seemed to have done a shabby job of some houses built by the City’s entrepreneurs. When a second round of inspection was finally conducted, a lot of shabby work was pointed out. Rumours spread that the staff had let the entrepreneurs get away with shabby work only to keep the prices down. The staff met these accusations with threats to bring Brolin to court for slander.

The events around the Midsummer Feast had not helped to better the relations. The staff foreman, Carl Björkman, told the meeting that he on his

31 CDB Minutes 21 October 1910 §11; 11 November 1910 §10, Letter 33 1910.
32 CDB 25 November 1910 §15, Appendage L. In Swedish: ‘drifver en upplösande verksamhet, om hvilken vid föreningens senaste ordinarie sammanträde en del medlemmar uttalade sitt djupa ogillande’
34 CDB Discussion Protocol 15 December 1910 (D.p.), 9-11 (Brolin), 17-19 (the staff).
own initiative, after informing Lindhagen that ‘there are individuals who protest against arranging a dancing feast in the park’, had started a name gathering among the Enskede inhabitants to back up this opinion. In the end he stated that 37 persons had signed the list (which is not to be found in the municipal archive). He explained this line of action from his conviction that a disorderly feast would have adversely affected the possibility of renting out the apartments that were still empty in the streets around the park. Furthermore, he saw no reason to change his mind about this at the meeting: ‘I was right when I thought that there would be a thief’s life [röfvarlif]. There were bloody fights all around.’ Instead, he was eager to complain about the insults:

According to what has been said, more than 1,000 people gathered at this feast. They were greeted by Mr. Brolin like this: ‘The committee wanted to hold this feast in the People’s Park of Enskede. The same thing however happened to them as to our ancestors, whom our Lord chased out from Paradise and put an angel with bare cutting sword at the entrance. Now our authorities have done the same with us here, but instead of an angel they have posted a former city messenger with a gum stick instead of a sword.’

At another event, Brolin had reportedly been even more rude: ‘I was to be dressed off and enlightened about the kind I am’. Björkman further continued that it had ‘always been the typographers who had been quarrelling.’

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36 Ibid., 4; 47. Brolin was faktor to be accurate, that is a printing house supervisor. On the militancy and old traditions of unionising of the Stockholm typographers, see Lars Ekdahl, *Arbete mot kapital, Typografer och ny teknik – studier av Stockholms tryckeriindustri under det industriella genombrödret* (Lund 1983). Cf CDB, D.P., 8 (Brolin): ‘It wouldn’t harm, if Mr Björkman had had to take the education, which the typographers have to take, because then [he] would assuredly would speak somewhat more sensibly.’ *In Swedish:* ‘Det skulle icke skada, om hr Björkman hade gått igenom den skola, som typograferna få gå igenom, då skulle helt säkert hr Björkman uttala sig mera sansadt.’ The other citations *In Swedish:* ‘det fanns personer, som protesterade mot att anordna en danstillställning i parken’; ‘Jag fick rätt i min tro på att det skulle bli en röfvarlif. De slogsos så att blodet rann om dem.’; ‘Kommitterade hade tänkt sig att afhålla festen i Enskede folkpark, men det var med dem som med våra förfåder, hvilka vår herre dref ut ur paradiset och satte en ängel med ett bart huggande svärd vid ingången och likaså här har våra myndig-
Another member of the staff, Wretlind, simply wanted Brolin to be ousted from the leadership of the Municipal Society. He backed up this demand by saying that Brolin ‘according to my view does not conduct his chairmanship in such a way, that the views of the society are reflected in the decisions’. Brolin had on the contrary ‘a significant competence in from the chairman’s post getting his own views through’.

Naturally, the Country Domain’s Board had no say when it came to the internal affairs of the Municipal Society. No formal suggestion was made in the direction proposed by Wretlind. The accusations made, however, could very well be understood as attempts to de-legitimise the Society as representative of the municipal authorities before Lindhagen. Probably influenced by this insight, at this time of the discussion, the other delegates from the Municipal Society slowly started to defend their chairperson. Thus, they declared that they were all discontented with the summary convening of the meeting and added that they felt as before a lynch mob. Underlining their loyalty to Brolin, they reminded that the ultimate cause of the conflict had been the bad quality of the building inspection. As Mr. Linnander put forth, it all came down to the fact that the working class was living under conditions where the margins were small and the risk of economic ruin always present. Under such conditions, summary inspections could not be tolerated. With this, the meeting ended.

Soon afterwards, the Municipal Society sent another letter to the board asking for a new meeting. The Society’s board repeated its discontent with the composition in numbers of the earlier encounter. It also voiced a more general disappointment about ‘the altogether shabby tone, which characterised the whole; we really thought it to be below our dignity to confront this undisciplined anger, all these histories of gossip, served in shape of documents or more liberally. What good would it do to answer to such talk?’ That Brolin had the full backing of the Society was further underlined, as well as the fact the he had ‘not been working for his own good but for the public good’. The Country Domain’s Board considered

heter gjort med oss här, men istället för en ängel ha de satt ett f d stadsbud med lim-stäng i stället för svärd.’

37 Ibid., 24. In Swedish: ‘enligt min åsikt bekläder han icke ordförandeposten så, att föreningen får sina uttalanden fram i besluten’; ’en mycket stor förmåga att från ordförandeplatsen göra sin mening gällande.’

38 Ibid., 50-1; Cf. 27-8 and 47 (Lantz), 39-40 (Edman), 40 (Eriksson, Andersson).
that, since the first meeting ‘according to Mr. Lindhagen’s report had led to a pretty unfruitful discussion’, the letter should be left without any action.39

As this first encounter shows, the relations between the City and the inhabitants of Enskede were far from rosy. The conflict seems to implicate at least two different issues: who should determine the agenda of negotiations and how great the influence from the inhabitants could be? At this point, none of these issues were in any way near to being solved, and it is obvious that the administration and the popular organisation looked upon each other with great suspicion. Only a long and complicated process could bring them together – however, by that time the relation had turned into something completely new.

**A Stubborn Organisation**

When the Enskede Municipal Society was founded in December 1909, only months after the first inhabitants had moved into their houses, members of the staff were already among the most prominent participants. Carl Björkman who was responsible for the marketing of the sites was also on the first board. In addition, the staff supervisor, Nils Hasselquist, took active part in its work. This peculiar way to proceed was the result of the decision taken by the Society that all people living in Enskede, and not just estate owners, could become members. At the same time, however, the Society declared before the City authorities that in all matters that concerned the inhabitants of the settlement it should be the single instance to turn to.42

At the joint meeting in December 1910, Brolin had expressed his disappointment with the fact that this generous approach had not facilitated communication with the City authorities, but on the contrary led

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39 CDB Minutes 13 January 1911 §24, Appendage J. *In Swedish:* ”den genomtävlige ton, som genomgick det hela; vi ansågo det verkligen under vår värdighet att bemöta all denna otyglade ilska, alla dessa skvallerhistorier, serverade i form av dokument eller mera fritt. Hvartill skulle det ha tjänat att svara på sådant?”; ”icke arbetat i egen sak utan för det allmänna bästa”; ”ledt till ett enligt herr Lindhagens uppfattning ganska ofruktbart meningsutbyte”.
40 Enskede Municipal Society Minutes 4 December 1909 §5, kept at the home of Leif Tybring, Enskede.
41 Ibid., §3.
42 Enskede Municipal Society, Minutes 4 December 1909 §5, Kept by Leif Tybring, Enskede
to repeated factionalism. It seemed to him as if the City works personnel instead of trying to find avenues for co-operation, tried to use their influence in the Society to exercise censorship on its views. I would argue that the December meeting represented the first of a series of frictions against the authorities, which would produce a radical turn-about in the political outlook and ends of the Municipal Society – or rather, upon the organisations that would follow after it had disintegrated.

If we accept the view that at the bottom of the conflict lay the connection between economic (the inspections) and political (the alleged infiltration of the Municipal Society) issues, then this may go a long way to explain why the question of street lighting had ignited such anger. The basic problem seems not to have been the lighting itself, but that the managing director, Meurling, instead of directly turning to the Municipal Society to settle the question, announced his desire to meet only representatives of the estate owners for a discussion. This could be, and was, interpreted as a questioning of the authority of the Municipal Society since the Society was open to all inhabitants. This suspicion was confirmed when Meurling presented as an argument that apart from estate owners, the Municipal Society also included ‘women and children’ among its members. While officially he was acting correct in the matter, since the lighting was paid out of estate dues, he thereby seemed to rule out the wording of the first paragraph of the statutes of the Society.

In an interview with the Stockholm daily *Social-Demokraten*, Brolin had inferred that this behaviour was provoked by the Society’s earlier complaints about the unsatisfying building inspection. This comment from Brolin in its turn had, as mentioned, provoked the staff to call for the referred meeting. In May 1910, Brolin had even turned down an offer to be provided with gravel to fill up holes in his own site owing to the fear of being subject to unfair advantages of the City. This shows some of the extent of the conflict.

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43 CDB D.p., 7-9.
44 Ibid., 29-34.
45 Statutes of Enskede Municipal Society, of 18 December 1909 §1, kept at the home of Anders Rydmark, Enskede.
46 *Social-Demokraten* 22 August 1910; CDB D.p., 7
47 CDB, F 1a, Documents to and from field staff 1908-10, 26 may 1910.
Adding a class aspect to this, the bad language that had been used may also be interpreted as an example of the collectivity-enhancing occupational language that had developed during the industrialisation of Stockholm. As Allan Pred, the (U.S.) American geographer argues, this language could serve the dual purpose of both excluding the out-group – in this case the staff who had become part of the community – and of providing an identity for the in-group, in this case the working class majority of the settlement. On the surface, this petty quarrel touched upon important aspects of the relation between the City and its inhabitants. They would not be resolved at this point. The Society’s call for an additional meeting was turned down. When eventually the Municipal Society itself arranged this meeting, only one of the invited board members, the social democrat Knut A. Tengdahl, showed up. It took more than twenty years before the City finally admitted that the Society’s allegations of intentionally ineffective building inspections had been valid.

The Break-up of Unity
The inhabitants voiced views that diverged from the City’s programme, as it was mapped out in the disciplinary housing discourse explained in chapter three. This discourse, for instance, did not say anything about the right to organise democratic organisations. Neither did it say anything about having the opportunity to discuss matters with the authorities under the terms that would set the inhabitants on equal footing with the administrative personnel. Against demands like these, the City could react by simply turning a deaf ear. As long as the conflict was not acted out in the language world that the board inhabited it could simply abstain from acting. Instead of strategic governmental power, the inhabitants would face

49 Social-Demokraten 21 September 1911.
50 Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning No. 39 (1932) (by Real Estate director Axel Dahlberg), 4.
the power of stubborn domination. This was a clear-cut conflict between the Owenite and the Howardian versions of disciplinary spatiality.

The Enskede inhabitants had two options: either they could change their ways of participation, or proceed in this way which seemed more feasible – rather that to change the fundamental power relations. Perhaps they may have thought that if their organisations changed demands to comply with the disciplinary housing discourse, they would be able to address the board on its own terms and within its language world. Probably in this manner they could get some recognition, which would be possible to use in upcoming encounters.

This is also what seems to have happened. In the years after this encounter, the unity of the Municipal Society began to fracture and new political forms were taking shape. The first of these offspring was the organisation of the homeowners in the first of the Enskede settlements, which was built on ownership sites by Lennart Palme’s firm in 1907-09 (see chapter four). The inhabitants of New Enskede, as the settlement was named, had met since the summer of 1910 to discuss the financial arrangements of the lighting facilities. The new organisation was formed in January 1911. Reportedly, the breakout was mostly a result of personal animosities between Brolin and the strongman of New Enskede, C. E. Eriksson. This organisation chose to conform to the pattern already set by the homeowners’ societies of western Brännkyrka and called itself a real estate society, thus emphasising the fact that they all owned their sites.

Perhaps even more serious for the initial unity of the Municipal Society was the founding of the Enskede Fruit Grower’s Society; originally an offspring of the Municipal Society’s Plantation Committee. When this group first addressed the Country Domain’s Board with the intention of receiving some financial assistance, it particularly emphasised the ‘socially reassuring character’ of its activities, as well as the fact that good plots were the best advertisement: ‘no advertising for “own homes” is so effective as

52 Fastighetsägareföreningen à Nya Enskede/Lindegård/Enskede Gård, Minutes 24 July 1910, §5; 22 January 1911, §3; Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 27-28 1932.
53 Social-Demokraten 23 January 1911.
54 Social-Demokraten 20 March 1911.
already existing well kept garden plots. In a way, reminiscent of the Horticultural Society of London suburb Watling described by Ruth Durrant, the association set out to turn the settlement into what was their idea of a garden city. While this of course still is not a very uncommon way to present a gardening society, it soon appeared that the fruit growers would display a different political position from the one taken by the Municipal Society. The group was repeatedly complaining about minor deficiencies in the superficial outlay of the settlement, thereby trying to perfect the therapeutical environment. From this it was only a short step from becoming a relay for the City’s own control apparatus.

This stance soon received a more established representative body. The chair of the fruit growers, Hjalmar Lindqvist, a liberal who had been among the founders of the Municipal Society subsequently became the Enskede representative at the founding of the Brännkyrka Municipal Society in 1914. The municipal societies originated from the nineteenth century municipal organisation, where before the turn-of-the-century break-through of party politics people with a political interest in every election district combined into societies with the purpose to set up a list of candidates for the City Council (coppersmith Wallin above was appointed by a similar association, put together for the national elections). As they were the only official political space available for the democratic reforms, these societies also became mouthpieces for political demands raised on behalf of local constituencies. This function, as will be shown below, gave them a reason for existence even after the party organisations had overtaken nominations. Despite the similarity of names, the Brännkyrka Municipal Society was an organisation of a fundamentally different kind from its direct democratic counterpart in Enskede, claiming to be a ‘second instance’ for all local claims arising in the recently incorporated borough. Consequently, it was managed by a small board of representatives meeting not as the local

56 Cf. Durant, ‘Community and association’, 166 n.
57 Cf. CDB Minutes 21 January 1915 §12 Appendage G; Correspondence Fla 1916, No 25, 21 March 1916.
58 Folke Lindberg, Växande stad, Stockholms stadsfullmäktige 1862-1900 (Uppsala 1900), 330-35; Yngve Larsson, På marsch mot demokratin, Från bundnadsradig skala till allmän rösträtt (1900-1920) (Stockholm 1967), 213-14.
organisations in big halls but in inner-city restaurants, and in 1936 still with a membership as feeble as 135 persons. It did not take long before it was in conflict with the Enskede inhabitants.

The Adjustment of the Associative Life

At this time Sweden was still not a democracy, but was retaining some of the features of the constitutional monarchy created in 1809. Franchise for parliamentary elections had been introduced in 1909, but only for men above 25 and with a certain minimum income. At the local level, all women had the right to vote, but the vote for the municipal assemblies was graded in forty steps according to income, which in most circumstances guaranteed the continued power of the richest stratum. Until its incorporation in 1913, a circle of wealthy persons and corporations (the latter were juridical persons also enfranchised) and their accomplices had, in their turn dominated the municipal and ecclesiastical assemblies that had ruled Brännkyrka.

Voluntary societies like the Enskede Municipal Society must be understood in this context, as democratic islands in a sea of oligarchic power. In the municipal elections, the Municipal Society had locally co-operated against the old clique with both the liberals and the social democrats. The Brännkyrka Municipal Society in its turn seems to have been an attempt to continue this co-operation when political parties were beginning to take over the appointment procedures. As such, it had difficulties to interest any one else than the old liberal activists, together with the homeowners (mostly) of western Brännkyrka.

These circumstances also determined the political tactics of the different associations. Deprived of access to the main political institutions, the grassroots organisations had to resort to expressive and mass-mobilisation politics. One case in point was the conflicts about the dancing spots, which also turns our attention to the disciplining aspects of the middle class associations.

In March 1913, the Country Domain’s Board asked the Enskede Municipal Society its opinion on prolonging of the authorisation of a dancing spot near Enskede and let out to the social democratic and

temperance organisations. The board had received a letter signed by the Enskede priest, John Lagerkrantz, who together with the already mentioned Björkman and Lindqvist and 37 others, demanded that the dancing spot should be closed. It was, they claimed, attracting an unruly inner city public. After the Society had given its support for the spot, the board received a reservation from 20 of the members of the Society, claiming that the spot should be closed. This also became the board’s decision.\footnote{CDB Minutes 18 March 1913 §7, Appendage E; 24 April 1913 §11 Appendages H, J.}

The controversy reached even greater proportions in 1914, after a letter to the editor in one of the major Stockholm dailies had complained about the unruliness and slack morals of Enskede dancing. A meeting of 500 people was staged in the Enskede People’s Park. Ingrid Wiberg from the Municipal Society’s board addressed the meeting with a long speech fiercely defending the working people’s rights to spend their scarce free time as they preferred.\footnote{Social-Demokraten 1 July 1914.} The other homeowners’ society in the area, New Enskede Real Estate Owners’ Society, decided as well to turn the petitioners down.\footnote{New Enskede Real Estate Owners’ Society, Minutes 22 July §10.}

When the issue was re-opened in 1915, a year after what seems to have been the last meeting of the Enskede Municipal Society, it was instead delegated to the Brännkyrka Municipal Society. As could be expected, they in their turn voted against the dancing spot. However, at the next meeting, Lindqvist – who apparently had changed his opinion on the subject – on his own behalf invited about 150 people who wanted to sign in as members. Thereby they would get a chance to vote and change the decision before it was returned to the Country Domain’s Board. This did not happen. The Brännkyrka Municipal Society board instead decided to turn all these applications down, speaking in its minutes about ‘scandalous scenes’, and effectively ending the era of popular democracy in Enskede.\footnote{Brännkyrka Municipal Society Minutes 15 April 1915 §2; Board Meeting Minutes 16 April 1915 §2.}

\paragraph{Incorporation into the Social}

The Enskede Municipal Society disappeared in spring 1914 after a little more than four hectic years of existence. At the same time New Enskede Real Estate Owners’ Society expressed concern over low turnout at its
It was not until 1922 before Enskede finally got a new organisation to take care of its needs. This time it was exclusively organising the estate owners. Moderates affiliated to the administration, like Nils Hasselquist, were among its prominent founders. Although at this point working for the northern upper middle class municipality Lidingö, Hasselquist, who was very soon to become the real estate director of Stockholm, represented integration with the municipal interests. Only 18 months later, this integration was further underlined when the manager of the country domain’s department at the real estate office, Axel Dahlberg, was invited to explain the reasons for an increase in the site rents.

There is an apparent likeness between the development that was beginning here and the one charted by the earlier mentioned ethnologist Magnus Bergquist among the garden colonists of Gothenburg. While the leading figures of the societies acquired increasing competence in managing relations with both the members and the municipal and state authorities, they also acquired the habits and ways of official functionaries. Not least among the tasks they set themselves was to establish norms of behaviour for the ordinary members. As the chairperson of Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, management director Zander, emphasised some years later, one of the most important tasks of the organisations in Enskede was to engage in a thorough campaign against all sorts of commercial leisure life.

Ingrid Wiberg, formerly at the board of the Enskede Municipal Society, tried in 1919 to persuade the recently established local social democratic branch to engage in community related issues. During the first year of its existence, the branch made demands on the City’s Gas and Tramway Boards, as well as for a more appropriate local school building. At the next annual meeting of the organisation, however, voices were already raised for less engagement in local businesses. Instead, the club should engage in more overarching questions, such as the struggle for socialism.

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64 New Enskede Real Estate Owners’ Society Minutes 24 January 1915 §10.
65 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society Minutes 2 February 1922 §6, §10. Kept at the home of Leif Tybring, Enskede.
66 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society Minutes 11 November 1923 §2.
67 Bergquist, *En utopi i verkligheten*, 194-95; 222.
68 *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning* 8 January 1932, 3.
69 Enskede Social Democratic Society, Board Minutes, 24 April 1919 §5.
70 Enskede Social Democratic Society, B1:1 Year report for 1919.
and the need to hold meetings with ‘clearly up-bringing meaning’. Wiberg pointed out that the only manifestly ideological meeting that had been held during the year, a lecture on the socialisation issue held by one of the party’s top functionaries, had enticed almost none of the members. Nonetheless, engagement in the local community was criticised and would largely vanish over the next few years. The politics of (local) space simply didn’t interest the political organisations.

The Steps to Organisational Integration
Instead, the homeowners’ societies took the initiative. One of the first steps in the change from merely interest organisations to subaltern administrative bodies was taken already in the early summer of 1922. The chairperson of the Enskede Villa Owners’ Society was given the task by its members to talk to those site owners who did not seem to be tending their gardens properly. The Society also closely followed the mid-twenties discussions about the future of the SLR, and was approached by the police to give its forehand view on entertainment concessions.

On a grander scale, however, the incorporation of the resident organisations began only with the Magic House small cottage projects from 1927 onwards (see chapter three). The small cottage organisations were for instance used as vehicles for the prescriptions about regular plantations and elementary site demarcations that were intended to bring forth the impression of park-like environments. If necessary, it even seems that the cottage societies took it on their behalf to defend the City against critique of too narrow regulations. They also used the expertise provided by the City to sort out standardisation issues and the like.

The City naturally appreciated this kind of assistance, especially in the day-to-day control of the upkeep of gardens. Its chief of staff even held the

71 Enskede Social Democratic Society, Minutes 12 February 1921 §5. *In Swedish: ’rent uppfostrande betydelse’.*
72 Enskede Villaägaresällskap, Minutes 2 June 1922 §4.
73 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 20 February 1925, §7; Board Minutes 26 March 1926 §6.
74 See for instance, Enskedefältets Garden City Society, Minutes 23 January 1936 §3; Småstadsägarnas Tidning No 2 1935, 10; 1936, 11.
75 See for instance, Enskedefältets Garden City Society, Board Minutes 5 March 1934 §11.
view that the residents’ organisations were better suited to look out for the provision of necessary services in the settlements than the professional body. Even better if they not only could serve as transmitters of requests, but also on their own take care of the minor concerns as much as possible. As one of its measures to support these activities, on the request of the cottage societies the City arranged a lecture series on the principles of town planning and land holding politics of Stockholm. In this way, at least the leaders of the organisations were informed about the guiding principles of the City’s policy consideration. The fact that the request originally came from them shows that integration between organisations and the administration had taken place. However, the integration was to take place within certain limits. In 1939, Brännkyrka Municipal Society took the step to present itself as a municipal body among others:

> It is natural, that the administrative bodies of the City can not in detail know about the needs and wishes of the different districts. Especially when it concerns the southern parts of the Capital. Such a knowledge of all details would presuppose, that the different authorities of the City would have a far greater staff of officials at its disposal. Brännkyrka-Enskede Municipal Society therefore accepts the task, to at appropriate times make excursions through the communities, where each and every board member in the different parts of Brännkyrka and Enskede proposes wishes and needs.

The City responded to this proposal with three years of silence, after which an investigation into the concerns that had been voiced during the excursion was presented. At that time, something had been done to most

76 Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning, No 454-455, May-September 1938, 8 (Dahlberg).
77 Dahlberg, in Skarpnäcks Trädgårdsstadsförening: Minneskrift 1927-1947 (Stockholm 1947), 11.
78 Tallkrogens Garden City Society, Board Minutes 6 November 1936 §2; 3 December 1936 §3;
79 Real Estate Board (REB) Minutes 17 October 1939 §8, Act 65/1937, From Brännkyrka-Enskede Municipal Society 29 May 1936; Answer from the Real Estate Office 20 June 1939. In Swedish: 'Det ligger i sakens natur att stadens förvaltande organ i detalj icke kunna känna de olika stadsdelarnas behov och önskemål, särskilt när det gäller de yttre områdena av huvudstaden. En sådan kännedom om alla detaljer skulle förutsätta, att
concerns, although not always what had been proposed by the Municipal Society. Although a mutual dependency had arisen in the mean while, it seems that it could not be that clearly stated.

**Regional Organising**

There were a number of different levels of voluntary organisations in the area. At the lowest local level were the district-sized residents’ organisations (villa owners’ societies, garden city societies, real estate societies, and branches of the tenants’ society). As in the case of the garden city society in the small cottage district Tallkrogen, these could even include a block level sub-organisation with appointed responsible persons for each block.80

The next level was regional co-operation. A number of co-operation committees were formed on the basis both of spatial proximity and of ownership or not of the housing sites. In spring 1931, *Samorganisationen* (a council of representatives) was formed by the SLR societies in both Bromma and Enskede.81 Soon after this, Stureby and Hägersten villa societies took the initiative to form a committee of representatives also for the residents’ societies that organised homeowners on ownership grounds, this time limited to the southern districts.82 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, which at this point was still occupied with the establishment of the Enskede parish as an autonomous geographical entity, soon opted to leave the SLR-settlements’ council. While abstaining from membership in the ownership sites co-operation it tried to form an organisation uniting the Enskede societies.83 This co-operation began in 1934 and included not only the 1933 committee for the small cottage societies, but also New Enskede, now renamed to Lindegård Villa Owners’ Society.84 A couple of years later, both Lindegård and Enskede became parts of *Samorganisationen*, after which the ownership type definitely was established as the basis for co-

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80 Tallkrogen Garden City Society Board Minutes 29 April 1941 §3.
81 *Enskede Tidning* 7 March 1931, 1.
82 *Nya Enskedebladet* 1 August 1931, 2
83 Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Minutes 24 April 1931 §3; 22 March 1934 §§10-11.
84 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society Minutes 17 April 1934 §3.
operation in the region (excepting the members of Lindegård who lived in
the old houses built in 1907 on Owners’ Rights sites). This meant that the
residents’ societies never established a kind of co-operation that could
represent the region as a whole before the end of the Second World War.
The third level was thus the Brännkyrka (-Enskede) Municipal Society,
which together with occasional district-wide meetings became the only real
regional representative. This kind of co-operation committee for the
southern districts had equivalents among the political and tenants’
organisations also. To some extent, the different party organisations could
as well fulfil this mission through their district-wide organisations.
However, as already said, they were more interested campaigns for the
different elections.

**Approaching the Economic Domain**

With the forming of regional organisations, the societies also became
attractive as economic actors. Soon after the forming of Samorganisationen,
clandestine work began with the aim to introduce low-priced house
insurance in co-operation with a co-operative insurance company.
Although this project in the end came to nothing, due to legal actions from
commercial insurance companies, it provided a model for further moves in
the same direction. The thrust of co-operation was that the societies should
not only provide their members as customers, but also act as intermediaries
for the company and help it to sell also other insurance.

The main part of economic co-operation became tree tending and
provision of coke. With the rise of these kinds of services, the amount of
work quickly increased to levels that could no longer be managed purely by
voluntary work. The boards of the societies thus developed into partly
salaried service organs, something that even further blurred the distinction
between the societies and the regular municipal administration. This even
went so far that the chairman of Enskede Villa Owner’s Society on one

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85 Stockholms småstuguföreningars samorganisation (Sam) Minutes of Representatives
3 January 1936 §4; Board Minutes 3 March 1936 §1; 15 March 1937 §7.
86 See for instance Södra Förstädernas Socialdemokratiska Förening, Vol 1 Minutes 11
November 1923 §3.
87 Tallkrogen Garden City Society Dokuments 1933-42 I, From Försäkringsanstalten
Samarbete to Skarpnäcks småstugeförening 6 July 1934; Sam Minutes 31 July 1934 §5; 3
January 1936 §3.
occasion was asked if he wanted to charge the society some rent, because the board used to meet at his home. The chairman turned this offer down, but as *Enskede Tidning* editor and homeowners’ society veteran, Nils Hall argued in 1943, by this time the idealistic content of the societies’ activities had almost vanished.

The statutes of *Samorganisationen* stated that it should be apolitical (*apolitišk*), and that decisions other than those necessary to run the various businesses should be delegated to the local societies. As showed by an enquiry made at the request of the Olovslund Small Cottage Society (in Bromma) in 1934, it also stuck quite closely to this procedure. The monthly paper issued by the organisation from 1932 onwards had caused some irritation, both within certain parts of the municipal administration and among the societies (fearing the results of this irritation), but this was so far the only disturbance noticed in the relations with the City.

In 1937, *Samorganisationen* asked for the City’s co-operation with the founding of a repair credit fund for the SLR districts (whose inhabitants could with difficulty only turn to regular financial institutions for a remortgaging of their houses). Out of this proposal arose the idea to reform the co-ordination committee into an economic organisation (*ekonomisk förening*). With the accomplishment of this in 1938-41, the development from direct democracy to bureaucratic bodies had come to its logical end.

**How Much Integration?**

The voluntary societies were thus slowly integrated into the domains both of governmental power, through the City administration, and of market

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88 *Enskede Villa Owner’s Society*, Minutes 28 February 1942 §10; Board Minutes 5 December 1944 §22.
89 *Enskede Trädgärdstäders Tidning*, No 508-509, 1943, 2.
90 *Sam*, Statutes (accepted 19 March and 6 April 1935), §§1; 7.
91 *Sam*, Utredning angående Stockholmas Småstugeföreningars samorganisation, dess tidning och Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningars inbördes förhållanden utförd av den av Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningars årsmöte år 1934 tillsatta kommittén, 17.
92 *Sam*, Utredning angående *Sam*, dess tidning och Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningars inbördes förhållanden utförd av den av Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningars årsmöte år 1934 tillsatta kommittén, 10-11, 17.
93 Tallkrogen Garden City Society Documents 1933-43, From the Real Estate Office 1 December 1939.
94 *Sam* Board Minutes 3 November 1938 §4 (Nylén).
logic. However, there remains to sort out just how close the alliance with the City actually was. First, it has to be emphasised that opposition was not ruled out, although it had to be performed according to strict rules. As the Olovslund inquiry mentioned above concluded, relations between the City and the settlers were regulated through Civil Law, which is why it must be ‘ruled out that we through the language of power could make the City accurate its decisions’. Instead, conflicts had to be solved through patience where smooth relations to the highest level of the administration had to be maintained.

These close relations with the administration were firmly underlined at the symbolic level. Especially, Axel Dahlberg, the real estate director and chief of staff from the early 1930s onwards (practically speaking even earlier), became the subject of intensive attention from the Enskede settlements. *Enskede Tidning* and its successors regularly contained large-scale portraits and interviews with the director, and his personal commemorations were observed both on the public and the organisational levels, as well as other prominent figures within the municipal organisation. It was even believed that Dahlberg was the one who once had coined the concept *trädgårdsstäder* (garden cities).

This relation was potentially mutual – Dahlberg could probably use his influence within the residents’ organisations as an asset in internal quarrels between the different bodies of the administration. In 1941, he openly turned to the board of *Samorganisationen* to get support in the on-going dispute about which direction the projected underground railways should take westwards. The garden city societies also tried to make the Real

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95 Sam, Utredning angående Sam, dess tidning och Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningens inbördes förhållanden utförd av den av Olovslunds Trädgårdsstadsföreningens årsmöte år 1934 tillsatta kommittén, 7. *In Swedish*: ‘uteslutet att vi genom maktspråk skulle kunna tvinga staden till rättelse’.

96 *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning* 22 June 1932, 3; 15-31 December 1934, 3; *Trädgårdsstadsföreningarnas Tidning* December 1940, p 10 (Lindhagen); January 1943, p 7; Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Board Minutes 29 December 1942 §4, REB Minutes 30 October 1945 §23 (Sandberg).

97 *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning* 5 January 1933, p 3.

98 Sam, Board Minutes for Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Centralorganisation 5 June 1941 §3.
Estate Board rethink its decision to oust Dahlberg from his post in 1944. At the same time, the societies received close enough knowledge about the administration to be able to discuss how to play out different parts against each other, for instance with the object to lower the tram costs.

Another way to measure the proximity between the leading layer of the societies and the municipal bureaucracy is to look at the commemoration festivities. It is only natural that leading representatives for the City participated in the different annual festivities of the small cottage societies. The City had after all been intimately involved in their establishment. As the different timings of the Enskede Garden City anniversaries show, however, this identification had not been there all the time.

In Enskede proper, there were three possible dates to choose as the basis for anniversary festivities: 1907, when the projection of the site began (or, more correctly, when the preparatory work was finished); 1908, when the work on the first house was begun; and 1909, when the first houses were completed and the settlers began to move in. It is obvious that these three dates were not totally commensurable as they implied different meanings. When arriving at 1907 as the date of foundation, the City’s role was emphasised. With the two latter dates, the role of the settlers was instead emphasised either as builders or as a community.

At the first anniversary, the 5 years jubilee held in 1913, the settler as a builder was emphasised. On the next occasion of the 10 years jubilee in 1919, it was the community and the fraternity of working people that were highlighted (which coincided with the first anniversary of the end of the Great War, given that the festivities were held in November). When the 25 years Jubilee approached, however, priorities had changed again. This time 1907 was chosen as the year of foundation:

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99 REB Act 358/1943, From the Boards of Äppelviken-Smedslättens, Åkeshov-Nockeby and Olovslund’s Garden City Societies and Ängby Villa Owner’s Society 22 August 1944; Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Centralförening 23 August 1944.
100 Sam, Board Minutes for Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Centralförening 5 November 1940 §5.
101 Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning September 1935, p 5; September 1937, 5-6.
102 Enskede Municipal Society, Poster for the 5 years Jubilee, 27 July 1913; and inaugural speech for the 10 years Jubilee 1919, kept by Anders Rydmark, Enskede.
At that time, namely, a recently graduated civil engineer was sent out by the Stockholm authorities to assist in the planning of the community that was to become. This young man was Axel Dahlberg, nowadays as is known the real estate director of Stockholm and a great propagator for the garden city idea.103

The high point of the symbolic statement about the mutual dependence between the municipal administration and the residents’ societies was the 10th anniversary of the small cottage programme in 1937. This occasion was greeted with a big gathering in the Blue Hall of the Stockholm Town Hall, with a large reception for all the inhabitants of small cottages in Stockholm. The Honorary Table was shared between the leading figures of Samorganisationen and the top functionaries of the City administration (both groups consisting of men and their wives).104 More than 1,000 people turned up for the occasion, of which about one-third received prizes either because they were among the remaining small cottage owners from the first cohort, or for their well tended gardens.105 The singsong lyrics made especially for the occasion emphasised, against the background of the frequently occurring complaints that were made about the limited aesthetic qualities of the small cottage communities, the honour that had been bestowed upon the small people as they had been called to the foremost palace of the City and honoured by its leading personalities.106

The Ambiguity of Close Bonds

It has to be emphasised that the close contacts with the City did not stop the societies from staging protest meetings, and even threaten with gradual

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103 Nya Enskededbladet 30 July 1932, p 1. In Swedish: 'Då skickades nämligen en nyexaminerad civilingenjör av Stockholms myndigheter ut för att hjälpa till vid planläggningen av det blivande samhället. Denna unge man hette Axel Dahlberg, numera som bekant Stockholms stads fastighetsdirektör och stor förespråkare för trädgårdsstadsidén.'

104 Sam, Minutes of representatives 2 September 1937, Places for the honourable table (appendice).

105 Småstugföreningarnas Tidning, October 1937, 6-7.

106 Småstugföreningarnas Tidning, January 1938, 10.
abandonment of the settlements if requests were not met. On a couple of occasions, voices were even heard in favour of the establishment of an own enquiry department which would make the societies less dependent on the results of enquiries of the City’s administrative bodies.

At least one rebellion from below was recorded. In November 1932, 150 of the small cottage owners at the Enskedefältet district had reportedly gathered at a meeting arranged by a Comintern-loyal-communist-led breakout group with the intention to demand softer treatment from the City against unemployed and poor cottage owners. The meeting, which was passively visited by the board of the homeowners’ society, decided to demand a moratorium on the payments for those in economic difficulties. The discussion continued the day after at the homeowners’ society where the board argued that it had more faith in its negotiations with the social democrats at the City administration than in any of the suggested mass actions. With this argument it received with difficulty a majority for continued negotiations. The issue was then continuously reported in the following meetings, and although debate now and then surfaced, the board succeeded in its ambitions to contain the actions. The local social democratic club, which decided to do what it could to attend the communist-organised meetings to moderate the feelings, also took up the issue.

This shows that there were certain limits as to how far the societies could go in their ambition to make concessions with the City,

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107 See for instance Sam, Minutes of Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Centralförening 27 November 1940 §§4-5; 15 January 1940 §4.
108 Tallkrogen Garden City Society, Documents 1933-1943 I, Minutes from the Tenman committee for the tram price issue 15 December 1940 §9; Sam, Minutes from meeting with the representatives for the villa societies in Enskede 5 April 1935 §4.
109 Ny Dag 23 October 1932. Since I have visited the house where this meeting should have been held, I would argue that it is impossible that more than 50 people could have been inside at the same time, even if they were all standing.
110 Enskedefältets Villa Owner’s Society, Minutes 22 November 1932, §6.
111 Enskedefältets Villa Owner’s Society, Minutes 27 November 1933 §7; Board Minutes 5 December 1932 §4; 14 February 1933 §2; 25 March 1933 §9.
112 Västra Enskedes Socialdemokratiska förening, Minutes 6 September 1933 §12.
113 Sam, Board Minutes 15 March 1934 §2; Minutes of the Annual Meeting 27 March 1934 §3.
at least in the early stages of the ‘civil bureaucratisation’ that was taking place.

When Enskede Villa Owner’s society summed up its part in the life of the communities, it could conclude that it had never received a coverage of members, but had made important accomplishments anyhow[14] If the voluntary societies, different as they may have been, were to speak on the behalf of the local community, they still were obliged to show that they had a considerable (and countable) backing. Complaints about low meeting turnout appear now and then in the societies’ documents, as well as complaints about the amount of work that was left for the active few because of low participation[13] In the mid-1930s, the concentration of activity to the boards went so far that the board of Enskede Villa Owners’ Society did not even care to announce its annual meeting[16] As it had been argued in the local social democratic youth club publication, the older settlers discovered with annoyance that the newcomers seldom had the same interest for organisational activities, but instead chose a homebound life[17] This is clearly showed in the case of Stureby Villa Owners’ Society, as demonstrated below. Close to the outbreak of the Second World War, it is obvious that the membership numbers increased as a consequence only of the economic function of the societies. Because they would control the rationing of coke, membership became crucial. With the exception of one single meeting in 1943, attendance never reached the same levels again, which indicates that most people attending merely wanted to be sure that they would not be left without coke supplies during the crisis. Between 1935 and 1940, the number of members increased from 216 to 301 – in 1939, 41 new aspiring members were registered on one single meeting[18] When attendance later plummeted, concern was soon expressed over the decreasing interest[19]

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[18] Stureby Real Estate Owners’ Society, Minutes 14 March 1935 §5; 28 February 1940 §5; Board Minutes 16 October 1939 §1.
Another sign indicating this sudden increase in membership and attendance as merely an effect of economic concerns was that the societies’ boards had serious problems in convincing their members not to take advantage of better economic resources by hoarding valuable commodities to the detriment of less fortunate community members. The repeated and firm allegations for egoistic and community destroying hoarding at the advent of the wartime crisis both shows that this behaviour involved a considerable share of the inhabitants and that the societies at this moment had acquired semi-governmental functions as regulators of market behaviour. They did not hesitate to use the identity markers referred above as instruments of ideological community building. As quotation below makes it clear, this identity was tightly connected to specific gender relations (which will be addressed below):
It has often been suggested that the small cottage builders were an elite among the city’s population – how often has not our real estate director put this forth – but in the first day of the European war many will find that piece of information doubtful. On the small cottage areas ‘aunt Hoarding’ has been multiply present and their socially demeaning actions during the frenetic home hoarding days have brought bad reputation over the small cottage people. Because of ‘aunt Hoarding’ and her un-solidaristic behaviour the loyal, the real elite, have undeservedly suffered.

Looking Backward

In his dissertation *Trivsel i söderort* (Well-Being in the Southern Districts) (1951), the sociologist, Edmund Dahlström, conducted a massive survey of the life forms and attitudes of the inhabitants of a housing estate and a cottage settlement in Hägersten, western Brännkyrka. Combined together, the investigated areas had a population of about 12,000 people in 1949 (compared to the 18,400 inhabitants of the whole Brännkyrka borough in 1910). The people investigated were taken both from tenement and homeowners’ districts. Consequently, the investigation should give a good average of what was probably the case for the whole area of the southern Stockholm districts at the time – that is, about five years after my investigation ends.

The religious congregations, including weekend activities for children, had at this time about 600 members. While the temperance movement had shrunk to only 40 members, about 900 people were still members of the twelve different political organisations (three each of conservative, liberal, social democratic and communist). Most families were registered in the

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120 *Småstugföreningarnas Tidning, September 1939, 2-3* (cit.), 9; October 1939, 11. *In Swedish*: ‘Det har ofta påståtts att småstugebyggarna varit en elit bland stadens befolkning – hur ofta har icke vår fastighetsdirektör kört fram med detta – men i det europeiska krigets första dagar kommer många att draga den uppgiften i tvivelsmål. På småstugeområdena ha ‘tant Hamstra’ varit talrikt företräd och dessas samhällsskadliga verksamhet under de frenastra hemlagningsdagarna ha bragt dåligt rykte över småstugefolket. Genom ‘tant Hamstra’ och hennes osolidarska beteende ha de lojala, den verkliga eliten, fått lida oförsytt.

consumer co-operatives and about 350 people were members of the different athletic organisations.\footnote{122}

Taken together (and including the host of minor societies not mentioned in this brief enumeration, as well as for instance the parent-participation societies of the elementary schools, and the leisure societies of the local industry corporations), when it came to memberships the people of Brännkyrka were still ostensibly well organised. Considerably fewer participated actively in the internal life of the organisations. This was especially the case of those organisations that had the real power – that is, the residents’ organisations.

At the time of Dahlström’s enquiry, there were two different kinds of interest organisations present in the district. One was the municipal society, covering the whole former borough and communicating directly with the City authorities. There were two different bodies of that kind present in the area investigated by Dahlström in 1949, together organising no more than ten of the district’s inhabitants.\footnote{123} The second kind of interest organisations are those directly connected to the housing forms, which in Dahlström’s case meant a homeowners’ society of some 260 families, and two branches of the tenants’ organisations, organising about 1,500 families in the area. However, in these cases, less than 50 people used to attend the homeowners’ meetings and only 100-200 at the most on the yearly assembly of the tenants’ organisations.\footnote{124} Dahlström’s suggestion, based on interviews, is that about three-quarters of the inhabitants at this time took no part whatsoever in the local organisational life. Only ten percent or less displayed a level of activity intense enough to include attending a meeting twice a week.\footnote{125}

Although these figures were in no way intended to be exact, they suggest a system where the majority gives tacit approval to the doings of a small minority in its endeavours to represent the community. Beneath this basic structure, for a number of years there was also an equally tacit development of a network of social democratic activists in the area, who over time had

\footnotetext{122}{Dahlström, Trivsel i söderort, 92-93.}
\footnotetext{123}{Dahlström, Trivsel i söderort, 92.}
\footnotetext{124}{Dahlström, Trivsel i söderort, 91.}
\footnotetext{125}{Dahlström, Trivsel i söderort, 197-99. If membership in non-local organisations, e.g. labour unions, is counted as well, about half of the population was at least organised in passive memberships.}
taken over leading posts of large part of the different societies. Not least, in
the tenants’ societies, the former communist dominance had been wiped
out. Since the social democrats had at the time been the ruling party in
the municipal administration for thirty years, this emphasises another
aspect of the purpose of the organisations: as the instruments of the central
administration for the governing of the local population.

Tending Society

The imagined community was barely visible when it came to actual
attendance at the meetings of the societies or loyalty to their principles of
solidarity. It nonetheless had to be enforced at least on the symbolic level
such as in the general layout of the settlements. For this, there were
important forerunners in the international level. Already in the beginning of
the 1920s, it was argued in one of the local papers that the distinguishing
features of the English garden cities was the absence of individual features
in their houses. Instead, the paper explained that the inhabitants were
content with the opportunity to make their own house and garden a detail
of the larger picture of the whole community-society.

This idea, which of course harmonised with the regulating ambitions of
the City authorities, was frequently visible also among the socially
concerned people of the Enskede settlements. As was stated in the first
issue of the monthly paper published by the small cottage societies, one
should imagine ‘the community [-society] as one single garden where
everything harmonises.’ The garden architect, Sven H. Linde, emphasised
a couple of years later in the same publication that the increased interest for
gardening should not be seen as a threat to community feelings. On the
contrary, he argued, it was the ‘sense of community’ that had made it
mandatory to care more for the shape of each individual garden – since
they were all parts of a larger whole. This responsibility for the outlook of

126 Dahlström, Trivsel i söderort, 252-56.
128 Småstugföreningarnas Tidning, December 1932, p 15. In Swedish: ’samhället som en enda stor trädgård där allting harmonierar.’
129 Småstugföreningarnas Tidning, August 1939, 1.
the whole community was also emphasised against metropolitan press
critique for the deficient level of privacy that followed from the open shape
of the settlements.[130]

Enskede Villa Owners’ Society distinguished itself among the eastern
Brännkyrka homeowners’ societies by drawing a sharp demarcation line
against issues traditionally belonging to the workers’ movement. It did not
even, upon request, participate in fund raising arrangements for the
Spanish, Finnish, and Norwegian people suffering in the wars – coldly
declaring that these kinds of activities did not belong to its field of
competence.[131] Although some small cottage societies participated in
solidarity measures, also Samorganisationen upheld the ‘non-political’ stance
firmly.[132]

Otherwise, the homeowners’ societies displayed a rather radical behaviour.
Strike-breakers were occasionally expelled, both in the eastern and the
western parts of the area, as damaging the reputation of the societies.[133] From the 1930s crisis onwards, the societies also assumed the responsibility
to keep unorganised workers away from the building grounds in the area.[134] As the case of the communist rebellion in Enskedefältet shows, there was always a lingering threat that a society which did not protect the least
fortunate of the settlers against the structural power of the market would
risk to being overridden by more radical forces.

As has been demonstrated, organisational activities in the southern
districts largely developed from mass mobilisation and direct democracy
into routine management by appointed, and often salaried personnel,
working within the realm rather than in opposition to the municipal
administration. It has to be emphasised, that the tasks set by the local
societies were more wide-ranging than merely day-to-day administration.

130 Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning 15-20 June 1935, 7.
131 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Board Minutes 26 January 1939 §5; 9 February 1940
§6; 19 March 1940 §17; 9 October 1942 §6.
132 Sam, Minutes 5 August 1938 §4.
133 Lindegård Real Estate Owners’ Society, Minutes 19 January, extra issues; Board
Minutes 2 February 1930 §6, 9 March 1930 §4; Södra Förstads-Bladet 11 March 1933, 1
(Mälarhöjden Real Estate Owners’ Society).
134 Enskedefältet Villa Owners’s Society, Minutes 1 August 1940 §7; Stockholms
Trädgårdsstadsförbunards Tidning September 1940, p 5; July 1941 1-2. Cf. Olle Volny,
Arkitektur genom eget arbete, Organiserat självbyggeri i Stockholm 1927-1976 (Stockholm 1977),
88-91.
The societies tried, and to some extent certainly succeeded, to gain considerable grip over everyday life. To some extent, this influence was derived from the tasks set by the City, but there were other elements that had more to do with the history and dynamics of voluntary societies in themselves. In this way, the traditions of Swedish voluntary societies was strengthened as a result of the authority that was given to them both by the City administration and as conduits of market forces. That is why they could set a definite mark on the daily life of the settlements. Below, I will give some examples of how this power was carried out.

**The resistance to alcohol**

Stockholm had during most of the nineteenth century been hard struck by excessive liquor consumption. Under the influence of the first wave of temperance movements in the 1880, the number of alcohol-serving inns had been dramatically reduced. Instead, hundreds of so-called beer cafés (ölkaféer) were opened, serving beer together with a minimal plate of food. This change dramatically lowered the consumption of alcohol, in pure chemical terms, while still providing homo-social meeting places for working men. In the new homeowners’ suburbs that were established from the late 1880s onwards, however, these establishments were looked upon with much contempt. While abundant in industrialised districts, the cafés were regularly prohibited by the municipal authorities in the homeowners’ districts, generally after mobilisation among the homeowners themselves. This may be explained as a result both of the mixed composition of the building companies’ boards, where workers and middle class philanthropists often sided, and the culture of respectability that often proliferated among the settlers.

The workers’ organisations were themselves among the firmest upholders of this policy. At the time of the signing of the incorporation agreement between the Brännkyrka borough and the City of Stockholm, for instance, the Brännkyrka *arbetarekommun* (Labour Commune; the local social democratic branch) made it their imperative request that:

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for the future no beer or liquor serving permissions should be
acclaimed within the area of the former borough, or that in
any case permissions of this kind should not be made without
giving the inhabitants of the parish a possibility to have their
saying.\footnote{136}{Brännkyrka Borough Assembly, Minutes 23 February 1909 §2, Appendix G. \textit{In Swedish:} ’att för framtiden ej några öl- eller spriträttigheter måtte beviljas beträffande den nuvarande socknens område, eller i hvart fall sådan rättighet ej beviljas utan att församlingens invånare såvidt möjligt gifvits tillfälle att derom yttra sig.’}

The Borough Assembly continued its restrictive practice throughout its
existence, working closely together with the temperance movement\footnote{137}{Brännkyrka Borough Assembly, Minutes 5 August 1908 §3, 16 August 1910 §4, 28/10 1910 §4.}. After
the incorporation, the homeowners’ societies and even the tenants’
organisation, picked up this policy\footnote{138}{Enskede Municipal Society, Poster for a meeting 3 October 1912, kept by Anders Rydmark, Enskede; Nya Enskede Real Estate Society, Minutes 1 March 1922 §2; Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 24 February 1922 §2; Board Minutes 2 May 1922 §2; Board Minutes 1 February 1922 § 8; Stockholm Tenants’ Society, Aspudden Branch, Various Documents 1921-40, Resolution 17 January 1928; Enskede Tidning 12 October 1928, p 1.}. In the same way as during the first
decades of Letchworth, the first English garden city, a majority was
repeatedly mobilised to keep the community dry\footnote{139}{On Letchworth, see Mervyn Miller, \textit{Letchworth, The first garden city} (Sussex 1989), 92-94.}. However, as the
resistance over time grew less stubborn in the privately built parts, Enskede
set it self apart, since the Country Domain’s Board’s view of the matter
proved similar to the view given by the temperance societies. Cafés were, as
already mentioned in chapter four frequently denied permission not only to
serve alcoholic beverages but also to open at all\footnote{140}{SCC Appendage 7 1925, 114. \textit{In Swedish:} ’Man finner inom nybyggaresamhällena i
stadens omgivningar på enskild grund mängenstädes ett vimmel av kaféer, ägnade att
locka befolkningen, icke minst ungdomen, bort från hemlivet och till att slösa bort sina
penningar. På tomträttsområdena får kafé ej öppnas utan tillstånd. Det har därvid alltid
tillsatts, att sådana ej tillkomma annat än i den män behov kan anses förefinnas. Staden
kan ock tillse, att de ej inrättas inom de egentliga bostadsområdena, där de skapa mer
eller mindre otrevnad, utan förläggas till lämpliga platser.’}. \footnote{136}{Brännkyrka Borough Assembly, Minutes 23 February 1909 §2, Appendix G. \textit{In Swedish:} ’att för framtiden ej några öl- eller spriträttigheter måtte beviljas beträffande den nuvarande socknens område, eller i hvart fall sådan rättighet ej beviljas utan att församlingens invånare såvidt möjligt gifvits tillfälle att derom yttra sig.’}
The Struggle against the Market

The Country Domain’s Board was on a regular basis deciding over permissions not only concerning alcohol and cafés, but also for the opening of other commercial businesses, such as regular food and tobacco shops. The first time when this was done in autumn 1908, the inhabitants were consulted with the result that the proposal to open a cigar shop was turned down. At most times, they were not consulted.

On one of the occasions when they were consulted, when the New Enskede Real Estate Owner’s Society approved that one John Jansson should have the opportunity to open a food store in his house at Lindevägen, it seems as if the homeowners felt that this consequently was their own shop. When one Ms Karlsson four years later acquired the permission to open a small business of a similar kind adjacent to the old one without the homeowners’ organisation being consulted, this caused immediate complaints from the neighbours. The organisation’s board was divided over the question. While the chairperson C. E. Eriksson and a couple of others argued that the shop owner – who once had started his business on request of the Society – should be protected, others argued that anyone should have the right to try his/her own luck. The result of the discussion was however that the organisation sent a protest letter to the City. The same pattern was repeated 24 years later, when the Society (in vain) demanded that the consumer co-operative movement should financially compensate the existing private shop owner for the loss of business opportunity occurring when they would open a store within the settlement.

This was, however, not the only kind of influence. When a request was made to Stureby Villa Society in 1925 to lobby for the opening of a co-operative store at the settlement, the question was regarded as being outside the realms of what the Society could concern itself with. Likewise, four years later there was a heated dispute between Enskedebladet representing the Merchants’ Association, and the Enskede Villa Owners’

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141 CDB, Minutes 10 October 1908 §3; 6 November 1908 §13; 4 December 1908 §3; 8 January 1909 §9; 12 November 1909 §7; 26 November 1909 §16; 27 April 1910 §9, 10; 20 May 1910 §2; 17 February 1911 §21; 10 March 1911 §7; 4 August 1911 §9; 29 September 1911 §15; 27 October 1911 §15 etc.
142 CDB, Minutes 2 September 1910 §15, Appendix K.
143 New Enskede Real Estate Owner’s Society, Minutes 21 December 1914 §1.
144 Lindegård Real Estate Owner’s Society Letter to the Consumer Co-operative Society of Stockholm, 12 September 1938.
145 Stureby Villa Society, Board Minutes 12 March 1924 §6.
Society-affiliated *Enskede Tidning*, over the local shop owners’ resistance against new establishments. The affirmative attitude taken by *Enskede Tidning* towards local competition was however combined with an emphasis on the necessity to support the local stores at least against increasing competition from the inner city.

Over time, the societies acquired a quasi-governmental function in their efforts to regulate the market by information campaigns against the less serious business persons, who from time to time abounded in the districts in various trades. This was one of the developments that from the late twenties onwards brought forth gradual transformation of the societies into co-operative economic networks. Following de-politicisation of the societies, an opposite trend of pro-politicisation emphasised the need for social solidarity. This was a result of the need to reach as high membership coverage as possible, in order to guarantee rational and competitive administration (and rebates). This transformation was also a driving force behind the initiative to create a central organ for all the homeowners’ societies on leasehold areas, soon materialised in *Samorganisationen* from the early 1930s onwards.

**Moral Control**

It is probable that most of the entertainment enjoyed by the Enskede inhabitants, was found at inner city establishments. This did not stop them from eagerly discussing possibilities to regulate both the few moments of commercial pleasure to be found in the area, and the risks that the urban lights would spill over to their own settlements. As mentioned above, the dancing spot at the Enskede People’s Park was early on attacked by the religious establishment led by parish priest John Lagerkrantz. Although one of the organisations managing the spot was in fact a local temperance branch (the others were the local social democrats and the Peoples’ House committee), the petitioners argued that the spots would entice ‘plenty of the worse individuals of both sexes, who would in large numbers come out

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146 Enskedebladet 23 November 1928, p 2; Enskede Tidning 30 November 1928, p 3.
147 *Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning*, July 1936, 9.
149 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Board Minutes 17 April 1944 §20; *Trädgårdsstadsföreningarnas Tidning* December 1940, p 9.
150 Lindegård Real Estate Owner’s Society, Minutes for general meeting 17 July 1930 §4.
there and have an extremely depraving influence on the better part of the young.\textsuperscript{151}

Since the dancing spot question was so tightly connected to the need to raise money for a more appropriate secular gathering house, the issue could not be definitely dropped. In the autumn, new requests both for a more generous assistance for a gathering house and for permission to organise dances led the Country Domain's Board to ask its office to investigate how the requests could be met.\textsuperscript{152} When the country domain’s director, C. M. Meurling, in December 1913 presented his investigation, he approved the urgent need for better gathering facilities:

Experience shows, that because a garden city in some sence is situated on an isolated place, a rather strong spiritual life often arises. This life tends to express itself in blossoming organisations. This has been the case also in Enskede, and in it obvious that the place will be nicer to live it, if such activity can be encouraged.\textsuperscript{153}

Concerning the dancing spot, it was the director’s view that it could be placed near the woods south of the settlement, a place ‘so secluded and isolated, that the spot without difficulties could be held free from disturbing individuals’.\textsuperscript{154} Accepting this initiative, the Board chose to approve the next request, and the dancing spot was opened in the summer of 1914.\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{151} CDB, Minutes 10 April 1913 §12, Appendage H, Letter of 2 April 1913, signed by Lagerkrantz and the baptist preacher J Nyren, and co-signed by 40 more, almost exclusively middle-class persons. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘en hel del sämre element af båda könen, som talrikt komma dit ut och på den bätre delen av ungdomen verka synnerligen deprave-rande.’

\textsuperscript{152} CDB, Minutes 30 October 1913 §1, Appendix K, L, O; 6 November 1913 §6.

\textsuperscript{153} CDB, Minutes 11 December 1913 §3, Appendix B. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘Genom det i viss mån isolerade läget av en trädgårdsstad uppblomstrar i en dylik, enligt vad erfarenheten visat, ofta ett ganska kraftigt, självständigt andligt liv, som gärna tager sig uttryck i en livlig föreningsverksamhet. Även vid Enskede har detta varit fallet, och det är tydligt, att det i hög grad bidrager till platsens trevnad, om dylik verksamhet kan underlättas.’

\textsuperscript{154} CDB, Minutes 11 December 1913 §3, Appendix B. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘så pass avskiljt och isolerat, att platsen utan svårighet torde kunna hållas fri från oroselement’.

\textsuperscript{155} CDB, Minutes 14 May 1914, §8.
The adversaries were not content with this, but promptly sent an appeal to the Governor General. The appeal in an article to *Dagens Nyheter* deplored the inflow into the calmness of the surroundings of ‘travelling Southside-Americans of exactly the same type as those who earlier frequented the by now closed dancing spots in Johanneshov and Sofielund’. It seems as if this article published in a liberal paper set the tone for a class-based political interpretation of the conflict. At the protest meeting in the People’s Park, mentioned above, Ingrid Wiberg, the representative of the Enskede Municipal Society, specifically referred to the complaints as upper-class attempts to depict the dancing audience, although it had in all possible ways proven its respectability against ordinary urban roughs. In a written response, published in *Social-Demokraten*, the adversaries were described as ‘some right-wing people and […] the religious clique present at the place’. Against the 48 people who had signed the appeal, the People’s House Society mobilised 325 people for a letter written to the Governor General in defence of the dancing spot, of which 123 were homeowners. At this time, the Society’s board specifically declared that it would no longer tolerate the so-called ‘Jumpa’ (a variant of two-step), deplored at the time for its inferred erotic movements.

According to the police, prohibiting adult dancing was not only an important instrument in itself, but was held as an effective way to keep the incited roughs away from the area. This detail was so important that the Governor General’s office even sent a secretary to the dancing spot one Saturday night to check out the level of immorality – reportedly he returned fully content with what he had witnessed.

I have discussed this incident at some length because I think that it illustrates some features of local politics and social control, which subsequently would be far less important. Firstly, the campaign against the dancing spot was orchestrated jointly by the main old control organisations,

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156 *Dagens Nyheter* 28 June 1914. *In Swedish*: ‘resande söderamerikaner av fullkomligt samma typ som tidigare frekventerat Johannehovs och Sofielunds numera stängda dansbanor.’

157 *Social-Demokraten* 1 July 1914.

158 By E.W. Johansson, *Social-Demokraten* 1 July 1914.

159 *Social-Demokraten* 16/4 1915.

160 *Social-Demokraten* 17 April 1915, *Dagens Nyheter* 18 April 1915.

161 *Aftontidningen* 3 July 1915.
the state and the Churches (of which the latter included some of the liberals). Secondly, politics at this time was still very expressive, making use of spectacular meetings and the rhetoric of open letters and drawing strength from both the quality (thus an obvious frequency of titles in the name lists) and the quantity of numbers. Thirdly, the aims were still mainly negative, focusing on the permissions or prohibitions of certain arenas of action. The Swedish ethnologist, Jonas Frykman, has demonstrated that actions against dancing spots and other arenas of youth culture were quite common as late as the 1940s. It was the Country Domain’s Board’s firmly held view that privately owned dancing spots could by no means be allowed on municipally held land. Fourthly, the incident also testifies to the class differences that after all were evident at the spot. As latter-day interviews indicate, the rather small middle class clique living there seemed to have had very little to do with the working class majority. While the latter swapped work on the houses and frequented out-door festivities, the former preferred to hire labour and lead their social life indoors. This uneasy co-habitation, however, had difficulties to find regular spaces of expression, given a local cohesion which for instance made it mandatory for the local social democrats (although atheists) to fight for representation in the parish assembly. The joint political work in these fora made such tight political contacts possible, that the social democratic youth in the 1930s received substantial financial help from local conservatives for their allegedly integrative work.

While this sort of entertainment facilities had to find refuge on privately owned lands in the western part of the area in the eastern part, the only way to get a permission was that the spots were managed exclusively by voluntary societies. This is also what seems to have happened. Especially

162 Jonas Frykman, Dansbaneeländet, Ungdomen, populärkulturen och opinionen (Stockholm 1988).
163 CDB, Documents F 2B:28, Axel Dahlberg 16 December 1927.
165 See interview with Manne Sethreus, in Monika Carlheim-Gyllensköld & Gunilla Nilsson Gamla Enskede-Låt husen leva, Archive of the Stockholm City Museum; Social-Demokraten 20 May 1932.
the social democratic youth club became locally famous for its ‘club dances’ at the Peoples’ House, which although totally sober (at least inside the house) frequently lasted until early morning. Audience at these dances during the late 1920s and early 1930s ranged, it seems, widely outside the circle of social democrats. This entry into the entertainment business – together with the recruitment of some leading members to regional and national politics, may explain the minimal interest for local politics within the club.166

The Enskede-Stureby edition of Södra Förstads-Bladet in 1931 started a campaign against the Stureby dancing spot (managed by the local villa society), following a letter to the editor from some anonymous homeowners with complaints about it. The campaign led to a heated debate between the paper and the Society, as the anonymous defenders of the spot argued that only seven members of the Society had declared their discontent with the dancing nights. The issue was even brought to court after some of the dancing guests had been beaten up, and it was argued that the spot had not been well supervised.167 Similar conflicts took place in two of the societies on SLR grounds as well, in 1935 in Enskedefältet Garden City Society, and in Skarnäck Small Cottage Society the year after. For the latter the chasm led to the abolishment of the traditional Midsummer Feast and a following crisis for the society.168

As the Swedish sociologist, Mats Franzén et al argue, the conflict between traditional and continental leisure activities, centred on the voluntary organisations and the commercial leisure culture imported foremost from the USA was tense during the inter-war years.169 For instance, the issue of Jazz music was hotly debated in both the local social democratic youth

166 See interview with Manne Setreus, in Monika Carlheim-Gyllensköld & Gunilla Nilsson Gamla Enskede-Låt husen leva, Archive of the Stockholm City Museum; Enskede SDUK Frihet Vol B1:4 Cirkulär 1927, 1930. The contention in the yearly report (B1-5) 1933 is telling and representative: ‘Political interest within the club must increase, since the Club is a political club and not a pleasure club.’ In Swedish: Det politiska intresset inom klubben måste bli större ty klubben är en politisk klubb och ej en nöjesklubb.

167 Nya Enskedebladet 11 April 1931; 18 April 1931; 13 June 1931; 4 July 1931; 8 August 1931; 29 August 1931; 19 September 1931; 10 October 1931.

168 Enskedefältets Villa Owner’s Society, Minutes 18 July 1935 §7; Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning March 1936, p 10-11; May 1936, p 13.

169 Cf. note 135.
clubs. In one of them, S.D.U.K. Aktiv of western Brännkyrka, the permission to play Jazz was retained only after the Club Board had threatened to resign if a decision should be made prohibiting the club-managed Jazz evenings. In the second, S.D.U.K. Frihet, Jazz (or, as it was labelled, ‘modern music’) was prohibited for a while but soon reintroduced since the ban had proven fruitless. The fact that the complaints in the first of these clubs had originally been made by female members may however indicate that the question was more complicated than it appears at first sight. As the minutes from a cultural discussion class within the social democratic club indicates, there seems to have been some discontent with male behaviour at the night clubs, especially regarding the level of alcohol consumption.

The Youth Board, a co-operation committee for all societies in the area and from its early days dominated by the local teachers and the social democrats, issued in 1931 a general declaration addressing these cultural fears in a more specified fashion than was usual. The causes for the ‘unhealthy life of pleasure’ deplored by the Youth Board were basically of three kinds: the changes and difficulties on the labour market, the scarcity of gathering houses, and: ‘all overly rich and compelling chances to unfettered and superficial, unhealthy pleasures, which usurp the lower instincts, lust for sensations, desire for luxury and vanity.’ This echoes the fears and the desire to fence themselves off from the neighbouring city, which abounded in the above mentioned complaints about the dancing spots. It would be impossible to understand the persistence of the need for moral control without taking into account the hope to to shut the own community out from what was perceived as unwanted strands of modernity, both in the form of concrete persons and mental and ideological influences.

170 Södra Förstädernas SDUK Aktiv, Minutes 4 November 1924 §15.
171 Enskede SDUK Frihet, Minutes 2 April 1925 §18; 21 October 1926 §17.
173 Enskede Tidning 28 February 1931, p 3. In Swedish: ’osunda nöjeslivet; allt för rika och lockande tillfällen till obundna och förflockande, osunda nöjen, vilka ockra på lägre drifter, sensationslystnad, lyxbegär och fåfänga.’
The Danger Without

A typical example of the shutting out trend was when Enskedefältet Villa Owners’ Society in 1936 in vain complained over the fact that a mobile Amusement Park had been given permission to set up its machines in the vicinities for some summer days. There was an obvious risk, the Society implied, that the fair would entice ‘a lot of strangers, and perhaps in many cases unwanted individuals, as visitors’.174

The proximity to the inner city was obviously felt as a threat by at least those people who had the opportunity to express themselves through the voluntary societies. However, there are signs that these anti-urban feelings were not shared by all inhabitants – or, worse, that they even were mostly the expressions of a small middle class elite. For instance, when the chair of the Youth Board, Wilhelm Helle, in 1928 proposed to the local Social Democratic Women’s Club a resolution already taken by the local social democratic branch for increased action against less desired forms of youth culture, the women decided to omit the line implying that the undesired cultural forms were a consequence of ‘contemporary urban life’.175

Actions against traditional outcasts, such as the travelling Roma people occurred now and then.176 According to contemporary press coverage, it appears that the mostly immigrant Jewish community, of which some at the time were living in Enskede, were objects of discrimination by the People’s Park Society. In January 1917, the social democrat daily 

Politiken argued that Jews from the small Enskede community had been banned from entering, or at least had had their movements restricted within the park. Complaints about the mistreatment had been submitted to the annual meeting of the Society where it was dismissed (allegedly even made a laughing stock). Although downplayed by the major and more moderate daily Social-

174 Småstugföreningarnas Tidning May 1936, p 16. In Swedish: ’en massa främmande, och kanske i många fall icke önskvärda element, som besökare.’
175 Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, A1a Vol. 3, Minutes 5 November 1928 §2. The whole sentence In Swedish, with the omitted part in italics: Enligt vårt förmenande och våra erfarenheter utsätts särskilt dessa ungdomskategorier av det nutida stadslivet för så stora frestelser och svårigheter vid övergången till näringslivet att vi såsom mödrar anse det vara vår plikt att påkalla folkskoledirektionens bistånd vid åstadkommande av förebyggande skyddsåtgärder.
176 Brännkyrka Borough Assembly, Minutes 16 August 1910 §11.
**Demokraten**, it seems that the issue at the meeting had at least been discussed in a way disclosing anti-Semitic tendencies.[177]

Apart from this, there are few indications of ethnic discrimination in Enskede. For instance, in spring 1927, Brännkyrka Municipal Society sent out complaints about a Roma camp to other organisations. The Enskede Villa Owners’ Society however turned down the request, signed by Nils Söderqvist, who was also the chairperson of Långbrodal Villa Owners’ Society in western Brännkyrka. Furthermore, it was not even discussed by the settlers in Stureby (those two were the only organisations in place in eastern Brännkyrka at the time).[178] Although this may point to a somewhat less pronounced siege mentality, there was still a widespread contention that violent crimes – sexual crimes and crimes against children in particular – were brought to the community from the outside (that is, from the city). Door salesmen, who became frequent with the onset of the early 1930s crisis, in particular became scapegoats for fear of outside influences.[179]

During these years, an anti-urban mentality slowly developed in the area, but it must be emphasised that this mentality acquired a very specific form. It had to relate both to the class base of the population, the relation between the settlement and the city at large and, not least, to the relations between eastern Brännkyrka and other settlements in the urban periphery. These settlements gave examples of both higher and lower class bases, as well as more or less intense relations to the City administration. Although much in the area for a long time to come would depend on self-administration through the voluntary societies and the social networks of which they were the cores, the whole area was and remained deeply dependent on the decisions of the City administration. This in turn seems to have been a remaining reminder of the low class base of its inhabitants.

One way to make up for this was to counter the reputation of the settlement as rough and troublesome. In the previous chapter, I referred at some length to the campaign administered by *Enskede Tidning* against the stubborn and mass-mobilising kind of politics that had been practised before the war by Enskede Municipal Society. The boisterous style of

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178 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Board Minutes 5 April 1927 §4. Since the Minutes and documents of the Brännkyrka Municipal Society for this period are lost, it is not possible to get a comprehensive view of the support in the whole area.
179 *Enskede Trädgårdstäders Tidning* 1 February 1930, p 1.
foregone days was in this context contrasted to the less visible means preferred by ‘the great number of educated and well-mannered members of society in the garden city’. Any attempt to mobilise large numbers of working people was from that time depicted as works of the ‘communist multitudes’.

Another way to emphasise this identity was to pronounce the peacefulness of the settlements. *Enskede Tidning* conducted a series of sketches of important Enskede settlers, obviously hoping to present them as some kind of model characters. A typical example was the drug store owner, Axel Strömberg, whose ‘calm deliberateness’ the writer hoped would be ‘considerably stronger represented’ among other inhabitants.

Yet another way to state the identity was to underline the settlement’s status as part of the city at large. There are repeated insistences in the local papers and the documents of the societies that the Enskede and Brännkyrka settlements should not be considered as parts of the countryside, and that the inhabitants must be reckoned on par with other citizens. One way to ensure this was to draw a clear line against anything that might indicate that the settlements had a lower class base than what actually was the case. In pursuing this policy, the societies mainly chose to emphasise the classless content of the garden city idea against different features that they considered degrading. By doing this, they made creative use of the City’s own rhetoric as a background for their demands, and were not afraid to turn also to the different actors of the public sphere in order to underline what they experienced as inconsistencies.

In 1915, the Enskede Fruit Grower’s Society for instance complained about a small store building, claiming that the establishment of this store would make the whole settlement look like a *kåkstad* (shackle town). In November 1915, the board received some letters with protests, this time not from homeowners but from row-house tenants, against the plans to

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180 *Enskede Tidning* 9 November 1928, p 3. *In Swedish*: ‘den stora mängden av bildade och verserade samhällsmedlemmar i trädgårdsstaden.’

181 *Enskede Tidning* 28 April 1928, p 1. *In Swedish*: ‘kommunistiska skarorna’.

182 *Enskede Tidning* 23 November 1928, p 3. *In Swedish*: lugna betänksamhet [should probably be: eftertänksamhet]; betydligt kraftigare företrädd.

183 *Brännkyrka-Posten*, April 1927, p 1 (resolution from Örby Real Estate Owners’ Society); *Nya Enskedebladet*, 14 November 1931, p 3; *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning*, 15 November 1933, p 3; *Stockholms Trädgårdsstadsföreningars Tidning*, December 1940, p 11;

184 CDB, Minutes 21/1 1925, Appendix G.
rent out some premises to a Salvation Army branch. This idea was not well
taken by the tenants who held the view that ‘this society in their meetings
and diverse gatherings are making use of a noisy and clamouring sort of
song and music’. That this was not (or, perhaps, not only) a variant of anti-
clericalism, but a principal view related to their views of what a garden city
should be like is made clear in the following sentences:

We also wish to underline how inappropriate it is to locate
public gathering rooms in private houses. They have constant
circulating audience and this gives rise to a state of insecurity.
We ask the Country Domain’s Board to consider, that we
tenants as well as most of the other people living in Enskede,
have tried and managed to get to this place precisely to find
the calmness and peace that this community contrary to the
city can offer.185

In other words, in this context the Salvation Army meetings represented
neither clerical power nor sacredness of any other kind, but the somewhat
spontaneous, noisy behaviour commonly associated with the lower class
roughs. The Army also was tightly connected to these through its charity
work.

Lower class behaviour could also be related to residential structures. This
pattern was first visible in the middle class garden suburbs in Bromma, in
western Stockholm. In the summer of 1927, the Real Estate Board received
a letter from the Garden City Society of Ålsten. The letter expressed
discontent with the fact that according to the town plan, tenement houses
were going to be built at the still empty sites surrounding the one-family
houses. The homeowners were now worried that houses of that size would
deprive their homes of their all round view. They also had two other
arguments, which they underlined. Firstly, they were worried about the
social integration that would result from the introduction of tenements in
the community. As they put it, it could not be expected than the tenants of

185 CDB E. III Miscellaneous Received Documents 1907-1918, Letter from tenants 8
November 1915. In Swedish: ‘Äfven vilja vi framhålladet olämpliga i att till privata bostä-
der förlägga offentliga samlingsssalar med dessas ständigt cirkulerande publik och deraf
följande otrygghetstillstånd. Vi bedja landsegendomsnämnden beakta, att vi hyresgäster
säväl som de flesta andra, sökt oss hit just för att finna det lugn och den frid som detta
samhälle i motsats till staden kan bjudas.’
multi-family houses would be as concerned about the home environment as the own-homers felt themselves to be:

These yards will be laid out not as garden-plots, but as backyards, where the eye all the time is met by great dust-bins and hanging clothes [...] The backyards of the tenement houses will be situated immediately next to the gardens of the villa owners. It may be feared, that this intimate neighbourly relation in itself will provoke conflicts between the neighbours. The interests of the villa owner and the tenant may easily clash.

On the other hand, and more subtly argumented, the organisation put forth aesthetic views about how the tenement houses would ‘destroy the overall vision of a garden city’. Crucial to their view was that the villa owner on his or her own initiative, and not without difficulties, had managed to get away from the city to another kind of living than the sort represented by the tenement houses.186

The fear of the degrading of tenements was not only an issue for all the residents’ societies.187 In 1929, the Enskede social democrats expressed the same fears, this time complaining over the plans to build row instead of detached houses (these fears had some years earlier been one of the major reasons for the founding of the Enskede Villa Owner’s Society). If such houses were to be built at all, they should be restricted to certain areas and not blend with the dominating one-family houses.188 In 1938, one of the social democratic local clubs even protested before its party members at the Real Estate Board against the plans to build social housing close to the Enskedefältet settlement. The chairman of the board, Harry Sandberg, had

186 REB Minutes 21 October 1923 §17, Acta 421/1927, 1 October 1927 (Garden City Organisation of Ålsten, both cit.).
187 See for instance Lindegårds Villa Owner’s Society, Letters to SCC Working Committee, without date and 23 March 1941; Board Minutes 17 February 1941 §5; 15 September 1941 §4; Stureby Villa Owner’s Society Minutes 24 October 1934 §6; Enskede Villa Owner’s Society Board Minutes 14 November 1939 §5; Enskedefältets Villa Owner’s Society, Minutes 15 November 1938 §9; Trädgårdstadsföreningarnas Tidning March 1945, p 8.
188 Enskede Social Democratic Society, E 1:1 Correspondence, To the Stockholm REB 28 November 1929; Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 2 February 1922 §10.
reportedly accepted the complaints from the club only with clearly outspoken discontent with their un-solidaristic behaviour, as he saw it.\footnote{189}

Generally, these complaints were met only with minor concessions, and frequently only after long duration.\footnote{190} The complaints were however directed against the typical garden city townscape (where houses of different sizes are supposed to be blended). In the beginning of the 1930s, the representatives of the City administration announced that one-family houses and tenements should in the future not only be kept apart, but also cordoned off by spacious parkland.\footnote{191} The leading layer of the residents’ societies immediately accepted this concept, which fits in well with the influences from International Style town planning at the time.\footnote{192} It is not an exaggeration to say that the complaints from the homeowners were one of the factors, which sealed the fate of the garden city concept as far as it included a mixing of house types.

On the other hand, there was also an urge to show the pride that the inhabitants of the settlements felt, especially when they faced complaints that compared them unfavourably with settlements with higher, middle and upper-middle class bases. For instance, in 1929, a letter to the editor of \textit{Enskede Tidning} complained about what the author felt were demeaning characterisations of the small cottage communities (in this case, Olovslund in Bromma). The article had been an attempt to come to grips with less favourable views about the working class dominated small cottages. The complaints focused on formulations describing the houses as ‘stereotypical’ and their inhabitants as formerly homeless people. What however seems to have been felt as most degrading, seems to have been the suggestion that the cottages could only have been erected through ‘generous help from the City’. On the contrary, it was argued that all financial arrangements having anything to do with the cottages had been made on a firm no-cost basis.\footnote{193} Although these indictments arguably were more to the point during the 1930s crisis, still they were perceived by the defendants of the cottages as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[189] Enskede Västra Socialdemokratiska förening Minutes 7 December 1912 §11; 1 February 1939 §7.
\item[190] REB. Circular 25 September 1939.
\item[191] Södra Förstads-Bladet 1 October 1932 (Sandberg); Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning, 6 (Ljungberger).
\item[192] Ny Enskededbladet 26 September 1931, 1; Södra Förstads-Bladet 14 June 1940, 3.
\item[193] Enskede Tidning 21 June 1929, p 7. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘stadens frikostiga hjälp.’
\end{footnotes}
intentional attempts to de-legitimise the cottage movement. When the professional journal of building engineers in 1937 expressed fears that the small cottage communities gathered too large numbers of unruly working class people in areas where they could not possibly be effectively supervised by the police, this was interpreted as a call for ‘Concentration Camps’. At the same time, connected to this aggressive response was an insistence that the social experiences of character forming in the garden cities had been successful. As the paper issued by Samorganisationen lamented, it ‘is a quite telling fact that in the small cottage areas there is no regular police supervision, contrary to what is the case in [upper middle-class] Äppelviken, Nockeby etc’. The garden city inhabitants were indeed very eager to point out the peacefulness of their settlements. As Police sergeant, J. A. Möller, emphasised in 1929, the police had all reasons to compliment the inhabitants of Enskede for their orderly behaviour and manners.

Keeping a Nice Front

The societies assumed an important part in the efforts to keep a tidy facade to the outside world. The easiest way to do this was, as mentioned, to give the chairperson the task to speak with people who did not properly tend their gardens or houses. If that did not suffice – or if the City itself owned the house in question – the society would turn to the municipal authorities (or the site vending company, in the case of the private settlements). As the reason for the City’s neglect could be that it considered the area in question as an area in transition and not yet a ready-built garden city, the authorities could wait several years before any action

196 Enskede Tidning 28 March 1929, 1.
197 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 2 June 1922 §4; Stureby Real Estate Owners’ Society, Minutes 10 May 1933 §11.
198 Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 5 March 1925 §3; Board Minutes 21 May 1928 §8; Stureby Real Estate Owners’ Society, Minutes 20 January 1927 §12; 3 August 1933 §8; Board Minutes 5 May 1932 §11.
was taken. On the other hand, sometimes even the police was mobilised to enforce regulations about trees hanging out over the pavements.

Another possibility for the leading layer of the organisations was to appeal to the community spirit through articles either in the societies’ own papers or in the local newspapers. As Gust Läsström argued in 1938 in *Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning* (Journal of the Small Cottage Societies), a well-tended garden and a well-painted facade in a non-disturbing colour combined ‘a visible proof, that we generally love order, tidiness and comfort.’ The effort laid down on the visible parts of the homes was interpreted both as a sign of growing senses of social solidarity and a consciousness of the importance of the well-being as a whole, to which the fate of the individual could be subsumed. Furthermore, it was argued, this would in turn be appreciated by the surrounding world and would vastly improve the reputation of the settlement. This would also make it easier for the organisations to negotiate with the City’s authorities. The importance of this argument was frequently emphasised by reminders that refusal to abide by these informal rules would lead to increasing, although silent, anger among the neighbours.

The supervising efforts did not end with the work done to improve the general outlook. It also belonged to the tasks of the societies to control the inhabitants’ whereabouts in general. It was the City authorities’ wish that the size of the societies should be moderate enough to permit the members to enforce a level of social control over each other.

The tending of internal relations within the societies seemed largely to have been the task of the treasurer. It was told about the treasurer of Enskedefältet Garden City Society, Gunnar Dolk, how his home became the centre of the settlement. All members had to visit him four times a year to pay the membership fees. This made him the only the board member to keep a regular face-to-face contact with all those members who did not

199 REB, Country Domain’s department Document F 2B:12.
200 *Enskede Tidning* 5 November 1927, p1.
202 For instance *Stockholms Trädgårdsförreningars Tidning* June 1943, 8.
203 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F2B:1, Axel Dahlberg 28 April 1920.
attend the meetings. At the same time, the Dolk family house became more or less the semi-official office of the community where people were directed to go for instance when they were looking for someone but did not know the exact address. This deep knowledge about the inhabitants was a valuable resource in the routine administration of the settlements. The chairperson and the secretary with their position in between the settlement and the governing authorities could if required pursue a measure of symbolic power in the relations with the members.

Moralising ambitions were also discernible in the internal work of the societies. Creating a more orderly and friendly atmosphere at the meetings was something asked for, not least by the female members. On the occasion of his leaving the settlement, the former chairperson, Gustaf Åström, mentioned in an address to the Stureby Villa Owner’s Society in 1944 that debates on the meetings should always be held in a matter-of-fact atmosphere. He emphasised that there was the need for formal training in organisational knowledge to make this happen. These comments were expressed in more detail in an article in the paper of IFK Enskede, the largest local athletic club. Most important was, it stated, not to let emotions take the upper hand. Instead, every member should ‘let out of reason emanating social considerations guide’ in matters concerning relations to other members. Perhaps not too surprising, the emotional style still frequent at the meetings was given a feminine coding.

Probably the members were the easy part in the effort to uphold a socially defined public order in the settlements. Trickier was perhaps to tender the rest of the population, and especially the ones still young enough not to have been subject to any large extent of the community forming forces. In the later part of the 1920s, the Enskede settlement for the first time met the difficulties associated with a huge amount of adolescents. As Enskede Tidning complained that power should be in the stick after an unruly autumn festival in 1927. At the same time, however, the paper understood

204 Trädgårdsstadsföreningarnas Tidning, March 1941, p 9-10.
205 See for instance Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Study-group Organisational Knowledge, Minutes 2 November 1934 §11.
206 Stureby Real Estate Owners’ Society, Documents, 21 November 1944.
208 Cf. Enskedekamraten, April 1940, 5.
well that the daily work of athletic organisations and study groups would in the longer-run be a more effective means against bad habits among the youth.  

Class divisions among the Enskede youth also surfaced among a much younger group: the primary school children (that is, up to twelve years old). In 1925, they started to organise school cells under the auspices of communist youth organisation, Revolt. Protesting against what they experienced as discriminating behaviour from the school canteen staff, as well as the serving of sub-standard food, they organised a school strike. Through articles in the metropolitan newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, the activities even became national news. Unsurprisingly, the school staff of Enskede folkskola chose to clamp down on the protests rather harshly, and even called in the parents to reach a community-wide stand against the rebels. As some of the voices on the big meeting attended by some 300 parents shows, sympathies were not singularly on the side of order, but the staff nonetheless easily got their way through. It remained the contention of the Enskede school staff, even long after these events, that physical violence had to be an integrated part of maintaining order among the younger community members. For social city inhabitants under a certain age, the power rationality of direct interventions and physical force thus remained.

The voluntary societies in the southern suburbs had acquired for themselves a large part of the power – and responsibility – both of service functions and social control in the new settlements. How they handled this fundamentally depended on their relationship to the City administration and its power to co-operate only under specified conditions. There were certain limits to the residents’ organisations’ possibilities to act. On the other hand the integration, both administratively and culturally into the municipal realm also provided them with power resources. They both could and would use these resources against the administration.

209 *Enskede Tidning* 27 August 1927, 2; 24 March 1928, 2.
210 Enskede Skola, AIA Lärarkollegiet (Teachers’ Colloquium), Minutes 1918-1930, Minutes 2 December; 14 December 1925.
211 Enskede Skola, AIA Teachers’ Colloquium Minutes 1931-1946, Minutes 26 May 1932; 26 January 1933; 6 April 1933; 1 March 1933; 25 April 1938.
A Democracy with Large Idle Resources

As I have demonstrated, popular participation seems to have dwindled during the period. Activity within the residents’ organisations was largely professionalised and concentrated to a thin layer of functionaries. Although the support for these people should not be under-estimated, few inhabitants could actually have found themselves parts of organisational activity – and thus, of the organisation of community life. The political organisations’ unwillingness to more than temporarily engage in local issues further served to alienate the majority of the inhabitants. However, this development was not only the result of integration into the municipal structures. It also had to do with fundamental rules of participation in the public sphere in this period.

The Accessibility of Public Spaces

A voluntary society needs two kinds of publicness: a way to communicate with its members, and some place to meet. As it turned out, both would be problematic in the Enskede settlement.

The greatest problem was where to meet. As mentioned above, the Country Domain’s Board was not always willing to provide space for meetings and feasts. This did not only involve arrangements made by the Enskede Municipal Society. For instance, in the summer 1911, the liberal party was denied access to the Margareta Park in the centre of Enskede, and was instead told to use a vacant lot on the outskirts of the settlement.212 The same fringe spot was also the venue for occasional religious summer meetings.213 In 1912, the settlement at last acquired its own gathering place as the old municipal workers’ canteen was moved and converted to ‘Enskede’s People’s House’ where the social democratic party chair, Hjalmar Branting, held the inaugural speech. It was obvious from the outset, that this could only be a temporary solution and already in the same year a dancing spot was built in close-by Sofielund to raise money for a better house. The already mentioned People’s Park was opened in 1914 with the same intention, but it was never an economic success and had to

212 CDB, Minutes 19 June 1911 §2.
213 CDB, Minutes 19 June 1913 §6; 4 June 1914 §16.
close down in 1921. Instead, a People’s House Society was formed to raise
money and get a bigger and better house built.\footnote{Per Björkner, ‘Per Björkner har ordet’, \textit{Enskede socialdemokratiska förening 1919-1939} (Stockholm 1939), 9.}

However, the situation quickly became untenable. As early as 1919 the
local social democrats deplored the fact that they had to hold their
meetings at other places than the old canteen during the less warm parts of
the year, since the place ‘during wintertime was life threatening to sit in for
several hours’.\footnote{Enskede Social Democratic Society, Board Minutes 24 April 1919 §9. \textit{In Swedish: ‘vintertiden var livsfarlig att sitta i under flera timmar’}.}
The need for a better meeting place was also one of the
expressed motives for the foundation of Enskede Villa Owners’ Society in
1922.\footnote{Enskede Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 14 February 1922 §2.}

Although a subscription was started involving most of the societies
in the area, the plans were halted both because of difficulties to raise
enough money and because the chosen site became a matter of
administrative dispute. This dispute, which involved a consortium of
building interests who wanted to use the site for their own projected
structure, was by the local workers’ movement interpreted as a particularly
infamous kind of class struggle:

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Now however, private ‘building contractors’ and persons who
are considered as enemies to the workers’ movement, with all
available means try to stand in the way of Enskede receiving a
Worker’s Burgh.\footnote{Enskedes nya folkets husförening upa (Enskede New People’s House Society Ltd.),
Vol. 1 F1, Letter to the Board of the Co-Operative Society of Stockholm 21 July 1927. \textit{In Swedish: ‘Nu försöker emellertid privata ‘byggmästare’ och personer, vilka betraktas
som fiender till arbetarrörelsen, att med alla tillgängliga medel förhindra att Enskede
erhåller en Arbetarborg.’}
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Whatever the truth, it was not until the mid-1940s before Enskede finally
got its new general assembly house – now named Citizens’ House and
annexed to the parish buildings. It is obvious that this lack of public spaces
must have been a contributing factor to the elitisation of organisational life.
It certainly can not have made recruitment easier.

Neither was the question of public forms for communication easily
solved. In the early 1920s, the Country Domain’s Board received a host of
complaints about how posters were put up all over the Enskede settlement. A couple of years later the situation got regulated through an arrangement with a private advertising firm that agreed to let the local organisations use parts of their hoardings, while posting on other places should be firmly persecuted. It is difficult to see this as anything else than a further and rather firm decrease of the possibilities for public communication. Over time, the number of people outside the activist sphere that were paying attention to these posters was probably quite limited.

The Gendered Public Sphere

The public sphere of the settlements’ voluntary societies was, as has probably already been understood, a distinctively homo-social world of male bonding. When this is said, however, it must be emphasised that this was not in any way the result of an unavoidable development. On the contrary, as was mentioned earlier, a woman, Ingrid Wiberg, made the keynote speech at the huge People’s Park meeting in 1915. She was from the start one of the most active civic activists in the area and soon became secretary of Enskede Municipal Society. As she later recalled, this position was not held without difficulties. It was not least Ms Wiberg who was concerned when Nils Hasselquist lamented about ‘women and children’ (or, as she recalls it ‘witches and kids’ – see above). Although her civic engagement had also the consequence that neighbours stopped wishing her on the street, she held the post at the board for three of the most difficult years (one year as treasurer, two years as secretary). After the wartime crisis, Wiberg also spent some time on the board of the local social democratic branch, and subsequently also at the board of the social democratic women’s club and the School Board.

Apart from this outstanding contribution, however, the Enskede women were almost totally excluded from local political power. There were no more women at all at the boards of the homeowners’ societies during the whole period; most of them waited until the 1960s or 1970s before any

218 Country Domain’s Department, Documents F 2B:14, memorials dated 8 August 1924; 14 May 1925; 6 September 1926; 30 September 1925; 14 August 1929; 2 October 1929.
220 Södra Förstads-Bladet 28/9 1934, 2.
women were elected. Formally speaking, this was because voting power at the societies was with the homeowner, and when the house was owned by a couple, the prevailing wisdom said that voting rights should be with the provider. Of course, there were female homeowners as well, but they seem to have been marginalised enough not to come into question for board appointments. These formal rules were informally underlined. The view of women as mere appendices was frequently expressed discursively, in for instance feast invitations for ‘the members of the Society with ladies’ and the like.

As the historian, Kjell Östberg, has demonstrated, the democratic breakthrough around 1920 for several decades did not bring an equal gender representation (of course, it has hardly even today). It may perhaps be argued that the spatial changes in the cities at this time may have been one of the factors that made female political participation even more difficult than before. During the unrest caused by the Great War, Östberg argues, women had assumed the lead in more or less violent protests coming out of densely populated workers’ districts. Due to the lack of formal control over these protests, the social democratic elite mostly derided them. At the same time, in the garden suburbs the complementary view of gender relations, discussed in chapter three, was visible in the outlay which separated most of the functions which had worked as uniting bonds for women in the older settlements.

The voluntary societies, on the other hand, were obviously of no help. If at all, women could raise their voices in separate clubs. Occasionally, voices for ‘more discussion’ at the meetings, or more comradeship were consequently raised in the social democratic youth and women’s clubs. The social democrat youth club in Enskede also made quotas to assure

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221 For instance, in Enskedefältet, Inger Petterson was the first woman to enter the board, in 1979, in Lindegård Elisabeth Johansson (1960, treasurer).
222 Enskedefältet Villa Owners’ Society, Minutes 19 November 1936 §8.
223 Enskede Villa Owners’s Society, Minutes 15 February 1923 § 10. In Swedish: ‘föreningens medlemmar med damer’.
224 Östberg, Efter rösträtten, 30-36.
226 Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Minutes 22 March 1935 §10
female participation on its board. Both this group and the social democrats in western Brännkyrka included separate women’s groups within their structure.

In the middle of the 1920s, there was an intense discussion within the social democrat youth club in Enskede about men’s homo-sociality and dominance at the meetings, as well as about competition and formalism in relations between women and the risk of being maltreated by friends when displaying organisational ambitions over the usual (as Ingrid Wiberg had experienced). Still, it does not seem as if these discussions made much of a difference within the local social democratic party structure at large. While men continued to dominate the mixed clubs, the women’s clubs mainly forwarded issues relating to child rearing. Occasionally, demands were even made for the possibility of women to increasingly retreat from wage labour to concentrate on the work at home.

The Swedish historian, Gunnela Björk, argues that an ongoing negotiation on the scope of female participation was carried out within the local organisations in the middle-sized Swedish city, Örebro, during the first half of the twentieth century. There are indications of this kind of negotiations within the social democrat hemisphere in Stockholm’s southern suburbs as well. However, it must be emphasised that there are no

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227 Enskede SDUK Frihet Minutes 17 December 1925 §§15-17. As the voting counts shows, however, female members seem to have been perfectly able to put at least one representative on the board and one extra without any quotas.

228 Enskede SDUK Frihet Minutes 18 February 1926 §12; Södra Förstädernas Socialdemokratiska förening, Vol II Board Minutes 26 September 1928 §5.

229 Vingslag, Medlemsblad för Enskede Soc.dem. ungdomsklubb “Frihet, January 1926, p 5; April 1926, p 3-4; June 1926, p 3.

230 Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, A1a Minutes 3 October 1938 §7 #9-10; Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Minutes 13 June 1934 §11; October 1943 §4; 14 November 1943 §13; 20 March 1935 §5; 11 September 1935, 9 October 1935 §6; 11 December 1935 §2; Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Vol. 2, Minutes Study-group Organisational knowledge 22 March 1935 §10 etc.

231 Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Vol. 2, Minutes study group Organisational knowledge 30 November 1934 §12; 7 December 1934 §10. For an opposite view, see however Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Minutes 19 May 1938 §5.

signs at all of this within the homeowners’ organisations, where so much of the local power resources were situated.

Within mentioned confines, however, it has to be said that the Enskede social democratic women during the 1930s managed to increase the public sector engagement, for mostly children and single mothers, with the expansion of day care and children’s centres, and even a vegetable market. The success of this down-to-earth strategy was shown as well by attendance numbers of around 100 women on the mid-thirties meetings – in a club with only 50-60 members these years. Obviously, women had a considerable interest for local politics. This was however a resource which the residents’ organisations thought that they could do without.

**Epilogue: Remembering the Wild Years**

In retrospection, the political practice of Enskede Municipal Society in the early days of the settlement assumed a romantic flavour. The former chairperson, Lars Brolin, could be pictured as the Gustav Vasa of Enskede, while everyday life in the settlement during the 1910s was depicted as ‘American’ or ‘frontierlife’. It was at the same time deplored that Enskede in its early times had acquired a bad reputation, not least, it was argued, for the unfruitful approach of the ‘Enskede Opposition’. The inhabitants of that time – of which many had to leave their houses due to war time interest increases – were in retrospection not only manual workers but in effect to a large degree also people with a ‘desire for adventure’ as well as ‘not [...] the best of God’s children’. Still, as the former parish priest, John Lagercrantz, pointed out reminding the passionate political life of the

233 Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, Minutes 3 October 1938 §7 #9-10; Western Enskede Social Democratic Women’s Club, 13 June 1934 §11; 11 september 1935; 9 October 1935 §6; 11 december 1935 § 2; 11 november 1936 §4 #3; 9 February 1938 §7 #1; 10 August 1938 §5.

234 Södra Förstads-Bladet 3 September 1932, 1; Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning No. 27-28 (1932), 4. Gustav Vasa was the King of Sweden 1523-1560, after conquering the forces of the Kalmar union and establishing Sweden as a sovereign state. He holds in historical memory a position somewhat akin to the position which Oliver Cromwell has in British history.

235 Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning No. 25-26 (1932), 7 (cit.); 31-32 (1932), 3; 39 (1932), 4 (cit.).
Municipal Society: ‘There were surely heat between those escutcheons, and they did not save their powder. All the same, something was done.’

These somewhat estranging illustrations may, of course, merely express the nostalgia of the now aged veterans of these events. Years had gone by and youthful energy perhaps followed suite. That interpretation is not at all awkward, since numerous memorabilia from the early days of the labour movement would support it with parallel examples. On the other hand, in neither of these cases can this contemplation, or, if you will, this discourse, be regarded in ignorance of the context of the overarching incorporation of the voluntary societies into the governmental apparatuses.

As one social democratic youth club member described it in 1926, the young Enskede social democrats would be ‘soon enough world famous for their local patriotism.’ Another sign of this concentration on the imagery of the settlement was the request from the Social Democratic Society in 1929 for a decentralisation of the traditional May 1 rallies from the central city of Stockholm to their respective districts. In the proposal issued by two youth club members, this was seen as a way to regain the activism and engagement of earlier days, and to avoid the rituals of the centralised activities. Twenty years later, one of the petitioners (this time leader of the social democratic group in the City Council), emphasised even more the need for ‘Parish Politics’ as a complement to what could be accomplished at the regional and central levels. This renewed interest for local politics is also to be seen from the context of the enormous expansion of the southern districts that took place in the inter-war years. The growth of the suburbs also changed the content of any demand for an expanded degree of local self-rule.

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238 Enskede Social Democratic Society, Board Meeting 9 January 1929, Appendix 2.
Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has brought forth the somewhat surprising result that the making of politics in the garden suburb settlements largely was handed over to the rather oligarchic residents’ organisations, while the political organisations, or at least, the Social Democratic Youth Club, spent energy on community-building activities. One consequence of this was that politics became spatialised rather than ideologised in the usual meaning. The social democrats often adhered to the so-called village feeling (when they were not recruited to the metropolitan political machine), that according to the very specific politics of space presented in the previous chapter, included an emphasising of the parish politics. The homeowners’, on the other hand, adhered to the politics of space by grouping together with the SLR-settlements in the more affluent western parts of Stockholm, and established the Samorganisationen as an important regional actor on the political arena.

This development did not proceed smoothly. One precondition was the de-legitimisation and splintering of the previous organisation which entertained a much more confrontational and expressive sort of politics against the municipal administration. After a couple of years, this organisation gives way to the surprisingly apolitical organisations of different strands on the one hand, and for the much less confrontational residents’ organisations on the other. Expressive politics at the same time gives way for lobbying. In a way predicated by Herbert Gans and other sociologists, the close-knit community began to loosen its ties when the community developed a more ordered existence and the civil society was handed over to an elected few.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, the residents’ organisations tightened their contacts with the administration, at the same time as they also started to become professionalised economic players, as joint customers of coke and other necessary things for the community. By opening up both towards the social-governmental and the economic sphere, they were more and more loosing their character of voluntary societies acting on behalf of the citizens. This did not mean that they lost the possibility of opposition. Opposition to the municipal policy had to be entertained according to the

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rules set by the disciplinary discourse and became somewhat internal, although sometimes effective, to the policies entertained by the municipality.

Among the reasons for this development, one must not forget the deficiencies in the local democracy. First, the voluntary societies were a men’s prerogative – there were strong women’s clubs, but with some exceptions – such as within the social democratic youth organisation – they were only acting in the area of reproductive rights. Second, there were also some communist-led rebellions trying to reinstate direct democracy. They were, however, quite easily crushed.
Chapter VII
The Individual Level

As has been underlined in the previous chapters, the number of people who on a regular basis took part in either the formation of a discourse about the areas in question, or in organisational life, was quite limited. Most people led their lives mostly in a quiet way in the social city as well as elsewhere, leaving few traces of their existence for the historian. Furthermore, it was an important condition of life in these areas that many of their inhabitants lived at the same place only for a fairly short period of time before they moved on to another part of the city. This move could be within or without these particular districts, or to another town, perhaps even another country – in some cases to return a while later, and then maybe leave again. Equally important is that during the four odd decades investigated in these chapters, at least two or three different generations grew up and started to set their mark on city life. We may, consequently, only speak about the population of these areas in a very abstract sense, bearing in mind all these qualifications and only in order to answer specified questions about the influence of the structure of the social city on the life and subjectivity of its inhabitants. Newspapers and organisations stayed on; the people largely did not.

I will in this chapter approach the constitution of the population of the social city, and the effects of living in cityscapes of this kind from a number of different angles. The first part of the chapter will address the question of social cohesion from the perspective of election statistics. Starting with the assumption that a high election turnout indicated identification with the society at large, I will try to establish the causal relation between these sorts of social facts and the spatial circumstances in question. Then I will use material foremost from administrative sources in order to investigate the relation between the inhabitants and the spatial order of their environment on the individual level. Did the people on whom these prescriptions were implemented appreciate the policies of dispersion and separation, and how
did they relate to each other within this spatial order? This part of the investigation will be complemented by ethnological interview material put together in the early 1970s, as part of a general survey of the area with the intention to protect its cultural values. The interviews, made with surviving members of the second generation of Enskede Garden City inhabitants, give some additional insights into the life of the early years.

A case in point, with respect to the relations between the inhabitants and the City, was the prohibition against lodging. The third part of this chapter will investigate how this specific rule was upheld, how the inhabitants reacted towards it and how they acted in order to present their own view on the matter. The last part of the chapter will further investigate the question of commercialisation and modernisation of garden city living. The credit institution had a rather strict view of how the houses built in the social city districts should be designed and equipped. This view was in the 1930s implemented as well on the prescriptions for tenement living. I shall, with the help of administrative material, look into both how these prescriptions were upheld and what the inhabitants of the districts thought of them.

Social Cohesion and Radicalism

The issue of homeowning was initially looked upon as a means to create reliable subjects for a rapidly changing society, although not yet very democratic. As the first chamber MP Benedicks expressed this: ‘Experience teaches, that homebound workers generally are excellent as both workers and citizens.’ The historian, Nils Edling, underlines that there was a difference in degree between liberal and conservative homeownership propagandists, regarding what kind of subjectivity the own-homes were supposed to help create, but the idea that they would have subject-forming effects was a common contention. When editor G. H. von Koch labelled one of his essays on the subject, ‘From Slave to Citizen’ written in 1902, he expressed the liberal ambition to integrate at least the better-off workers into capitalist civility. This ambition necessitated both co-operation

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between the classes, and an element of coercion. Although the City of Stockholm professed the principle of collective land holding, the principle aims of this politics were the same as with the homestead campaign – to tie people to the land (however with SLR titles, and not ownership). As the Stockholm City Councillor, Carl Lindhagen, expressed this, the idea was that ‘the feeling of solidarity, which is manifested by City ownership of the ground’ would serve to counter the warring individualism that was one of the adverse effects of the expansion of capitalism.

Among the first to give the issue of social cohesion a thorough treatment was the French sociological pioneer, Émile Durkheim. Against the ultra-liberal optimism of Herbert Spencer and others, he argued that societies were kept together not by voluntary contracts but by the slow development of institutional devices that provided the essential background for any human co-operation. The argument provided by Durkheim, built on an analysis of the position of law in society over time. It contrasted an ideological cohesion between members of undiversified societies with the material cohesion between members of diversified societies, who as bearers of specialised functions have to be able to communicate with and rely on other members of the same society. This, Durkheim argued, would in turn lead them to identify with society as a whole.

The (U.S.-)American economist, Douglass North, has offered a modern treatment of the issue of institutionally induced social cohesion, which tacitly seems to build on how Durkheim saw the subject. Departing from an initial division between formal (more or less the same as laws and statutes) and informal institutions, he furthermore divided the latter into three different kinds: ‘(1) extensions, elaborations, and modifications of formal rules, (2) socially sanctioned norms of behaviour, and (3) internally enforced standards of conduct’. The first of these can roughly be translated as conventions, which are the unintended results of repeated

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3 Stockholm City Council Appendage 7 1925, p 106. *In Swedish*: ‘den känsla av samhörighet som ligger i stadens äganderätt till själva marken’.


transactions, and which serve to facilitate repeated patterns of actions. Because they are supposedly the most effective way of handling relations, they involve no costs for the participants. That is why their persistence, argues North, needs no further explanation. Conventions are upheld because they are rational for the participants involved.

The win motive is effective also for the second group, socially sanctioned norms. The individual chooses, argues North, to uphold these norms because he has something to win from social acceptance. The third group, however, which North identifies with internalised ideologies – secular or religious – diverge from the other kinds of institutions because they carry marginal costs for the individual. They are neither the most effective way of handling relations, nor are they sanctioned by society. The fact that they nonetheless are upheld must consequently be explained with other than the purely economic factors, which serve as analytical background in the sociological excursions of this methodological individualist.

The first group of institutions, the conventions, seems to resemble Durkheim’s holistic concept of division of labour. Faithful to the developmental optimism of his days, Durkheim also envisaged a gradual conversion from group 3 to group 2 kind of institutions, as various ideological elements would be replaced by rational loyalty to necessarily less global professional behavioural codes. This would as well, he thought, bring about a wider element of freedom because the professional codes would not in the same way be unrelated to the (material) interests of their bearers as former religious and ideological mental constructs had been. This would, however, be a freedom caused not by the elimination but instead the refinement of social regulation.

In relation to the town planning practice in Stockholm, we can see that the formal institution of SLR in a number of ways contributed to social cohesion. Perhaps, most importantly, the very fact that the garden cities were situated on municipal land bonded their inhabitants together with the City administration through innumerable acts of transaction necessary for the working of the system. If these acts were well carried out, it would

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7 On North’s implicit perfect market, see Bo Gustafsson, p 32; Syll 1992, p 24; Herlitz, p 106; Syll 1993, p 81; Ankarloo 1994, p 7, 21.
8 Durkheim, *The Division of Labor*, 205, 242-44, 338-39
facilitate integration and loyalty on behalf of the inhabitants. Over a longer period, the relations have of course to be carried out well, if the system is to persist at all, which it did not for instance in Gothenburg. The power relations between the City and the individual and organised inhabitants – a feature not treated very satisfactorily by Durkheim – were however unequal in a way that may have conserved imperfect conventions for quite of long time, and thus undermined cohesion.

The SLR settlements may very well have been characterised by cohesive institutions of the second and third kinds also. A strong collective identity seems to have been formed, stressing the representations of (well-ordered) garden cities as well as the mutual responsibility for the order and visual outlook of the settlements.

Election statistics

To measure social cohesion with the help of election statistics involves a number of assumptions. To start with, I assume that taking part of the most basic of political procedures implicates loyalty to the political system and its most basic institution, the state (local and central). It must be emphasised that loyalty is here taken in a very broad sense. Of course, it is probable that some of the people who voted for the parties on the extreme left (which many did) or the extreme right (which very few did), in fact acted out of disloyalty with a state and a system which they wanted to replace with something radically different. I take it however, that by nevertheless taking the pains to go out and vote these people demonstrated a belief in the political procedures that had been instituted to administer and legitimise the state and the system.

Of course, there are also other probable causes to changes in election participation than changes in social cohesion. First of all, people may, without in any way considering their loyalty and responsiveness to the system as a whole, decide about their participation in elections simply out of the issues at stake in the political contest, and their rationally calculated chances to influence the result. For instance, this instrumental view is forwarded by the Swedish economic historian, Mauricio Rojas, about the participation of naturalised compared to non-naturalised immigrants in recent Swedish elections. While the participation of naturalised immigrants

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10 To simplify understanding of the following part of the chapter, I have provided some of the figures in tableform, in Appendix 3.
who may vote in both local and central elections – slowly increases, dramatic drops have been registered in the participation of non-naturalised immigrants who are only granted the right to participate in local elections.\footnote{Mauricio Rojas, ‘Utanförskap och valdeltagande’ (Unpublished paper, Dept. of Economic History, University of Lund, Lund 1999).}

This factor, as well as socio-structural factors, such as income, age structure, number of married and unmarried adults, occupational structures and features of the voting system will in this enquiry mostly be taken account of only with the help of comparisons over time. The sources that I have do not permit isolation of these factors, and the only thing I can do about them is to continuously compare the results relating the changes in the first hand not to other parts of the country, but to the same settlements, and other settlements like them. This is why I will compare the results of the SLR settlements with those most comparable to them, the private settlements south of Stockholm.

Another factor is the often-documented difference in voting behaviour between town and countryside dwellers. The latter most often seem to participate to a lesser extent in elections. Since the areas investigated here were in the process of continuous urbanisation, it cannot be ruled out that the amount of voters in the election was influenced by the increasing similarities over time between the inner and the outer city. I try, when possible, to control for this by comparing with the numbers for Stockholm as a whole and the Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes as well.\footnote{Herbert Tingsten, Political Behaviour, Studies in election statistics (London 1937), 212-13.}

We have no exact measures of the social composition of the Brännkyrka parish at the time of its incorporation with Stockholm. For instance, we do not know the average income level (the census of 1910 that could have provided such measures was conducted according to the juridical entity Svartlösa härad, which apart from the political and ecclesiastical borough Brännkyrka included the Huddinge and Botkyrka boroughs as well). However, there are a number of indirect measures that may give a reasonable view of the situation.

\section*{A Rough View on the Socioeconomic Circumstances}
To start with, the fact that voting rights still were rationed after income offers a crude measure from the franchise statistics. At the time of the
incorporation, 26.6 percent of the population of Brännkyrka was registered in the voting registers for municipal elections, which may be compared with 31.8 percent for the whole of Stockholm. Additionally, only 70.5 compared to 79.0 percent of those registered were actually cleared for voting (that is, they had paid their taxes and were not receiving any poverty benefits, or were subjects of the penal system) in March 1913. Furthermore, 88.4 percent of those registered to vote had at the most 20 votes at their disposal (out of 40, graded after income), a situation in which only 74.9 percent of those registered in Stockholm as a whole were found. The higher rate of electoral activity – 62.2 percent of those permitted to vote actually took part of the election, as compared to 50.4 percent of the same part of the Stockholm population – may be explained by the fact that when the belated election in the Brännkyrka – and the inner city Maria – parishes actually went off in September, only a meagre 41.3 of the registered voters were still cleared to vote.13

Another kind of measure is the one connected to the housing situation. The average population per one hundred rooms (eldstad) in Brännkyrka was 160 in 1913, compared to 122 in Stockholm as a whole. At the same time, this number concealed great differences between the moderate numbers of the SLR settlement in Enskede (143) and the extremely low numbers of the villa town of Södertörn (82); as well as the extremely high numbers of the crowded industrial districts Aspudden (207), Tellusborg (196) and the villa tenement district in Stora Gröndal (188).14

Another measure, that may indicate that housing space in Brännkyrka differed not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms from Stockholm as a whole, is that the average rent per room (eldstad) in Brännkyrka (the urbanised parts) in 1912 was only 112 Crowns, compared to 199 Crowns in Stockholm as a whole. Per person, the difference was even larger, or 64 compared to 154 crowns.15 It is crucial, however, to emphasise the local differences. While in most parts of Brännkyrka the rent absorbed about twenty percent of the total income of family members (ranging from 18.2 in Örby, over 21.5 in Enskede, to 22.1 in Södertörns

14 Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad, August 1916, 35, Table IX; September 1916, 30
15 Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad, August 1914, 25.
Villastad), the shackles in the Liljeholmen periphery stood out as rent refuges for families in more or less temporary economic difficulties. Rents in these areas absorbed only 12.9-13.2 percent of total income. While in 1910, 35.6 percent of the (inner city) Stockholm population lived in overcrowded apartments, when measured two years later 40.5 percent of the population in Brännkyrka was in the same situation. The local differences between the cityscapes are further illustrated by the fact that the amount of people living in each building in the Liljeholmen tax district (rote) in 1915 with 30 persons approached the inner city Stockholm average of 33. In Enskede (8) and Årsta (10) tax districts, which comprised the rest of the parish, smaller wooden buildings and one-family cottages prevailed.

In 1910, three years before annexation, Brännkyrka still had a considerable amount of agricultural activity – although the share of its population had diminished from 31.1 in 1890 to 10.7 percent. Instead the share of the population involved in industrial production had increased from 54.9 percent to 68.5 (Stockholm 49.3), and the share of the population that was occupied with trade including shopkeeping and warehouses, from 11.1 to 16.4 percent (Stockholm 35.0). The share of the population working as domestic servants was 1.4 percent (Stockholm 5.3). The Brännkyrka population was considerably younger – 357 per thousand of the population was below 16 years in 1910, compared to 216 in Stockholm – and more equally distributed between the sexes (498 men and 502 women per thousand, compared to 450/550 in Stockholm), all of which furthermore testifies to the proletarian character of the area. The fact that the number of marriages was lower (an annual 5.0 per thousand, compared to 8.1 in Stockholm over the period 1901-1910), but the number of births higher

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16 *Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad*, August 1914, 23, Table ‘Översikt av byggnads- och bostadsförhållanden i stadslikt bebyggda samhällen i Brännkyrka år 1912.
17 *Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad* August 1914, 27, Table ‘Överbefolkade smålägenheter i Brännkyrka stadsbygd och Stockholm’
18 *Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad* October 1916, 38, Table VIII.
19 *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad* 1914 (Stockholm 1915), 78, Table 19. 4.4 percent of the Brännkyrka population and 14.7 percent of the Stockholm population belonged to the free or to unspecified occupations. Domestic servants were counted as family members, and the percentage should thus not be added to the others.
(31.1 per thousand compared to 24.1 in Stockholm over the same period) gives a further perspective on that.

As graph VII:1 illustrates, and as has been discussed in the preceding chapters as well, the expansion of the outer city may be divided into two distinct phases. The first was characterised by a continuous expansion foremost of homeowner’s districts in the outer city, while the peripheral parts (Södermalm and Kungsholmen) swallowed most of the population.

**Graph VI:1:** Percentage of population in different parts of Stockholm, 1890-1900.

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Stockholm 1951, Table 13*. Inner central parishes: Nikolai, Klara, Adolf Fredrik, Gustav Vasa, Matteus, Jakob, Johannes, Engelbrekt, Hedvig Eleonora, Oscar. Inner Peripheral: Kungsholms, S:t Göran, Katarina, Sofia, Maria, Högalid. Outer City: Brännkyrka, Enskede, Bromma, Spånga. The outer parishes are included also in the period before incorporations.

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20 *Statistisk årsbok för Stockholms stad*, 118-119, Table 50. The marriage rate was approximately the same in the rest of the countryside around Stockholm, but the high nativity seems to have been specific for Brännkyrka. The mortality level was 15.4 for Brännkyrka, and 15.7 for Stockholm in the period 1901-1910, which considering the lower age of the Brännkyrka inhabitants testifies to a somewhat less favourable health situation on their behalf.
increase in large tenement blocks. This phase lasted until the middle of the 1930s. The second phase was characterised by both a fast expansion of tenements in the outer city, and a relative decline of the peripheral parts of the inner city, as the remaining sites quickly diminished in numbers.

The Brännkyrka borough was thus, already at the time of its incorporation into the City of Stockholm, dominated by the working class and would, with the democratic reforms after the Great War, constitute a solid socialist majority in all elections.21 As can be understood from graph VII:2, the municipal projects, however, drastically changed the outlook of the district, especially after the division of the parish in 1931. While the rest of the parish seems to have stagnated until the end of the 1930s (and the rapid provision of tenements caused by the lack of sites in the inner city), after the Great War the municipal settlements expanded with an almost unbroken pace (in this graph slightly exaggerated because of the incorporation of some former private areas among the municipally guided).

With the help of an enquiry conducted on the migratory movements of Stockholm in 1927, we may also get a perspective on the dynamic aspects of these districts. First, it is clear that people were to an astonishing extent moving around. Out of the 47,234 people who lived in the parish at the end of 1927, 12,624 had moved there during the previous year. Among these, 4,195 moved to the municipal settlements in Enskede and Skarpnäck and 8,429 to the rest of the parish. Compared to the populations in the respective districts, this meant that 35.8 percent of the population in the garden cities had moved there within a year, compared to 23.7 in the rest of Brännkyrka.

This may seem surprising for anyone who had expected that the building of garden suburbs would diminish the migratory movements of their inhabitants. Of course, the explanation could be that the municipal settlements at this time simply were expanding faster than the settlements on private grounds. Consequently, the percentage of the population who moved from the garden cities was approximately the same as those who moved from any of the other settlements (25.2 and 25.0, respectively). Another explanation may be that many of those who moved to the garden cities came from another part of these settlements. Out of the people who

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moved to Enskede and Skarpnäck, 31.3 percent came from some other place in these settlements. Another 35 percent came from the inner city and 22 percent came from the rest of Sweden or from abroad. Only 10.5 percent came from the rest of Brännkyrka, and less than one percent from the other municipally guided area in Bromma. On the other hand, only 6 percent of those who left Enskede and Skarpnäck moved to the other parts of Brännkyrka. Only 18 people, a little more that a half-percent left Enskede and Skarpnäck for the garden cities in Bromma. Instead, 39 percent moved to the inner city, and 9.5 percent to the rest of Sweden and abroad. For the rest of Brännkyrka, this tendency was even more pronounced. Almost 45 percent of those who moved from somewhere in Brännkyrka moved to somewhere else within the district, 35.1 moved to the inner city and 14 percent to the rest of Sweden or abroad. Only five percent moved to the Enskede-Skarpnäck garden cities, and seven per thousand to the garden cities in Bromma. The picture we received earlier of these districts as rather self-enclosed entities in chapters five and six is forcefully confirmed by these figures. They also show that people were not at all confined to the garden suburbs; but on the contrary moved around rather frequently.22

Out of the 1,609 male heads of households who during 1927 made known that they were moving to the garden suburbs (in both Brännkyrka and Bromma), 56 percent were classified as workers. The rest had free or intellectual occupations, or served as functionaries for the local or central state, unions or larger companies (of which most probably went to Bromma). Among the workers, 186 were employed in the building industry, 140 in the metal or machine industry and 135 in the transport sector.23

Largely, the differences that characterised Brännkyrka borough compared to Stockholm before the incorporation would persist over the period covered by this book. These districts remained rather sparsely populated and the inhabitants rather poor. In the end of 1945, 1,865 people lived on each square kilometre in Brännkyrka parish and 1,392 in Enskede, compared to 13,475 in the inner city. While the inhabitants of the inner city paid 3,663 Crowns in taxes per every 100 inhabitants and year, the amount in Brännkyrka and Enskede was only 1,921 and 2063 Crowns,

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22 Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad, November 1927, p 2, Table I.
23 Statistisk månadsskrift för Stockholms stad, November 1927, p 4-5, Table VI.
respectively. On the other hand, however, the amount of inhabitants receiving poverty benefits was considerably lower in both districts (5.6 percent in Brännkyrka and 4.5 percent in Enskede) than in Stockholm as a whole (7.2 percent). Their population was poor but self-supporting.

To sum up, these districts were overall profoundly proletarian and displayed clear signs of working class cultures, both relating to occupational structure, low incomes and less than desirable living conditions, as well as relations between the sexes and to sexual regulations, and movements within and out of the city. At the same time, during the whole period

**Graph VII:2:** Population in leasehold and freeground settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes 1913-1945.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<td>1940</td>
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<td>1942</td>
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**Source:** *Statistical Yearbook of Stockholm* 1929, Table 14; 1932-39, Table 15; 1940-46, Table 17. No data available for 1940 and 1944 (data for previous year is used instead).

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24 *Statistical yearbook for the City of Stockholm* 1946 (Stockholm 1947), 275, table 291.
25 *Statistical yearbook* 1946, 217, Table 241.
covered here, they kept much of their rural character, and it is clear as well that they largely formed self-enclosed worlds. It may be a reasonable hypothesis that they provided the backbone as well of powerful political cultures. It is to the study of these that I shall now turn.

**Electoral Participation**

The electoral participation levels of Brännkyrka followed very closely the upward trend of Stockholm as a whole. This is somewhat surprising, since we could have expected that a number of factors should have pressed the numbers down. Both the working class dominance, the semi-rural environment and – most possibly – a number of practical difficulties associated with primitive infrastructures in many instances should have made it most probable that the participation in the outer city would have been significantly lower than in Stockholm as a whole. As graph VII:3 shows, on the contrary the upward trend of the electoral participation in Brännkyrka – and even more in the new Enskede parish – in the 1930s proceeded upwards long after stagnation had begun in Stockholm.

**Graph VII:3:** Electoral participation in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes. Parliamentary elections 1921-1944.

The participation trend in the municipal elections follows more or less the same pattern, with an even faster increase in Brännkyrka around the mid 1920s, after which a stagnation followed. As graph VII:3 shows, the level of participation in Brännkyrka and even more in Enskede continued to exceed the Stockholm level.

**Graph VI:4:** Electoral participation in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes. Municipal Elections 1921-1942.

![Graph VI:4](image)

**Source:** Stockholms stads statistik, Vol XIV, Elections.

To determine if the provision of garden cities in any way influenced this surprising confidence in the electoral system, I have looked at the electoral participation on a de-aggregated level for the main building types; the municipal garden cities, the private villa settlements and the tenement estates. As graph VI:4 shows, the electoral participation of the oldest settlement (Enskede Garden City) was during the whole period slightly over the Brännkyrka/Enskede parish average:
Graph VII:5: Electoral participance in the leasehold settlements. Municipal elections 1921-1942.

At the same time, participation in the other settlements was in fact somewhat lower than the parish average until the mid-1930s, when especially the small cottage settlements clearly exceeded participation in the parish as a whole. If we compare with the other kinds of settlements, we can see a similar pattern among the villa and cottage settlements, excepting the affluent villa society Södertörn in the south as well as the well-monitored private settlement Stureby that bordered the Enskede Garden City (both in the eastern part of the parish – from 1931 in the Enskede parish).
Graph VI:6: Electoral participation in private villa settlements. Municipal elections 1921-1942.

Among the tenant’s estates, the tendency seems to have been almost the reversed, as graph VII:7 shows. While participation was above the Brännkyrka average in the 1920s, in the 1930s fell far below average. Notoriously below average were the housing estates at the industrial centre in Liljeholmen, as well as during the 1930s speedily modernising Västberga district.

To conclude this part of the investigation, it seems clear that social cohesion measured through electoral participation was above the Stockholm average in the Brännkyrka/Enskede districts in general. The municipally monitored settlements had as a rule an even higher level of participation, but they were not the only ones showing this characteristic, and during the 1920s participation in some of these districts often was below the Brännkyrka average. Most of the private settlements in fact showed the same pattern of participation as the municipally monitored settlements did. The districts dominated by tenant’s estates fell clearly
below average in the 1930s. It is important to emphasise the considerable differences between the districts in each group. Results are not in any way clear-cut, but nonetheless they establish the fact that cohesion was not diminished either by the working class dominance or the semi-rural character of the area as a whole.

Graph VII:7: Electoral participance in tenant’s estates. Municipal elections 1921-1942.


One theory that has been influential in establishing causal relations for electoral participation has concentrated on a characteristic which is clearly in place for these districts. This characteristic is that in districts where one political current is dominant those who are prone to vote for this current will participate to a higher degree than in districts where the same current holds a minority position. In order to isolate better the influence of different settlement types, this factor should be investigated as well. As graph VII:8 shows, the Brännkyrka/Enskede districts were to a comparably
large extent dominated by the socialist parties (i.e. the social democrats, and communists, within or without the Comintern).

The garden cities were politically dominated by the socialist current as well, but to a remarkably uneven degree as graph VII:9 shows. There is a clear connection between socialist dominance and a high level of participation – thus Enskedefältet and Svedmyra, two small cottage settlements during the late 1930s have at the same time a socialist dominance around and even above 90 percent of the votes and the highest participation levels. Enskededalen and Enskede Gård both show a clear but comparably moderate socialist dominance of about two-thirds – and at the same time participation levels around the parish average. In the private settlements and the tenement estates, the relation was rather the inverse. The poorest districts – Gröndal and Örby, and Liljeholmen and Midsommarkransen, respectively, showed the highest percentage of socialist votes but did not score very high in participation.

Graph VII:8: Percentage of socialist votes in whole Stockholm, Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes. Municipal elections 1921-1942.

Graph VII:9: Percentage socialist votes in the leasehold settlements. Municipal elections 1927-1942.

Graph VII:10: Percentage of socialist votes in the private villa settlements. Municipal elections 1927-1942.

**Graph VII:11:** Percentage of socialist votes in tenants’ estates in Brännkyrka and Enskede. Municipal elections 1927-1942.

Another factor that may influence the level of participation in a temporary way is political mobilisation. In a thoroughly socialist environment such as the garden cities, the most probable case is that opposition against the ruling social democrats will be voiced through increased voting for the left opposition (communists, within or without Comintern). As graph VII:11 shows, left-wing votes within the SLR settlements was squarely below the average in the (western) Brännkyrka, but apart from that it seems to have followed the same pattern which tops in 1927, 1935 and 1942, and lower levels in between. Enskede Garden City and its surroundings show the most solid social democrat dominance in the area, while Skarpnäck between 1935 and 1938 is an example of very fast social-democratisation. There is no sign of any direct effects of the communist campaign in Enskedefältet, but on the other hand Enskededalen stands out as the most radical district over time. For the private settlements and the tenements, we

**Source:** Stockholms stads statistik, Vol XIV, Elections.
can once more see the inverse relation – the strongest left-wing presence is found in the settlements with the largest amount of poor people, which at the same time had the lowest electoral participance.

**Graph VII:12:** Left-wing share of socialist votes in the leasehold settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede. Municipal elections 1927-1942.

Graph VII:13: Left-wing share of socialist votes in the private villa settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede. Municipal elections 1927-1942.


There is still another factor to consider. As we have seen many examples of throughout this study, the garden cities of Stockholm were in many ways dominated by men. Middle-class gender relations were eagerly propagated by the city authorities and, for what we know, just as eagerly taken up by the inhabitants. The organisational life was, at least from the 1920s onwards, strongly dominated by men and patriarchal values abounded. Female participation in elections was from the outset in 1921 far below male participation, but increased continuously to close in to the male levels in the late 1930s. In graph VII:14, I have computed the difference in
percentage points between the male and female levels – measuring in broad terms, I suggest, both female political involvement and loyalty to the prevailing (patriarchal) system. Unfortunately, I do not have any figures showing which parties the women voted for, which is why I cannot really determine which of these influences was most important.

Graph VI:15: Difference in percentage points between male and female electoral participance. Sweden, parliamentary elections, Stockholm and Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes municipal elections 1927-1942.

As graph VII:14 clearly shows, the difference in electoral participation was initially much higher in Stockholm, than in the rest of Sweden. At the same time, the situation in Brännkyrka parish was during the 1920s considerably more even than that in Stockholm as a whole. In the late 1930s, the difference in Stockholm, as well as its outer districts, was even slightly lower than in the rest of Sweden. As graph VII:15 shows, this seems as well
to have been the best clue to the differences in electoral participation between the garden cities. The two settlements which had the best participation figures, Svedmyra and Enskedefältet, had in the late 1930s reached more or less a zero difference between male and female participation – on the other hand, Enskededalen and Enskede Gård, with the lowest participation, had the greatest differences.

**Graph VII:16: Difference in percentage points between male and female electoral participation in the leasehold settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede.**

\[\text{Source: Stockholms stads statistik, Vol XIV, Elections.}\]

Among the private settlements, the affluent Södertörn’s Villastad showed by far the smallest difference in electoral participation, together with the oldest of the proletarian settlements, Örby. Less expected is the result in the tenement’s estates where the least affluent, and the ones with the lowest electoral participation but at the same time the strongest
socialist/Communist currents, namely the old industrial estates around Liljeholmen, had the lowest differences in electoral participation along gender lines.

**Graph VII:17**: Difference in percentance points between male and female electoral behaviour in the private villa settlements in Brännkyrka and Enskede. Municipal elections 1921-1942.

**Source**: Stockholms stads statistik, Vol XIV, Elections.
Graph VII:18 Difference in percentance points between male and female electoral participance in the tenants’ estates in Brännkyrka and Enskede. Municipal elections 1921-1942.


The Creation of Social Forms

As the American sociologist, Herbert Gans, concluded about a postwar Long Island (New York City) community of about the same type as the Enskede settlements, a sober view on a settlement like these is that its creation was very much about building homes for nuclear families able to purchase their own houses. However, as the Canadian historian, Richard Harris, rightly points out; it is not necessarily the case that people living in detached houses have been able to choose their living place to any larger extent than people living in tenements. On the contrary, the unplanned suburbs on the outskirts of Toronto that he studies display a large element

of constraint caused by immigration pressure and a faulting building industry. It seems also, judging from a series of Gallup enquiries conducted in the late 1940s and the late 1950s, that most inhabitants in post-war tenements express the same level of content as cottage dwellers do.

Still, it is obvious that the effects on subjectivities of living in detached house suburbs can not be observed separated from an understanding of the project of living in such a house and – probably of secondary weight – in such a community. Their understanding of this project was demonstrated by the inhabitants already when they first filled in the application forms for municipally guaranteed mortages (or, alternatively, called the broker to have a look on an already erected house). This is how let let their self-interest become a part of the power game. In the early 1950s, as mentioned in chapter six, the Swedish sociologist, Edmund Dahlström, concluded that there was something that he labels as an ‘own-home attitude’ among the small cottagers of Hökmossen, western Brännkyrka. This attitude consisted of reluctance to socialise too much with neighbours, for instance to engage in a common laundry house or to help neighbours with daily nursing. It is impossible to determine with any exactness if people chose to live a family-centred life, and therefore chose to move to an own-home settlement, or if it was the family-centred environment they met at the place that made them choose such a way of life. While the life-form that became the result of this was probably a combination of both choice and determination, what will be in the focus for this part of the chapter is rather how family-centred lives were reconciled with the demands of the community at large.

According to the (U.S.) American sociologist, Richard Sennett, modern suburbs could be seen as one manifestation of a secular tendency within western society to withdraw from the public sphere into familist hearths, and also to model society at large after the model of (nuclear) family cohesion. There is, he argues, a tendency to eliminate and forget the specific competencies that are necessary to uphold a functioning sphere of

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public meetings, and to rid community of any influences that might disturb the calm life. This leads both to an excessive interest for the inner lives of people (believed to have been expressed, with the help of commodified utensils, in rare public encounters), and the foundation of fictitious collective identities that both exclude strangers and preclude more complex forms of social life. The public spaces that had been so filled with meaning in the expanding cities become more or less superfluous and were abandoned by ordinary people.

The ethnologist, M. P. Baumgartner, argues that suburbanites in detached house settlements use the amounts of space that have been awarded to them largely in order to avoid unwanted contacts with neighbours. Theirs is a society where both obligations and conflicts are constantly played down, where people mostly stay with themselves and their closest relatives and in most cases are reluctant to bring in other parties into their own matters. It is left to the police and other official persons to tender the public spaces of their community and to make sure that they are not used in inappropriate ways.

Frequently, this was also the case with the SLR communities of Stockholm. As I showed in the previous chapter, the garden societies partly assumed this role both by keeping an eye on the general outlook of the settlements and by reporting individual violators to the central authority – the Real Estate Board. In a rather strange way, the tending to the outlook of the community was closely coupled to conceptions about gender. The combination between the complementary view of women – that is, the view that the proper place of women was in the private sphere, and that women’s public participation should be circumscribed to institutions directly linked to the functions of the private sphere – is also visible in the societies’ view of the spatial order. The British sociologist, Bernice Martin, drawing upon anthropological theories formulated by the (U.S.) American anthropologist, Mary Douglas, has argued that working class homes are built according to a dualistic principle. While consumer

durables and other symbolic valuables are displayed in the front of the houses, the place of family and kin meetings, ingestion, sexuality and excretion are all hidden in the back of the houses.\textsuperscript{33}

While this argument definitely says something important about traditional English terrace houses, the spatial order of detached houses like the ones in the Stockholm garden suburbs is more complicated. For one thing, the possibilities to actually hide anything in a spatial order where the house can be seen not only from the street, but also from the back and the sides – if by no one else, at least by the neighbours – is very limited. Efforts in this direction therefore concentrated on the front view where each homeowner in effect represented the outlook of the whole community. However, tightly connected to this effort for what was outwardly visible was a distinctly gendered understanding of what should be visible, and for whom. As in the English settlements investigated by Martin, everything relating to basic bodily functions should be hidden from sight. Since the detached houses in the garden suburbs permitted sight from all sides, for instance garbage cans must not only be placed in the backyards, but also hidden from the sight of all surrounding neighbours.\textsuperscript{34} In the early days, kitchen garbage seems to have been disposed off quite liberally in the ditchbanks along the roads, to the despair of both the municipal and the local borough authorities.\textsuperscript{35} Much of the garbage was burnt or left to feed animals.\textsuperscript{36}

It became one of the most important aims of the residents’ organisations to make sure that settlers acquired both the correct disposal equipment, were connected to the municipal refuse collection, and paid their dues. From the repeated reminders appearing in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, it is clear that the habit of trying to dispose waste by burying it, setting fire to it, or simply throwing it to birds and small animals, persisted.

\textsuperscript{34} Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning, September 1935, 6.
\textsuperscript{35} Country Domain’s Board (CDB) Documents FV16, To the Labour Manager 28 December 1911.
\textsuperscript{36} Monika Carlheim-Gyllensköld & Gunilla Nilsson, Gamla Enskede – Låt husen leva, Interview with Lily Nyzell, Archive of the Stockholm City Museum.
among a considerable part of the population. Partly, this may of course be explained by economic difficulties, which necessitated a certain laxity in the control. For instance, in the private settlement Stureby/Ersta, contemporary to and bordering the Enskede cottage settlements, the residents’ organisation had to accept that people buried their garbage as well as installed earth closets on their site. The only condition was that the closets were properly built and not situated immediately beside the border to the next site, and that the garbage was really buried and not left on the ground.

Just as important to remove garbage and waste out of sight was it to hide everything that related to household work – traditionally the female sphere. A case in point, related also by Martin, was the prohibition to hang laundry in the weekends (or at least on Sundays). While laundry in the English terraces could be hung in the backyards, and at least theoretically was invisible for those it did not concern, in the garden suburbs hanging laundry would always be visible to a large number of neighbours. This prohibition was consequently repeated continuously in almost every issue of the monthly magazines of the homeowners’ societies, combined with the proposal that the carpet beating racks should be made portable and kept out of sight like the garbage cans. In this way, all traces of women’s work were removed, at least during weekends (when the men were at home).

While consistent with a working class moral that emphasised cleanliness and prudence, these efforts to hide everything that had anything to do with reproductive work contrasted starkly and tellingly with the efforts to display the results of the mostly male work done to improve the forefront of the homes.

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38 Stureby Real Estate Society, Letter to the City of Stockholm Health Board 30 June 1928.
40 Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning, 15 November 1933, p 3.
The Problematic Youth

Probably the members of societies were the easy part in the effort to uphold a socially defined public order in the settlements. Trickier was perhaps to tender to the rest of the population, and especially the ones still young enough not to have been subject to any large extent of the community forming forces. In the later part of the 1920s, the Enskede settlement for the first time met the difficulties associated with a large number of adolescents. As *Enskede Tidning* complained after an unruly autumn feast in 1927, many believed at the time that power should be in the stick. At the same time however, the paper understood well that the daily work of athletic organisations and study groups would in the longer run be a more effective means against bad habits among the young.[41] As Baumgartner points out, young people presented a contradiction for the spatial order of the cottage suburb. Not willing to be concealed to the houses of their parents, they had to find other places to gather at – something which was not too simple in a kind of community that actually defined itself against the conception of public spatiality.[42] The club dances of the social democratic youth organisation became a popular refuge.[43]

Within the inner city, the so-called *ligabrottsligheten* (Gang Criminality) had come under notice at first around the turn of the century and interest was rising with the expansion of the consumer society in the 1930s.[44] In a way, this kind of concern was also about spatial order – the fear that youth from less privileged parts of the city would invade the streets of the most affluent blocks. In the cottage settlements, however, it was much more a question of visibility. Of course, serious crime including violent and sexual encroachments was not unknown to the Enskede inhabitants – on the contrary, it was generously reported in the local newspaper. The trouble with the youth on the other hand was not about serious crime. It was about breaching one of the most important codes of the community, the one

[41] *Enskede Tidning* 27 August 1927, 2; 24 March 1928, 2.
saying that human encounters should normally take place within private space, or at least within the small confines of public space let up mostly for the activities of the different organisations.

In the mid 1920s, the Stureby real estate society started to complain about ‘half-grown’ boys who were roaming about at night and urged their parents to ‘grab and punish them’ swiftly.\textsuperscript{45} When the Western Enskede Social Democrat Women’s Club in the 1930s organised study circles, the need to provide good hearths for children and young adults was frequently a much-appreciated theme.\textsuperscript{46} In this way, the apprehensions about the less desired ways of the young produced a need for new habits concerning the relations between children/youth and adults. The young people had to occupy a limited number of public and half-public spaces, which were not really meant for gatherings. This meant that they also became vulnerable to the scrutiny of the community’s more or less self-proclaimed guardians. Because of the increased visibility of the children and youth caused by the un-public (if also transparent) spatial arrangements of the cottage settlements, the whereabouts of the young became a question of general concern – formulated by the organised representatives of the community. As the sociologist, Edmund Dahlström, later showed, there was no fundamental difference between youth playing patterns regardless whether they came from tenements or cottages. The small cottage sites, anyway, were never to any larger extent used as playing or assembling grounds.\textsuperscript{47}

The solution that was presented was to produce assigned spaces for collective gathering under some kind of supervision. In this way, the space of the settlement was gradually divided between prohibited and proscribed areas (playing or sporting fields) for playing youth where their movements would not collide with the general conception of the privatisation of space.\textsuperscript{48} It is obvious that these conflicts were not always handled in the

\textsuperscript{45} Stureby Villa Society Board Minutes 23 August 1925 §4; 2 September 1925 §7.
\textsuperscript{46} Enskede Västra Kvinnoklubb Vol 1, Minutes 10 October 1934 §5 [incorrectly labelled §4]; 10 November 1937 §6.
\textsuperscript{47} Dahlström, \textit{Trivsel i Söderort}, p 167.
\textsuperscript{48} Real Estate Board (REB) Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:41, Letter to the Director of the Country Domain’s Department of the Real Estate Office from VR, Hembyggarvägen 4, Enskede; memorial 28 April 1931; F 2B:50:686 Letter from Enskededepojkarna Bollklubb 15 June 1933; Memorial from the Rent Department 13 July 1933; Stureby Villa Society, Letter from HP 8 January 1932; Letter to KF Stockholm nd, May 1929.
most peaceful of ways. For instance, in 1930 an inhabitant complained that
the young men who spent the evenings playing soccer on the empty site
next to his had repeatedly threatened him with physical violence. Except
complaining to the Real Estate Board he had himself tried to stop the
playing youth by confiscating the ball, destroying the grass field and asking
for police assistance. Another complained about being constantly
ridiculed by the youth when he asked them to play somewhere else at some
distance from his home. One was afraid to take a walk around the masses
of roaming youth, allegedly coming from the whole neighbourhood. In
one other case, the forms of athletics carried on at the spot were even in
themselves considered as dangerous to health and life, after the throwing of
discs and javelins had become popular. 

Of course, it has to be emphasised that in all these cases we only hear of
one side of the conflict – the irritated homeowners. The youth, and even
more so the children, largely remain silent before the historian. One clue to
their perspective is perhaps given by the opinions presented in a feuilleton
article in *Vingslag*, published by the local young social democrats. The ‘villa
owner’ type of inhabitant was here presented as a self-conscious
opportunist – member of the villa society in order to lower heating costs,
swearing over the traffic and real estate policies at protest meetings but
uninterested in the more general social problems, content with a steady,
homebound life. While contrasting only to the limited number of
Comintern-loyal communists in the settlement, this stereotyped adult was,
the author alleged, just as typical among the inhabitants as the roaming and
thoughtless youth that was so often depicted in the press. In fact, the article
continued, just as typical as these was the youth that in a disciplined and,
perhaps implicitly, adult way was engaging itself in the community’s
association life. 

49 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:29, Letter to the Real Estate
Board from DL, Hembyggarvägen 3, 6 May 1930.
50 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents, Letter to the Real Estate Depart-
ment from OS, Sockenvägen 539, 8 October 1929.
51 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents, Letter to Country Domain’s
Department Director Dahlberg from OS 10 September 1926.
52 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents, Letter to the Country Domain’s
Department from WR, hembyggarvägen 4, nd.
When local complaints against the youth had been elaborated by one of the metropolitan Stockholm papers (Svenska Dagbladet) in the same year, the local paper just as quickly rushed to their defense. It even took the local police officer as a witness that the Enskede youth was generally both calm and had a considerable interest for athletics.\footnote{Enskede Trädgårdståders Tidning 25 January, p 4.}

The same problem with the absence of public space was shown in relation to another group of offenders, the strangers. For instance, in February 1928, Enskede Tidning featured an aggressive editorial about how Enskede Garden City had lately been ‘flooded by beggars’. The main objective of this editorial was, however, not to argue for increased police deployment but to convince the settlers not to give anything to the unwelcome persons.\footnote{In Swedish: ‘översvämmat av bettlare’. A request for intensified police deployment however followed the week after, 25 February 1928, 2.}

It may be argued that among the reasons for the less fortunate to come to Enskede in the first place may have been that the police patrolling was lower than in other places. They may also have been thinking that the moderately well-off inhabitants in the settlement may not have forgotten less fortunate days and may be more inclined than was the case with the inner city inhabitants to give a little something to their (erstwhile) class brethren. However, the spatial order that they had chosen was meant to preclude these kinds of unplanned contacts, and consequently this habit had to be abandoned.

The issue of how to best organise the lives of the growing generations at the settlements related directly to another basic feature of the daily life. Since the sites of each house by no means was sufficient to contain the playing fields of the children, the problem how adults should behave arose not only vis-à-vis their own children, but also towards children from neighbouring families. As the local paper pointed out in 1930, the need for an accord among the parents about how to treat the small people was urgent.\footnote{Enskede Trädgårdståders Tidning 11 January 1930, 3.}

The little Enskeders were, however, not the only trespassing phenomenon that tended to irritate the inhabitants. Frequent complaints were also made to the real estate office about the existence of noisy businesses on the sites, or of (perhaps equally noisy) garages.\footnote{REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:29:565, Letter to the Real Estate Board from AD, Beräknaren 1, 17 May 1926; Memorial 15 January 1928; F} Equally
difficult was the barking dog or its modern equivalent, the scrambling of radio speakers. However, just as irritating was, it seems, the silent and slow intrusion of tree or bush limbs that happened to grow over the site limits into neighbours’ sites or to the walking porches. In 1928, the Real Estate Board found itself compelled to make an adjustment in the SLR contracts in order to be able to deal with these kinds of trespassing, since voluntary agreements were not always possible to make. There are also indications of tensed neighbour relations in general, for instance in the cases when those inhabitants who had turned to the municipal administration in order to solve some kind of conflict were concerned that the officials should not divulge their names to the perpetrators of whatever offence they were complaining about.

The Open Spaces

The physical space of each site seems, however, not to have been very important in itself to the inhabitants of the social city. As the local paper maintained, a large site was not only expensive, it also absorbed large maintenance costs. More important was that considerable areas of parkland complemented the sites. It was an important feature of the cottage settlements as well as of the English garden cities, that in front of the sites the houses were shielded from the streets by a small garden and a grass

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58. Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning, No 7 1937, 8; Stureby Villa Owners’ Society, Board Minutes 15 September 1930 §5.
59. REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:29 CAO, Skogsvägen 4, 1 June 1926 to Real Estate Board (answer 22 June 1928); WA, Dalarövägen 360, 2 April 1929 to Real Estate Board (answer 1 July 1929); F 2B:81:565, Letter from the Real Estate Office to the Ombudsman of the City of Stockholm 11 September 1939; (answer 19 October 1939); Central Committee of the Garden City Associations of Stockholm Minutes 6 July 1937 §16.
60. REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:29, Letter from TZ, Sandsborgsvägen 14E 19 September 1930; F 2B:50, Letter from HK, Sandsborgsvägen 12E to the Real Estate Board.
61. Enskeded Tidning 26 May 1928, p 1. On the successive limitation of site sizes, see Real Estate Board Minutes 8 April 1927 §24; 9 August 1929 §21.
The City and the associations collaborated tightly in enforcing the rules determining the general outlay of the settlements. The combination of small sites and considerable park areas was exactly the opposite to the one that had guided the first Swedish ‘garden city’, the upper class villa settlement Djursholm north of Stockholm in the late 1880s. Djursholm’s founder, Johan Henric Palme, was personally a devoted adversary to public parks, which he associated with the dangerous proletariat, which Djursholm after all was thought as a refuge from. In Enskede, on the other hand, there was even on one occasion a SLR owner who wanted to dispose a part of his site (to be used instead as a public park) because the tenants of his house had no use for it (but other people seemed to have).

An important part of the spatial organisation became the small park lots spread out on spaces left behind around the sites and between the streets. These mini-parks together formed a complicated network for encounters of different kinds and were important for the inhabitants in that respect. In the autumn of 1926, the Street Board turned to the Real Estate Board to try and convince it to be less generous with the laying out of parks in the garden suburbs. It especially underlined that the minor parks that had been spread out in the area were expensive to maintain. In a short reply that the Real Estate Board sent in January 1927, it argued (following the head of the country domains department, Axel Dahlberg) for the small parks in three ways: firstly, because they provided playing spaces for the children not too far away from home. Secondly, they functioned as an ‘area of isolation’ which shielded the own-homes from the tenement houses, since ‘tenement sites are not mastered and looked after in the same patterning way as the one-family plots are’. Thirdly, they could be motivated by (Sittean) aesthetic views as breaking up monotony. Some months before, Dahlberg among his own neighbours in Ålsten had also collected their views of the park areas. In the replies he received, the aesthetic point is missing, but several times, it

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65 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:37:717, Letter from HL, Fågelkärsvägen 1, to the Real Estate Board, 7 October 1929.
is pointed out that the sites are valuable for the children. The shielding function is also pointed out, with words as ‘neutral areas’ and ‘small common’.66

A particularly significant illustration of the conflicts between the privacy of the individual sites and the demands of a general civility was a conflict that took place in the hot summer of 1935, between the inhabitants of Enskedevägen 67 and 69. The former, whom we can call Mr Wolf, had installed an outdoor shower just on the border to the site owned by the latter, whom we may call Mr Lamb. This shower he used in a way that upset Mr Lamb enough to complain to the police. As the police however concluded that they could not do much about what a cottage owner does on his own site. Probably annoyed by Mr Lamb’s actions, Mr Wolf furthermore placed a sign by the street, announcing that the shower could be used by anyone who wanted to do so, an announcement to which, according to Mr Lamb’s experiences, many enthusiastically responded. It also did not help that Mr Wolf had as well placed an alarm bell by the shower, so that the person could warn Mr Lamb and others before taking shower. After a call from the administration – which had to conclude that it also had no legal right to intervene – Mr Wolf however promised to move the shower to a place on his site less exposed to the sight of the Lambs.67

What this kind of conflicts brought to the surface was the extent to which the privacy of the inhabitants was a question of behaviour and discourse, rather than something that could and should be enforced by strict physical means. The ways to enclose the sites were now and then debated in different contexts. Too high fences were for instance considered as inappropriate.68 It is obvious that this issue had a distinct class content. When Professor Sven A. Hermelin in the metropolitan daily Dagens Nyheter criticised the low hedges that generally surrounded the sites, and wanted them changed into fences of the kind that surrounded the larger sites of well-to-do districts, there was a direct reaction. Underlining that the cottage

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66 REB Acta 51/1927, Board of Streets 15/9 1926, Real Estate Board 7/1 1927, views collected 3/3, 3/3 (cit.), 3/3, 4/3, 4/3, 4/3 1926. As the dates show, the views must have been collected in another context, GFkA.
67 REBCountry Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:56, Letter from EO, Enskedevägen 69, to the Real Estate Office 29 August 1935; Memorial from the Office to the Director 4 September 1935; Letter from the Real Estate Office to EO, Enskedevägen 69 10 October 1935.
68 Stureby Villa Society Board Minutes 16 April 1935 §14.
owners were not afraid of the transparency brought on them by the compulsion to use hedges instead of fences, the paper issued by the cottage societies pointed particularly to the general outlook of the settlements. A permission to use what kind of fences one liked may benefit the individual site owners, but would, it was argued, ruin the impression of the settlements taken together. In this respect, the collective identity or perhaps the class-consciousness of the inhabitants was largely in agreement with the attitude of the City’s representatives who enthusiastically emphasised the general impression in accordance with the idea of the garden suburb as a city in a park rather than as individual houses. As the signature Haquin underlined in the local paper, individualism simply had to make way for the kind of co-habitation that was possible only between ‘cultivated people’ It is possible that this view was a symbolical reminder of the earlier days of more frequent interaction, when the repeated gathering for communal work or other collective purposes distinguished the working class majority of the settlements from the middle class minority.

Another issue emphasised by the City as well as by the inhabitants’ organisations was that transparent site demarcations facilitated supervision of how well the sites were looked after. As pointed out by the Swedish ethnologist, Magnus Bergquist, the tread fences of the garden plot areas served somewhat the same aim – as demarcators more of symbolic than purely physical value, at the same time as they laid no hindrance for outside supervision. As the City’s garden architect underlined, at the same time as the individual sites had to be adjusted in the interest of the impression of

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69 Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning No 5 1935, 15.
70 Småstugeföreningarnas Tidning No 6 1935, 8-9, 12.
71 Enskede Tidning 12 July 1929, p 3; cf. Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 16 May 1931, 4; 11 July 1931, 3.
73 Enskede Tidning 10 August 1928, p 6; Real Estate Board Minutes 10 September 1919 §2, memorial of 8 September 1919 (Meurling).
74 Magnus Bergquist, En utopî i verkligheten, Kolonirörelsen och det nya samhället, Gothenburg 1996, 98.
the settlements in general, so the house and the garden should be made to appear as one and the same entity.\textsuperscript{75}

It was of great interest for the City to defend this kind of cityscape against the costs implicated by it. When the influential International Style architect, Gotthard Johansson, in 1930 attacked as an illusion what he labelled as pastoral romanticism, visible even in the street names, the real estate director, Axel Dahlberg, immediately refuted him. The romanticism implied, Dahlberg argued, was on the contrary one of the most important and most loved characteristics of the cottage settlements. Contrary to Johansson’s beliefs, their inhabitants had nothing against the transparency of the site limits – instead, they enjoyed the possibilities on a daily basis to socialise and chat with their neighbours.\textsuperscript{76}

While it is easy to see why Dahlberg held these views, since much of the disciplinary governance concept of the cottage settlements relied on this transparency, his testament about the settlers’s views should not be taken at face value. In fact, the neighbourhood quarrels related above indicate that co-habitation was not as easy as implied by the official. Other indications of this – more in line with the young social democrat interpretation above – are the number of evidences that the celebrated community solidarity was not always as strong as it ideally should have been. The hardest blows to cohesion came rather in the end of my period, after the organisations had definitely turned from political to economic associations.\textsuperscript{77} The establishment of communal laundry houses, applauded by the social democratic women’s club, was for instance resisted by the male operated villa owners’ society in Enskede.\textsuperscript{78} It was the contention of Arne Biörnstad, director of the City’s SLR-credit institution, that the solidarity consciousness that would have to be in place before collective facilities actually could be turned over to the inhabitants, still in 1943 was far from realised.\textsuperscript{79} As one homeowner wrote to the administration in 1928, it was a pity that the SLR

\textsuperscript{75} Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning 31 August 1932, p 5.
\textsuperscript{76} ‘Ris och ros åt radhusen’, Dagens Nyheter 8 April 1930.
\textsuperscript{77} Enskede Villa Society Board Minutes 18 October 1940 (no §); Trädgårdsstadsföreningarnas Tidning No 8, 1942, 5-6.
\textsuperscript{78} Enskede Västra Kvinnoklubb, Vol 1 Minutes 10 August 1938 §3; Enskede Villa Society Board Minutes 18 June 1941 §10.
\textsuperscript{79} Stockholms stads och AB Stockholms Tomträttskassas bostads- och stadsplanetävlan 1939-1943 (Stockholm 1943), 16.
contracts were not always detailed enough to make it possible to punish a-
solidarity behaviour.80

If the inner solidarity was not always what one could have hoped for,
however, some effort was devoted to at least uphold the view of the happy
community. Both the local papers and the residential organisations
campaigned against both ordinary slandering, and against any detrimentally
intended talk about the communities.81

It must be said, of course, that there were a number of indications
pointing in the opposite direction, towards the existence of cohesion and
community feelings as well. Perhaps, most important, there were never any
traces of important disturbances. People seem to have lived their lives in
these districts in rather peaceful ways. This does not, however, necessarily
mean that they were content with everything. As underlined by
Baumgartner, it is the rule of suburban living that conflicts are handled by
avoidance, rather than by acting them out. Weak social control is
furthermore accompanied by a reluctance to engage in collective
endeavours or mutual help.82 As Edmund Dahlström showed in his late
1940s enquiry, for instance three out of four inhabitants, slightly more in
the cottages than in the tenements, were not interested in collective
housekeeping facilities. In fact, as Dahlström concluded, it seemed as if
people somewhat refrained from contacts less out of lack of need than
because of the aforementioned ‘own homes attitude’ that emphasised
homeboundedness and a somewhat stubborn self-reliance.83 This seems
also to fit with the conclusion of Herbart Gans, that when sufficient service
functions are provided, people tend to stick to their homes.84

The Question of Interior Space

As has already been pointed out in chapters three and four, around the turn
of the century there was a broad political consensus in Stockholm that the

80 REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:29, GH to the Real Estate
Board 2 January 1928.
81 Enskede Tidning 4 March 1928, p 2; 19 May 1928, p 2; Enskedefältets Villa Owners’
Society Minutes 13 December 1932 §7.
82 Baumgartner, The Moral Order, p 60-76.
83 Dahlström, Trissel i söderort, p 183, 222-223.
84 Gans, The Levittowners, p xvi.
City with every legal means should try to stop the mixing of people outside the nuclear family. It mattered less if it was the question of lodgers or boarders living with the families or of the frequency of encounters between members of different families in narrow staircases.\footnote{Dagens Nyheter 14 June 1908 (Anna Lindhagen); SCC Minutes 7 February 1910 §12, p 129 (Axel Andersson); Proposals 26 1910, p 11, 19; 5 1912, p 2.} Lodging was from 1908 onwards also discursively linked to TBC infections.\footnote{SCC Appendage 30 1908, p 23.}

The separation theme was first questioned in 1912, when the conservative councillor, Alma Hedin, proposed that the City instead of the long discussed bachelor’s hostels would co-operate to build supervised but gender integrated worker’s housing with five-percent philanthropy financing, of the same kind as had been managed by Stockholms Arbetarehem (see chapter two) since the early 1890s. It was, she argued, ‘a miserable state’ to ‘separate people in different groups and more or less strictly close them off from each other in separate houses’.\footnote{SCC Minutes 17 June 1912 §11, p 677.} The social democrat, Knut A. Tengdahl, was in this context the one who was mostly advancing the intention of the bachelor’s hostels to ‘counter the within the realm of the lodging system common immorality and drunkenness’. In a very long speech, he cited among others a philanthropist who wanted to treat equally the influence of lodging and that of ‘anarchist ideas’, and formulated an argument of his own like this:

None of these bachelor’s hostels could satisfy me, but on the other hand, I could not deny the fact that they were doing some good, because there were beds for 700 people here; and I had to ask myself with fear whether it would not imply a considerable social threat if one would once more let loose these 700 people on these poor families, which have not done anything bad, or anything that would motivate that they would have to put up with the miserable lodging.\footnote{SCC Minutes 17 June 1912 §11, p 686-687 (orig ital.). In Swedish: ‘motarbeta den under inneboendesystemet florerande sedeslösheten och dryckenskapen’; Intetdera af dess ungkarshotell kunde tillfredsställa mig, men å andra sidan kunde jag inför mig själf icke neka till det faktum, att de gjorde en viss nytta, ty här funnos dock sängplatser för}
Confronted by severe economic difficulties this ambition would be abandoned, at least temporarily.

In September 1917, the municipal housing committee proposed that the City with municipal subsidies should encourage families to accept the lodging homeless families with children. This proposition met with repulsion by the social democrats, led by Tengdahl, but was nonetheless accepted after a short discussion about another strategy – to make it harder for war refugees to live in Stockholm. Lodging during these years could be also used to argue against municipal interventions against the housing shortage, such as the taxing of excessive space and house rationing. During the worst years of the wartime housing crisis, it was the left that had to argue about the risks of the lodging system as part of its strategy to widen municipal intervention, and against liberal and conservative voices whose tolerance for overcrowding at this point was bordering to bagatellising. When in the early 1930s the situation seemed to lighten somewhat, the social democrat city governor in charge declared that the most important part of success was that the ‘from a social and moral view disastrous lodging system’ was no longer so important. Of course, boarding and lodging was an international phenomenon. At the same time as differentiation of housing space became a hotly discussed issue in the late nineteenth century, between one-third (as for instance in Budapest) and one-seventh (as for instance in Vienna) of the population in the large European cities were lodgers or boarders. Just as was the case with Stockholms Arbetarebostäder, subletting or boarding was not allowed in

700 människor; och jag måste me bäfvan fråga mig, om det icke inneburo et afsevädt socialt ondt, om man återigen skulle släppa dessa 700 människor lösa på dessa arma familjer, som icke gjordt något ondt eller något, som berättigade att de skulle få inneb- endets elände öfver sig igen.’

89 SCC Rescript 289 1917, p 28.
91 Real Estate Board Minutes 2 April 1919 §26, Appendage O (Meurling).
92 Real Estate Board 21 November 1923 §2; Sec Minutes 16 October 1922
93 SCC Minutes 26 May §22, p 421 (Sandberg). It should be noted that the sanitary risks with overcrowding were not even mentioned.
philanthropy houses such as the Viennese Jubilee houses. There were however exceptions, such as the Pullman model town outside Chicago, where in the 1880s and 1890s boarding was even encouraged as a way to provide money for the families in order to make the women stay at home as housewives. Conditions for the boarders varied from blood tie security of in-living relatives, to the insecure conditions of the Berlin Schlafgänger, who were often only let into the apartments during the night hours.

The experiences on this field seem to have been more or less the same in Gothenburg as in Stockholm, both when it comes to the increasing tolerance in the 1920s, and the renewed efforts (and bravado over the advances in the early 1930s). As the housing historian Sten O. Karlsson maintains, there is little or no indication that the boarding actually led to the moral and social consequences that were alleged by the opinion makers at the time. On the contrary, economic necessity and moral prudence seem to have gone hand in hand.

It has also to be emphasised that boarding has to be seen in the context of a gradual privatisation of housing space. As the Swedish historian Monika Edgren emphasises, in the early nineteenth century (and earlier), housing space was to a much larger extent regarded as public or semi-public space. At the same time, people seem to have had a functional relationship to housing space, instead of the principal view of separation and dispersion that was established by middle class reformers and philanthropists towards the end of the century. It is important to think about the use of space as functional, since it helps us to avoid any absolute distinctions between the habits of earlier and later times. While it is clear that the distinction between private and public space was less spelled out during early industrialism than it was to become later, this gives no reason to state that there was no distinction at all earlier. As Hans-Peter Duerr, the German

98 Sten O. Karlsson, Arbetarfamiljen och det nya hemmet, Om bostadshygienism och klasskultur i mellankrigstidens Göteborg (Stockholm/Stehag 1993), 307; 310-11.
social anthropologist reminds us, all this frequent counterposing of allegedly primitive and civilised social states, lately derived out of the civilisation theory of the German-British sociologist Norbert Elias, is not only unhelpful but prejudiced as well. The rationing of housing space is better considered as an outflow of the logic of survival, defined by the Swedish sociologist, Mats Franzén, as a way to cope with both economic restrictions and the double pressures from the general social norms and the immediate threat of deprivation.

The Extra Kitchens

Soon after building had commenced at the country domains the homeowners started to apply for changes of the hard conditions contained in the SLR contracts. A common wish was to establish an extra kitchen in the cottages, in order to make it possible to sublet to one or a few persons not actually belonging to the nuclear family. On rare occasions those applications could be approved, more frequently it was discovered that changes of that kind had been made clandestinely leading to reproaches from the administration and dictates that the extra kitchens should be removed. In September 1910 the country domain’s director brought forth tax registration figures showing a population density for the Enskede settlement, which was so high that it was obvious that the ban against lodging was not respected. The SLR credit institution in 1913 tried to get a permission to change a one-family house in Enskede into a two-family tenant’s house, because the house that the institution had found itself obliged to purchase in order to secure its claims, had proven difficult either to resell or to rent out.

However, the main expansion of the extra-kitchen establishments came at the close of the wartime crisis, when housing shortage was beginning to

102 REB, Country Domain’s Board Minutes 12 November 1909 §4; 1 July 1910 §13; 21 April 1911 §10; 5 November 1914 §6; 14 August 1918 §6.
103 REB, Country Domain’s Board Minutes 2 September 1910 §9, Appendage E.
104 SLMCI Minutes 28 January 1913 §7.
reach alarming levels.\footnote{409} During an inspection in 1924, it was discovered that a large number of extra kitchens – or kitchen facilities – had been built without approval and registration. Since at this point it was impossible to further diminish the amount of housing, the Real Estate Board decided for the moment to ignore this violation of the rules – and the lodging problem which it implied.\footnote{105} Soon after Christmas in 1926, the Town Architect, Sigurd Westholm, filed a memorial to the board saying that instead of these temporary permissions it should allow large-scale building of two-family houses on the country domains, although on second-class sites and separated from the one-family houses.\footnote{106} Nothing came out of this at first, and not until 1928 had the housing situation been relieved enough for the Board to hand over the task to its office. It was asked to make an enquiry about how the City should act towards the intensive level of lodging that had been established in the homeowner settlements.\footnote{107} This enquiry, which was presented in May 1928, showed that there were 496 extra kitchens or kitchen facilities in the own-homes, of which two-thirds or 328 had been built without permission. Most of them were situated in the settlements south of the inner city, in the Brännkyrka-Enskede settlements, where almost 30 percent of the houses had been equipped with these extra arrangements. In the more affluent Bromma district, only five percent of the houses had this kind of facilities.

In a first statement about the situation made by the real estate director, Nils Hasselquist, the approach was uncompromising and even implied legal action. The argumentation had three levels: First, a general statement about the advantages of the one-family home from both economic and general social respects; second, the contention that the lodgers would hardly be the kind of people which the City wanted to have in its model settlements; and third, on the concrete level, that the additions could only be accepted – and with raised site rents – in those cases where total isolation could be

\footnote{105} REB, Country Domain’s Board Minutes 14 August 1918 §6; Real Estate Board Minutes 1920 §10; 11 January 1924 §29.
\footnote{106} REB Minutes 13 June 1924 §24; 18 July 1924 §24. Temporary permissions were beginning to be filed from the next spring on, see the minutes 6 March 1925 §23; 3 April 1925 §21; 30 June 1925 §57 etc.
\footnote{107} See the documents of REB Act 238/1927; the proposal was filed by Westholm 28 December 1926.
\footnote{108} REB Minutes 18 May 1928 §21.
guaranteed between the households. However, already in the appended enquiry recommending the appropriate size of these site lease raises, another approach was presented. In this enquiry, overseen by the country domain’s department director, Axel Dahlberg, a crucial differentiation was introduced. The actions of the Board should not, argued Dahlberg, be directed against too intense co-habitation, but only against those who tried to receive economic advantage by sub-letting. Especially, Dahlberg maintained, the board had no reason to interfere when a blood-related person or family wanted to live together with the owner household.

In October 1928, Dahlberg presented another enquiry over the level of rents from sub-letters in the districts. It showed that these rents in most cases seemed to be rather too low, and the ‘sanitary conditions’ – social or moral circumstances were not even mentioned – in almost all cases did not seem to be alarming. There should consequently, he contended, mostly be only the question of rent increases and not of obliteration orders. Because of continued housing shortage and unemployment in 1929, the Board once more refrained from any action. As Dahlberg maintained, however, ‘obviously the strictly economic pressure, which the villa owners have been exposed to with the intent to eradicate the additions, have brought a satisfying result’. A further enquiry had shown that the number of extra kitchens and kitchen facilities had decreased from 496 to 402. While this could be considered as a victory for the ruling at a distance that was so important for social city governmentality, it is obvious that the disciplinary city was on its retreat. It is obvious from the actions taken by the administration that it was no longer crucial to uphold the physical differentiation within the urban structure. I will now discuss somewhat more about the preconditions for this change.

The Extra Kitchens in Context
The principal view of the municipal administration was that the one-family house for more or less well-stated ‘social’ reasons always was advantageous

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110 REB Act 238/1928, 10 May 1928 (Dahlberg).
111 REB Minutes 9 November 1928 §20; Act 238/1928 29 October 1928; 7 November 1928 (both Dahlberg).
compared to all other solutions. Lodging was of course an economically induced compromise. However, when the economy went down, the two-family house was nonetheless not a very successful solution either. In bigger tenements, more tenants could share the losses if one apartment was empty. Principally, however, everything except one-family houses was considered as tenements. This meant that the two family houses also had to be subject to those economic discriminations that were meant to encourage villa building on the country domains. Contrary to the own-home, all kinds of tenements implied some level of co-habitation, as well as a commercialisation of housing needs (which the own-homes allegedly were not). This is why two-family houses had to pay relatively higher site rents than those houses that were not changed to have lodgers. In the first cases when dividing of own-homes were permitted in 1911, the SLR rents were hiked by 40 percent. This could explain why the changes were later made in silence to such a high degree.

During the Great War, the Country Domain’s Board decided to introduce a five-year moratorium on these rent hikes. It was still maintained that permission could only be given to cases of utmost urgency. In the early 1920s, against the background of an assiduous housing crisis, the question was repeatedly postponed. The number of known extra kitchens and kitchen facilities however increased continuously, to 182 in 1922, 276 in 1923, and what we may expect was close to the largest number, 496 cases that were registered in 1927.

On 9 November 1928, the Real Estate Board made a decision to hike up the rents for everybody that had been installing kitchen facilities otherwise, as the board expressed it, ‘really distressing circumstances’ were at hand. The homeowners did not know what was meant by these circumstances, but according to the board minutes it was to have a really bad economy, or that the in-living persons were in any way blood-related to the owners of the house. These criteria were in other words directed against both the commercialisation of homes and against co-habitation across family lines.

113 Unless otherwise stated, this part of the chapter is based on the concluding documents on the extra kitchen issue that are filed under the heading F 2B:94:309, in the archive of the REB, Country Domain’s Department of the Real Estate Office. The documents are filed at the 30 June 1942; 9 July 1943 and 10 November 1943.
114 In Swedish: ‘verkligt ömmande omständigheter’.
The chairperson and two other delegates formed the delegation that would decide what circumstances could be considered distressing enough.

After the board declared its intent to raise the rents for everybody who had built extra kitchens in November and December 1928, applications to be exempted from the hike steadily arrived from the homeowners. Before turning to this, I will however say something on what followed from all this.

Until 4 July 1929 when the delegation reported to the board, altogether some 242 applications for exemption to rent hike had arrived – that is from at least half of the site owners who had extra kitchens or kitchen facilities. The delegation had also inspected a small number of these households to find out if the decided approach would stand any chance to be successful. On 26 July 1929, the board decided to give the office the task of conducting a new enquiry, and that the rent hikes would be in force from 1 January 1930. As already mentioned, the new enquiry showed that 402 extra kitchens and kitchen facilities were still left. These were classified by the office into those that could be kept, those that had to be taken away within five years and those that had to be taken away within only one year. Since the situation for small apartments on the housing market had worsened again, it was however once more decided that the rent increases should be postponed. This decision was then repeated during the thirties and into the new war time crisis.

A smaller amount of apartment divisions was also made during the 1930s. In only seven cases were exemptions to rent increases permitted – one of them being the house owned by the real estate director, Axel Dahlberg. In all these cases – except the case of Dahlberg – the house owners were in extremely bad economic circumstances. The real estate office underlined that this had not been the fact that had determined the outcome, but that the in-living persons had been blood relatives. As far as I have enquired the issue, that is until the mid-1940s, the Real Estate Board was still using the SLR rents for the direct interventionist aim to prohibit co-habitation beside blood relations – although, as mentioned, in a restrained manner. In the cases when the rent was not changed the applicants had to sign a guarantee form to inform the real estate office if any unrelated persons would replace the in-living relatives.\footnote{REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:94 309/1160.}
It is obvious from the above that this was a policy that was not in accordance with the preferences of a large part of the inhabitants. The question is then how these people reacted to the policy of by the City authorities, and whether they were trying to resist the repressive means that the city tried to resort to. To find out more about this, I have looked at the applications filed by SLR owners in the Enskede and Skarpnäck districts to the Real Estate Board during the years 1929 and 1930, for either not increasing the rents or for permission to keep the extra kitchens or kitchen facilities. The SLR owners from Bromma who were generally more affluent are ignored in this investigation as representing an example of another kind of social practice (maybe that of feeling obliged to live a more affluent life than incomes gave cause for).

The general conditions for the applications were, as mentioned, that the SLR owners were ignorant of the details about what it would take to get their applications through. What they had to relate was only the concept about ‘really distressing circumstances’ that had been written in the regulations document. From this, I would argue, one can not only get an idea about how they understood their situation. Their ways to relate to this concept could also reveal to us what they thought that they had to tell the authorities about their personal whereabouts in the house, which they, conventionally speaking, was considering as their own.

An offer they could not resist

The material upon which I base this enquiry consists of applications from 197 SLR owners, all filed in late autumn of 1928 and 1930. Additionally, an application filed on behalf of 32 SLR owners sent in through the Housing Association of Skarpnäck is also taken into account. Altogether, the material consists of a little more than two hundred applications, put together as anything between a few lines on a pre-printed form to several pages of type-written text. According to the enquiry that was carried out by the Real Estate Board in 1930, there were in the southern SLR areas still 365

116 All these applications, including the enquiry mentioned below, are filed under REB, Country Domain’s Department Documents F 2B:15:309. Most of them are filed alphabetically after the block names. In order to leave the applicants outside the realm of publication, without making it difficult to find my sources, I will consequently be referring only to the block names and numbers, as well as to the dates of the applications (since some applicants sent more than one).
extra kitchens or kitchen facilities. Less than two-thirds of these SLR owners had, consequently, taken the chance to influence the City’s actions. Among these 365 extra kitchens, the City had earlier approved 76, while 30 were classified as illegal (although correctly built), and 47 were considered as possible to arrange as permissible living spaces without any major changes. Another 137 apartments could only be temporarily approved for another three years, while 75 had to be taken away immediately. The first and the last of these groups, that is, those with the best and the worst solutions for their co-habitation needs (according to the criteria set by the City), each represented about twenty percent of the whole population examined. Those who had filed applications to the City are underrepresented in both these groups. Among these, about 18 percent have approved facilities, while only eight percent have facilities that could not be approved, even temporarily.

The SLR owners could relate to the demands of the City authorities in a number of different ways. The simplest and least interesting way was to take the City for its words and present one’s circumstances as as distressing as possible. That, however, implied a changed relation to the City’s administrative personnel. As has been pointed out previously, both the Real Estate Board and its predecessor, the Country Domain’s Board, had always emphasised that the relation between it and the settlers should be inherently (although not strictly) economic. The social domain, which these administrative bodies were set out to be a part of, should not to any larger extent cover the costs of administration. The garden cities were not subsidised, on the contrary they should not only bear their own costs but also, through the credit institution and the SLR rents, bring out at least a minimum interest on invested capital. These costs fell always on the inhabitants who on the other hand could enjoy a distanced and autonomous existence vis-à-vis the administration, mediated only by the exchange of money. Instead, the social content of the social city should be carried through by the spatial order.

With the extra kitchen applications another and very different relation emerged between the settlers and the administration, both in form and content. This was the relation generally associated with the old combination between a hard-edged poor law administration and private philanthropy, when people in distressing circumstances had to turn their lives inside out before the administrators in order to receive any help. Some of the
applications examined here consequently indicate clearly of the Poor Law Board, an instance where diseases, poverty, and general helplessness may and should be held forth:

My wife’s five years illness and death of which 1 years residence at infirmary and an 18 years old girl who has been at Kärnan for 1½ years she is presently tending the household after the death of my wife it was too laboursome for here so I had to limit it to one room and a kitchen. A lad of 25 years has also been at Söderby and is from time to time unusable for work and myself I suffer from bad heart disease and everybody often need doctor’s care.\[17\]

However, more frequent than this kind of eloquence were laconic messages of perhaps the same content, but with far less details:

As my economic circumstances are such that I need some incomes from my estate, I would be grateful if my application would be approved.\[18\]

Another way to meet the Board half way was to emphasise that the own-home was used only to house relatives, including in-married with their relatives. From the 197 settlers who sent in their applications themselves, 37, or 19 percent, could declare that they had only been renting out to relatives – children, sisters or brothers in law, mother or father or siblings. And among those who could not say that they had kept this kind of blood purity within the walls of their hearth, there were also some who wanted to hold forth that this was at least their ambition:

\[17\] Hackan 13 1 April 1929. *In Swedish:* ‘Min hustrus 5 åriga sjukdom och död varav 1 års vistelse å sjukhus samt en 18 års flicka som vistats å Kärnan 1½ år hon sköter nu hushållet efter min hustrus dör det var för arbetsamt för henne så jag måste inskränka detsamma till 1 rum och kök. En gosse på 25 år ahr också vistats å Söderby och är tidvis arbetsoduglig och sjelf lider jag av starkt hjärtfel och behöver ofta läkarvård allesamma.’ Kärnan and Söderby were TBC infirmaries.

\[18\] Hushållerskan 8 28 November 1929. *In Swedish:* ‘Då mina ekonomiska förhållanden äro sådana att jag behöver en del inkomster av min fastighet är jag tacksam om godkännande av denna anhållan.’
The so-called extra apartment that has been inhabited by myself for 12 years, when the ground floor was rented out, has for me been the only possibility to manage the economy during the raising and school years of the children but from when my son is ending his school years I hope to have the whole villa only for my family.\footnote{Stataren 15, 28 March 1929.} Another tactic was to plead to the general aims of municipal housing policy. Was it for instance so wise to force the eviction of people who would have difficulties to find a new apartment, and who instead would have to refrain to poverty relief\footnote{For instance Alvdiket 3 9 October 1929.} Or one could grab what the inhabitants had received from decades of socially informed rhetoric and turn it back on the administration with the reprising point: we have done everything that you have asked us to, and now you come and ask things from us that will bring us despair!

When I bought the villa, it was with the thought that I would have a home until my last days. And for that aim I have worked both outside and inside. The garden was in a total mess it has cost a lot of good money and work to make it as it is now.\footnote{Hantlangaren 6 12 January 1930.}

Already the tone of that kind of message let us know that the homeowners actually had something to set up against the actions forced upon them by the City. They had ideological muscles – the City had all reason to avoid quarrels and negative publicity about the garden cities, both for political and commercial reasons (nobody interfered with how many kitchens there were in the private homeowners’ settlements). However, they also had economic muscles. If the crisis of the homeowners would be deep enough

\footnote{119 Stataren 15, 28 March 1929. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘Den s k extralägenheten som av mig själv bebotts i 12 år, då n b var uthyrd, har för mig varit den enda möjligheten att klara ekonomin under barnens uppväxt o skolår men i och med min sons slutade skolgång hoppar jag kunna få ha hela villan för min familj ensam.’}
\footnote{120 For instance Alvdiket 3 9 October 1929.}
\footnote{121 Hantlangaren 6 12 January 1930. \textit{In Swedish}: När jag köpte villan var det med tanke på att jag skulle ha ett eget hem her till dödagar. Och för det målet har jag arbetat både ute och inne. Trädgården var totalt förfallen och det har kostat bra mycket pengar och arbete att få den som den är nu.}
to force many of them to leave their houses, the City would suffer twice. Its credit institution would have to re-purchase many of the houses at a loss in order to guard its claims, and for the Real Estate Board a slower pace of expansion would mean increased costs. The Building Association of Skarpnäck addressed this in its memorandum:

A taking away of the possibility to this income increase for the owners, as well as a raise of the current SLR rent would for them be the same as to take the villas away from them. And that can not be in the interest of the City’s administrative bodies, especially since currently much is done by the City to give people of less means the possibility to get themselves homes of their own.122

It also happened that the owners took the opportunity to voice critique, often sharply against how the administration was managing the own-homes exploitation. Some of them reminded that their facilities once had been approved by the Real Estate Board (or even by the Country Domain’s Board), and could see no reason to make changes now at a much later stage.123 Still, however, even this view was completely in accordance with a principal compliance with the Board’s measures.

There was, however, a group of people who went far enough to question the system as a whole. These were those who simply refused to comply that the municipality should have the right either to say how the house should be built (that is, with steady walls between people lacking blood relations). Neither should it raise the price for the site with the only motivation that it

122 Byggnadsföreningen Skarpnäck UPA 30 March 1929, signed by P G L Ljungberg and Bengt Ericsson for all in all 32 SLR owners, through letter of authority. As the application from the owner of Beräknaren 8 (14 March 1930) tells, the mentioned Ljungberg had at a personal talk with Real Estate Director Axel Dahlberg succeeded in making him promise that the administration would take much notice to the views voiced by the association. Naturally, Dahlberg had no authority to make promises of that kind. In Swedish: ‘Ett borttagande av möjligheten till denna inkomstökning för innehavarna, även om en förhöjning av den nu utgående tomtavgälden skulle för dessa vara detsamma som att skilja dem från den innehavda villan. Och detta kan ju ej vara av något intresse för stadens förvaltningsorgan, synnerligast som ju från stadens sida numera mycket göres för att bereda mindre bemiddlade möjlighet att anskaffa sig egna hem.’

123 See, for instance Skyddsmuren 5, 14 August 1929.
wanted to promote a way of living which apparently wasn’t adjusted either to the habits or the economy of those for which it was meant. Some of these people seem to have reacted with surprise as much as anger:

I can not understand that an extra kitchen should have such a great meaning that the site rent should need to be raised because of it. I have neighbours with the same space as I and they can rent out to families with four five members and there are those who are so many that they have to build extra pavillons at the site to which they sometimes resort without being disturbed with any extra expenses.\[^{124}\]

Others tried to bagatelle the issue, either by maintaining that the extra apartment eventually would be used by family, or by presenting the case as if the lodging person was of such a limited size that he or she could not possibly have any disturbing influence.\[^{125}\] To live with more than one family in the same house, given the economic constraints of a working class family, was the simplest way to solve housing problems and not to be questioned:

With the incomes ye have ye can not dispose the whole villa meself and doesn’t need it as we are three persons and have 2 rooms, kitchen, and hall downstairs, and it becomes quite a rent, with instalments to the Wood firm and repairs and maintenance and for the rest\[^{126}\]

On the other hand, a more principled way of talking also occurred, if only rarely, as in this example:

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\[^{125}\] Murarlaget 2, 16 March 1929, Musseronen 6, 3 February 1930.

Therefore we ask if it is more demanding for the Real Estate Board, if the villa for instance contains 6 persons in two families, or 6 in one family, which we find hard to believe. Our interest payments, as well as the instalments, we have carried through according to the arrangements that have been made. The hygienic, as well as other demands that have been put on us because of the changes in the house, we consider as completely in order. This is much more so than in other places, for instance in the City’s own houses it is below all critique, so why shall two young people, who are trying to get on as best they could, then be burdened with even higher expenses?\textsuperscript{127}

However, that type of opposition against the discursive frames that the City was presenting its inhabitants was very rare. Very few people were in any way questioning what the City was laying on them about the kitchens. Altogether, and with a very broad interpretation, that view was to be found only among 31 out of 197 SLR owners, or 15 percent. To these came, one could argue, those 31 (15 percent) who were trying to present the ‘economic muscles’ (with only one exception, these were different people)\textsuperscript{128} The next question will be, if there was anything that was common for the people that made up this opposition minority.

\textit{Who Were the Opponents?}

I have divided the applicants according to social status and sex. Included are thus only the SLR owners, who are not necessarily the same as for instance those with the largest incomes in the respective households. The dispersion after social status corresponds quite neatly to what we could

\textsuperscript{127} Riksdagsmannen 5, 14 July 1929. \textit{In Swedish}: ‘Vi fråga därför om det är mer betungande för fastighetsnämnden, om villan t ex innehåller 6 personer i två familjer, eller 6 i en familj, vilket vi ej kunna tro. Våra räntor, såväl som amorteringar har vi fullföljt enligt överenskommelse. De hygieniska, såväl som andra krav som ställts på oss i anledning av ombyggnaden, anser vi tillfulla ordnade, långt mer än på andra ställen, t ex i stadens egna hus är det långt under all kritik, varför skall då två unga människor, som försöker ordna det till det bästa åt sig, då bli betungade med ännu större utgifter?’

\textsuperscript{128} A bivariate correlation analysis showed that the level of significance was .95, that is, the weak coefficient (-.05) was almost surely the product of chance.
expect in an area belonging to the ‘red horseshoe’ at the time, with an over-representation for the different layers of the working class.129

Table VII:1. Applicants in the extra kitchen issue from 1928 to 1929, dispersed after social status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation groups</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle strata</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers, retired persons</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>197</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Country Domain’s Department Documents F 28:15:309

Altogether, 40 of them (19 percent) were women – 157 were consequently men. Their rent per person (including children) ranged between 83 and 610 Crowsns per year, with an average of 261 and a median of 243 Crowsns. The income per person ranged between 298 and 3,973 Crowsns per year, with an average of 1,430 and a median of 1,374 Crowsns. This is a little less than the average income for the inhabitants of the Stockholm suburbs, which in 1930 was 1,552 Crowsns, but the difference can be the result simply of the larger presence of children in Enskede and Skarpnäck, compared to the rest of the southern suburbs.130 Between 2 and 14 people, children and adults were living in the houses, with a median of six people (average 6.27).131

A statistical enquiry with the help of a bivariate correlation analysis however shows that the unwillingness to accept the principles of extra kitchen regulation, or alternatively to be inclined to threaten with giving up

129 On the ‘red horseshoe’, se Mats Franzén, ‘Den röda hästskon’.
130 *Sveriges offentliga statistik, Folkmängden och dess förändringar, Folkräkningen den 31 december 1929 av SCB. III Folkmängden efter yrke, inkomst och förmögenhet: 1. Ard.*, (Stockholm 1936), Table 13, column 25.
131 All figures in this paragraph are, if not indicated otherwise, taken from the Stockholm taxregisters, Brännkyrka district 1 Vol. 1-4, district 2 Vol 2, 1929 and 1930, which are kept at the Stockholm City Archive.
the house, is practically unrelated to these socio-economic facts. The only statistically significant correlation to be found (at the five-percent level) was between the threat to leave the house, and the number of people living in the house, where there was a positive correlation of 0.16. However, even this is of course a very weak correlation.

Therefore, my next step was to take a closer look at what the SLR owners were actually saying in their applications. To do this, I have used the same kind of statistical discourse analysis as was used in chapter three and five. In other words, I have from the texts implicated here (that is, the written motivations included in the applications) derived a number of argument types. Then I have used a statistical computer programme to find out if the presence of these arguments (types) in some of the documents and not in others is patterned enough to be explicable by common, causal factors, understood as orders of discourse. In the process, I have been working with these arguments:

The income argument (inc): the applications are motivated by a low income;

The expense argument (exp): the application is motivated by high expenses;

The blood relations argument (rel): the application is motivated by the fact that the inliving persons are blood related to persons in the SLR owner’s household;

The misery argument (mis): the application is motivated by diseases and the like;

The practical argument (pra): the application is motivated by practical considerations, such that the house is big enough for more people;

The critical argument (cri): the application is motivated by a pointing out of all the mistakes that have been made by the municipal administration, in order to make sure that another one could now be avoided;

The fallible information argument (inf): the application is motivated by the understanding that one has not in time been informed about the rules and what the municipality is going to do, either by the City or by the former owner of one’s house;

The economic threat argument (ect): the application contains the threat that if it is not approved the applicant may have to move; and
The identity argument (gcid): the application is motivated by expectations that are linked to a general idea of what it should be like to live in a garden city.

Apart from these arguments, I have also included two further variables, labelled as accepting (acc) and refusing (ref) in principle the measures taken by the City.

As the plot below demonstrates (which is only showing the two factors/discourses that have the strongest explanation value), the discourses are rather weakly displayed with most arguments centred around the origo. The first order of discourse however shows high positive loadings on the expense (0.77), critique (0.20) and economic threat (0.11) arguments, and loads negatively on the miserability (-0.37), low income (-0.35) and relatives (-0.18) arguments. This seems to be an argument which combines an underlining of the troubles caused by high expenses, with a critical stance, and which plays down the elements of the disciplinary discourse. The other factor has a high positive loading on acceptance of the disciplinary discourse (0.65), and combines that with underlining the expenses (0.33), miserability (0.20) and relatives (0.11) arguments. On the other hand, is has high negative loadings on the critique (-0.44), fallible information (-0.37) and practical issues (-0.11) arguments. As already indicated, this was a discourse that accepted the main parts of the disciplinary discourse and tried to make the best out of what it demanded. In a way, then, these two orders of discourse display contrary tactics. Together, however, they only explain 18.8 percent of the total variation (9.6 and 9.2 percent each).
Graph VII:19

In order to provide a more varied understanding of the arguments displayed, I have also made a factor analysis on four arguments – which was the number recommended by the Principal Component and Eigenvalue analysis. In this case, the result became a little different. The first factor shows high positive loadings on critique (0.626) and fallible information (0.36), and high negative loadings on acceptance of the disciplinary discourse (-0.55), miserability (-0.23) and relatives (-0.17). This looks in other words like the critical stance in its purest form. The next factor has an extremely high loading on the expense argument (0.87), but also loads positively on acceptance of the disciplinary discourse (0.18) and critique (0.14), while loading negatively on practical arguments (-0.23), incomes (-0.17) and relatives (-0.14). In other words critique and expenses seem to belong to different discourses, the latter, as in factor two, linked both to acceptance and critique of the disciplinary discourse.

Source: Country Domain’s Department Documents F2B:15:309. The two markers slightly set off of origo are gcid and ect (garden city identity and threat to move from the place).
The third factor has high positive loadings on incomes (0.47) and misery (0.47), as well as to acceptance of the disciplinary discourse (0.14), while loading negatively on practical (-0.34) and expenses (-0.29) arguments. This seems to be an outright misery discourse. The fourth has high loadings on the identity argument (0.54) and the threat to move argument (0.36), and loads negatively on practical arguments (-0.24). This seems in other words an argument emphasising the identity of living in garden cities against the demands of the administration. Together these four factors explain 30 percent of the variation (9.5, 9.0, 6.5 and 5.0 percent respectively). It seems, however, that when extracting more than two factors the single arguments seem to take the upper hand, and the principal view of the discussion is lost. The rest of the discussion will thus build on the first to factors extracted.

A bivariate correlation analysis shows that these two factors correlate quite badly to the two opposition strategies that I mentioned above. The readiness to accept – or not accept – the City’s measures did not correlate at all to the first factor, but strongly (Pearson’s rxy coefficient 0.83) to the second (significant on the one percent level). None of the factors correlated to willingness to threat with the risk of having to abandon the own home. The high expenses and critique discourse was rather correlated to variables such as a large number of people living in the house (0.19), large disposable income (0.15), (high) age (0.19), taking of lodgers (0.21) and counting oneself to the skilled working class (0.23). For the accepting discourse, on the other hand, the correlation analysis only shows that they seldom had their extra kitchens banned (-0.18) and had a lower rent per person than the average (0.18). Apart from that the most critical seem to have been stable working class, the correlation analysis in other words does not tell us very much about who the people voicing the different discourses against the City actually were.

To Reach Above the Social – The Luxury Additions Issue

Contemporary with the founding of social and garden cityscapes in Sweden was an aesthetic offensive directed against the bungalow and national-

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132 The correlation analysis was conducted toward the factor loadings of the two strongest factors, which were save as additional variables.
romantic styles that had been characteristic of the private villa settlements. In the governmental enquiry *Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder* (Practical and Hygienic Housing), published in 1921, an ideal of simple aesthetics had been presented. Instead of individual styles, different more or less for each house, it was argued that styles should be directed generally on the settlements. The aesthetic initiative was thus transferred from the builders to the planners.133

In this investigation, this disciplined style has been presented as a distinguishing feature of the social city. It is of course understood that nivellating styles were nothing new for the municipally guided projects – it was a feature of all disciplinary settlements, from the early modern industrial villages onwards. What however was new about this was that the style was reintroduced after a period of quite liberal practices, and that great efforts were made to also make the inhabitants of these settlements positive to aesthetic control. As we have seen, these efforts met with a considerable amount of success.

However, the aesthetic qualities of settlements where all houses looked more or less the same were not unquestioned. For instance, in 1932 the villa brokers active in the social settlements issued public complaints about the difficulties caused by the extreme likeness among the houses that they were supposed to help in selling. As the Real Estate Board’s chief architect, P. E. Engström, answered to the complaints, these difficulties were only the result of the constraints laid on the builders by the demands of mass production (in order to save as much money as possible for the builders). In addition, he added, all the same, there are very seldom any complaints.134

The last part of Engström’s statement was not, however, completely correct. In fact, at that time a tacit struggle had already been conducted for a couple of years. As mentioned in chapter four, after the fate of the SLR had been decided in 1927, the administration started to work on revisions of the SLR contracts. One of the explicit ambitions was to make it possible for the SLR owners to take up new loans in order to manage house sales, estate transmissions, and rebuilding. As the credit institution made clear, it could however never be the aim of the municipal administration to help

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133 *Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder: betänkande och förslag / avgivet av jämlikt nådigt bemyndigande den 27 februari 1920 tillkallade Sakkunnige för utredning av frågan om bostadsociala minimifordringar å med allmänt understöd tillkommande smålägenheter* (Stockholm 1921).
134 *Enskede Trädgårdsstäders Tidning* 6 May 1932, p 1; 13 May 1932, p 1.
people to cash in on inflation gains. That was why, firstly, new valuations of the SLR houses should only be effected when there really was the question of an ownership transfer, or when actual additions had been made on the house through rebuilding. That is, not only was the credit institution obliged to make sure that a transfer was made, or that the rebuilding measures had been undertaken in an accurate way, it was as well its plight to make sure that the additions could not be classified as what in the SLR contracts were labelled as ‘peculiar equipment and obvious luxury arrangements’.\footnote{SLMCI Minutes 16 May 1928 §10, Appendage C; Real Estate Board Minutes 27 July 1928 §45, Act 349/1928, From the Rent Delegation 26 June 1928. In Swedish: ‘säregna inrättningar och påtagliga lyxanordningar’.

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It may be argued, however, that this exception from what could be considered as real value additions to the houses was not only intended to ensure the credit institution from sudden changes in the aesthetic trends (and to make impossible fake rebuildings with the aim to cash in on inflation gains). It had a disciplinary side as well. This became clear a couple of years later, if not before, when the issue of value criteria was taken up again by the Real Estate Board. As the real estate director, Axel Dahlberg, pointed out in his petition about the subject, the issue was not as simple as it had been regarded at an earlier stage. The question ‘about what is to be considered as a luxury, is controversial, and often a question of judgement’, especially as ‘the development and shape of the buildings during the last ten years has been the subject of considerable changes’. In order to solve these problems, the board should, he suggested, take into consideration a number of cases that the administration recently had found difficult.\footnote{Real Estate Board Minutes 17 October 1930 §24, Act 516/1930, Memorial from the Real Estate Office 17 September 1930. In Swedish: ‘om, vad som är att betraka som lyx, är tvistigt och ofta nog en omdömesak’; ‘byggnadernas utveckling och utformning under det senaste tiotalet är undergått betydande förändringar’.

136} As was emphasised by a building inspector commissioned to inspect some recently finished houses, the view on what should be counted as luxury had changed considerably only during the last five years. For instance, he asked, what should be said about details such as parquet floors, oak stairs, marble or lime stone window-ledges, lime stone outer stairs, walled in bath tubs, marbled floors and tiled walls in bath-rooms, and central water heating? If
nothing else, the sheer number of instalments of those kinds would, he argued, motivate their redefinition from luxury to standard equipment.\textsuperscript{137}

The Real Estate Board chose at that time to accept the proposition for changed criteria, which its office had presented. As the credit institution showed some years later, this change had considerable economic consequences. Counted per cubic metre, the value of the houses on SLR sites had between 1928 and 1932 increased by about 14 percent in both Enskede and Bromma. In order to limit the risks – and to somewhat diminish the modernisation introduced by the board – the credit institution therefore chose to unilaterally decrease its loan involvement with 5 percent.\textsuperscript{138} Shortly afterwards, it also took the initiative to the change the person estimating the value – the person appointed by the Real Estate Board was changed for a person appointed by the credit institution itself.\textsuperscript{139}

The Real Estate Board soon complained to the appointed value estimator, that the values determined for especially the cottages were so much lower than the building costs, that it was obvious that additions and equipment which the Real Estate Office considered as standard utensils by the estimator were considered as luxury or unnecessary. Over time, however, the practice was established that the houses were given two values. The one established by the Real Estate Board provided the foundation for what the SLR owner would get from the City if it was to expropriate the site; the second, and lower, was established by the credit institution as foundation for the loan involvement.\textsuperscript{140}

At the same time as the credit institution in this way factually was limiting the modernising development in the cottage settlements, it was on the other hand trying to lead it in the tenement districts. As its Director, Arne Biörnstad, pointed out, there was a risk that un-modernised tenement houses would lose their value in only five years or less, when they had to compete with newer and better-equipped houses.\textsuperscript{141} The principle that any

\textsuperscript{137} REB Minutes 17 October 1930 §24, Act 516/1930, Memorial to the Real Estate Office 16 October 1930.
\textsuperscript{138} SLMCI Minutes 3 May 1933 §8, incl PM to the Board, signed by Biörnstad 24 April 1933.
\textsuperscript{139} SLMCI Minutes 13 September 1933 §8.
\textsuperscript{140} Real Estate Board Act 563/1931, from Real Estate Office to Byggmästare O Ols- son 26 June 1935.
\textsuperscript{141} SLMCI Minutes 14 December 1938 §7, Appendage A, p 3.
This chapter was opened with a statistical overview showing that the whole southern part of Stockholm – the former Brännkyrka borough – was proletarian and sparsely populated. At the time of the inauguration of the municipally monitored suburban settlements in and around Enskede in the eastern part of the former borough, the rural character of the population had clearly shifted. The borough had acquired industrial and proletarian characteristics. The whole area would keep this identity throughout the period up to the end of the Second World War. However, some evidence shows that the inhabitants of the eastern part were slightly better off than the majority of the inhabitants of the western part. We saw as well that both parts of the area were rather self-enclosed. Although a large part of the population moved around, it very seldom happened that somebody moved from the western part of the area to the eastern part, or vice versa.

An investigation of election statistics shows that the participation in the whole southern region was higher than in Stockholm as a whole. Participation was also slightly higher in the eastern, largely municipally monitored area, than in the western part. Variations were big, however, and an important part of the explanation lies in the female participation – which was much higher in some areas than in others. The extent to which voting was a sign of loyalty to ruling social democrats in the City Council was also considerable.

In accordance with research conducted by members of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, I have showed that the everyday life of the settlements seems to have been very peaceful, characterised by avoidance rather than conflict. An important characteristic of the spatial order of the

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142 SLMCI Minutes 3 October 1945 §10, Appendage A.
143 SLMCI Minutes 5 December 1945, Appendage A.
settlements was the openness where sites were separated by low hedges rather than fences. This openness was celebrated and defended by the inhabitants (or at least by their more or less self-appointed representatives) as a distinguishing feature of the mentality of the garden cities, and something that the inhabitants was proud of. Since open sites are more easily monitored than closed ones, this view was also shared with the administration. However, the openness had limits. For instance, everything having to do with reproductive work (and, thus, women) should be kept out of site. The same was also the case for the young people of the settlements and their activities. It was an important characteristic of the municipally monitored garden suburbs, that public encounters should as much as possible be limited to (male dominated) organisational life and the small parks spread out here and there in the settlements. As showed in the previous chapter, these rules were largely implemented by the different residents’ organisations.

The way in which the inhabitants look at interior space of their houses, was however less in accordance with the view of the municipal administration. Although this was forbidden in the SLR contracts, a large part of the settlers took in lodgers and boarders. Instead of the principled way of looking at interior space forwarded by the administration (only relatives should be allowed in the same living space), the settlers seem to have adhered to a functional view – trying to balance financial and spatial needs. When approached by the administration, the motivations for this practice were varying. Some of the inhabitants agreed to motivate their living habits out of urgent financial needs, others directly questioned the City’s right to interfere. As a statistical analysis shows, it is hard to connect either of these views – or all the variants in between – to other variables (apart from the fact that the critical views seem to have been a little more common among better-paid skilled workers).

As it was shown in the last part of the chapter, resistance was not just restricted to the bottom of the suburban hierarchies. Another way to break the influence of the disciplinary city was to change the outlook of one’s own house. Although the City and its credit institution found it difficult to accept this practice, it seems to have been quite common at least in the late 1920s. This shows another angle in which the disciplinary city seemed to have lost its purpose soon after it was built – which motivated the governmental strategies analysed in chapter six.
Chapter VIII

Conclusion

This study started out from the counterpoising of three domains of power rationality on the one hand, and on the other two ways of building a kind of settlement that would not only provide places to live in, but which was also anticipated to influence the outlook and behaviour – the subjectivity – of its inhabitants. The three domains of power were the juridical/pastoral, the economic, and the social. After the juridical/pastoral power had been separated from the economic domain with the breakdown of mercantilism at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social domain emerged as complementary power rationality. The logic of the juridical/pastoral rationality was the logic of direct interventions – of physical and symbolic force. The economic logic was the logic of scarcity. The social logic, in its turn, emerged as disciplinary power to subsequently also develop the sub-field of governmental power. While disciplinary power had long-term effects on large collectivities through categorising and spatial order, governmental power presupposed the integration of the subjects and a developed understanding of how they would find it in their self-interest to comply with prevailing relations of power. Disciplinary power provided the training for a power working through guided freedom, governmental power implied the disciplining of freedom to comply to the interests of the larger collectivities with which the subjects of power were to identify. A model settlement building fundamentally on the rationality of the disciplinary domain was called an Owenite settlement – after the industrialist and socialist Robert Owen. The settlements that fundamentally built on governmental power were called Howardian settlements – after the turn-of-the-century garden city advocate, Ebenezer Howard.

As I showed in chapter two, the garden city projects inspired by Howard found their greatest support among industrialists, who probably were more interested in building disciplinary settlements than the libertarian utopias
building on governmental power that Howard envisaged. Outside the Anglo-Saxon world, mostly municipalities and other administrative bodies picked up the garden city ideas. For instance, in Norway and Denmark, interesting co-operative projects linking municipalities and trade unions took place to the excitement of Howard himself. In Stockholm – the capital of Sweden and the fundamental object of this study – the garden city projects became part of a fundamental reorganisation of the otherwise old-fashioned municipal administration.

In chapter three, I showed that the purchases of large tracts of land outside Stockholm from 1904 onwards must be seen as part of a large-scale turn-about in urban thinking within the municipal administration. After having kept expansion within tight bounds for a long while, an urge for a less constrained city type had emerged. The acquisitions and the subsequent town planning and land policy were motivated by what I called a Disciplinary Housing Discourse: Certain categories of the city’s inhabitants should be situated on the new land, where they would be dispersed, separated and subject to the influence of nature. As I point out, however, this disciplinary city soon became the focus for governmental power also; seeking deeper integration of the inhabitants within society at large. The older power rationalities of direct interventions also remained in the first place within the inner city. New forms of direct interventions developed, to be implemented on the early forms of nationally-funded social housing for large families that were situated there in the late 1930s.

As chapter four shows, the settlements on the new domains were administered by new bodies, which also retained a large extent of integrity and an own identity after integration within the main bodies of a reformed municipal administration around 1920. Both administratively and spatially, the outer city and specifically the municipally administered settlements, set themselves apart from the inner city. Contemporaries talked about the new social city, in contrast to the old mercantile city. The fundamental difference between these cityscapes became the landholding practice. Already in 1908, more or less contemporaneously with the beginning of exploitation, it was decided that the municipally owned tracts in the outer city should not be sold. Instead, they should be leased out with the help of the imported, and slightly modified German institution Erbbaurecht, or site leasehold rights. Municipal leaseholding made it possible for the administration not only to keep tight contact with the inhabitants, thus
establishing governmental power relations, but also to implement an extra-market land policy; and even to some extent keep the districts free from alcohol-serving cafés and other signs of city lights. The Real Estate Board (established in 1919) became a powerful agent within the administration, controlling the enormous land stock, and thus introducing the social domain within the centre of power.

In chapter five, I show how these spatial conceptualisations were understood on the level of the local press. Concentrating on the southern part of the outer city, I illustrate how the eastern part of the area where the monitored settlements on leaseholded land were situated kept a fundamentally different conception of space than older settlements on private sites in the western part of the area. While according to the local press, the eastern part took a much less confrontational stand towards the City – on which it so much depended – the western part projected a centre-periphery view of its relation to the municipal administration. The eastern part also identified with the more affluent monitored settlements west of the inner city in Bromma, than with their poorer neighbours. It is not too much to say that an isolationist view is discernible in the monitored parts of the eastern area This view eventually led to a successful attempt to break out of the parish that had first covered the whole southern part of Stockholm.

In some way, it can be said that this isolationism was broken up on the level of voluntary societies, which is the focus of chapter six. The social democratic and the left socialist/communist organisations from both parts of the area co-operated in efforts to stop the splitting of the parish (which they considered as unnecessary and too expensive). Apart from this example, however, it is surprising to which extent the political organisations abandoned the scene of local policies. With the exception of the women’s clubs, the party political organisations almost completely avoided to work with local issues. Those issues were instead taken up by the residents’ organisations – villa societies, real estate societies, garden city societies, small cottages societies and so on. This chapter concentrates on the monitored settlements in the eastern part of the area and shows how the civil society there changed from being egalitarian, direct democratic, and confrontational, to become an integrated part of the political and economic administration of the areas. In the end, the board members of the societies even received salaries. Since these societies also had, or took on themselves,
the mission to keep the settlements orderly, this integration was not without consequences for the power structure. In a way, it can be said that the governmental power rationality was extremely successful in these areas. It must be pointed out, however, that this did not mean that the organisations did not raise opposition. Perhaps they are best seen as some kind of junior partners within the administration, integrated but not without power of their own.

This much said, it should also be stated that the difference between Owenian and Howardian settlements can not be that clear-cut. While it would be wrong to see the settlements in the social city as purely disciplinary settlements, the freedom of their organisational life was limited to a larger extent than Howard had anticipated. This should not come as a surprise, since the municipal administration to which they related was far from free from the authoritarian elements. As the election statistics in chapter seven show, however, the inhabitants seem to have been fairly well integrated into the overall political structure (to the extent that this can be shown by a more than average electoral participation). It is no doubt clear that local variations were large, and that one of the most important factors also constituted the major weaknesses of the organisational structure at large, namely the (mis)representation of gender. Another thing brought forward by the statistics is that moving patterns confirm the picture of the two parts of southern Stockholm as rather self-enclosed. It was very rare that people moved from one part of the area to the other. This kind of enclosure may have also been the case at the micro level. It is obvious that the inhabitants of the social city internalised – or if you like, accepted – the main trait of the disciplinary spatiality, namely, its visuality or view. The fact that the sites should be open to the gaze of passers-by and that encounters should only take place on certain spaces that had been constructed for that purpose were truths that were eagerly defended. The overall absence of conflict that seems to have been the case may indicate that people were content – but that they were also isolated. When the political system was less than adequate however, there remained other ways to rebel against the municipal policy. One way was to not accept the banning of lodgers in the houses in the monitored settlements. Taking in lodgers was, it soon became clear, quite common. This was against the instructions issued by the City. But when the administration tried to intervene, the inhabitants made both ideological and economic threats about ruining the foundations of the
garden suburb projects. In the end, it became clear, that the City could not do very much. Another way, probably chosen by the more affluent, was to customise the otherwise uniform houses according to individual taste. This became increasingly common during the late 1920s, and once again the City had to gradually comply.

As this study has shown, behind the creation of the new urban pattern manifested by the social city lay the development of new power rationalities. Instead of direct interventions of rent collectors and parish priests and the cold logic of the market, a whole arsenal of new techniques was developed. In different ways, the spatial structure of the city circumscribed the lives of its inhabitants by simultaneously isolating and visualising them on their encapsulated but open sites. In different ways, their organisational life also lost independence and became an instrument for administration and control. At the same time, these effects would not have been possible without the enormous investments that made the social city possible to build in the first place. The land banking, the leaseholding, the real estate administration, the municipal building companies, the experiences from certain town plan and house types, all were assets which became important when with the help of the state after the Second World War housing provision massively shifted from prioritising quality to quantity goals.

The Heritage

Stockholm has become world famous for its large stock of land, which among western great cities can only be compared to Amsterdam. In 1991, Stockholm owned 68 percent of the land within the borders of the City, and 55 percent of the housing land. Additionally, it owned three times as much outside its borders; altogether some 50 hectares. Of the 20,000 apartments that were projected between 1990 and 1994, only 6 percent were on private land. This large stock is not only the result of the fact that

1 See Mats Bladh, Bostadsförsörjningen 1945-1985, Det industriella byggandets uppgång och fall (Gävle 1991), 25.
2 Adolf Dieter Ratzka, Sixty Years of Municipal Leasehold in Stockholm: An economical and cost-revenue analysis (Stockholm 1980), 22, Kerstin Bodström, Marken, makten och bostäderna, Markanvisning inom mark- och bostadspolitiken i Stockholm (Stockholm 1994), 33-34. Amsterdam owns 72 % of the land within its municipal borders. Stockholm is however unique when it comes to its domains in other boroughs. For a discussion of the Dutch Randstad-region in an age of
the City bought a lot of land, but also that it has retained it, and this principally been the case until now regardless of political regime in the City Council (until now; see below). This does not necessarily mean that Stockholm has been more interventionist than other cities. As the economist, Adolf Dieter Ratzka, points out, each city has to respond to the consequences of a market-led spatial allocation when it comes to degree of exploitation, segregation and distribution of income. This does not necessarily involve a huge amount of municipal land holding. In 1977-78, there was altogether about 91,500 site leasehold contracts in the whole of Sweden, which amounted to about five percent of the total number of real estates. Only 45 out of some 290 municipalities had site leaseholds to an extent worth mentioning. About one-third of the contracts were in Stockholm (29,500); followed by Gothenburg (10,648), Västerås (7,190), Malmö (4,129) and Norrköping (2,920). Until 1950, the dominance of Stockholm was even greater – with 13,130 out of 17,400 contracts. Disregarding its dominance in Stockholm, the site leasehold rights never became much of a success elsewhere. With the publication of a governmental housing inquiry report headed by Gunnar Myrdal, an attempt was made in 1947 to modernise the site leasehold rights also as an instrument for the sanitation projects of the inner cities that would take place in the coming decades. The idea was that if the municipality owned the most attractive sites, they could be rebuilt anytime when the market so demanded. This proposal however was one of those in the enquiry that never received large following.

Perhaps the most important thing about a municipal land hoarding is that it increases the power of the municipality. Most fundamentally, site leasehold rights have given the City of Stockholm the power to weigh housing policy against financial goals. As long as the City owned the land, it had the possibility to choose between the application of the logic of market economy or the rationality of the social domain. Practically speaking, the City of Stockholm has chosen to subsidise the inhabitants of the

4 Ratzka, Sixty Years of Municipal Leasehold, 15-20.
settlements on leasehold land – or rather, those living in own homes. Since this subsidy was given by way of extremely long-term (60 years) contracts with fixed rents, the first owner could collect the whole sum when selling the house. The people living in tenants houses received no such subsidy, but could still gain something. When the system of land distribution was constructed in 1934 (see Chapter four), the Real Estate Board was empowered to decide over who could build where. As Kerstin Bodström, the Swedish geographer has shown, this also implied that the municipally-owned social housing companies were allotted some of the best sites around the city. The main idea was that the private, co-operative and municipal companies allotted. This also made it possible to give the municipal companies the role as rent-setters – since they were represented over the whole city. A third effect – the only one actually intended from the outset – was that unscrupulous building contractors could not establish themselves in Stockholm. Huon-Joo Park, the South Korean geographer, made a comparative study of the building of the south-west Stockholm district Skärholmen (built on leaseholded land) and the district Jamsil in Seoul, South Korea, where the land distribution is market-led, very much like the late nineteenth century system in Stockholm. He shows that because land allocation in Stockholm was administrative and not market-led, it was possible to provide a much more varied and well-planned environment than its South Korean counterpart. As a matter of fact, the City made a loss on the low land rents. Tenants, however, gained.

The Stockholm land policy has brought recurring losses that in 1997, were thought to be around 200 million Crowns per year (measured against the best alternative investment). One could say, that this was the price that the City was prepared to pay in order to retain well-functioning settlements and to have a greater freedom in the planning process. As Adolf Dieter Ratzka points out, the land policy also seems to have had a depressing

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7 Stockholm City Council (SCC) Appendage 81 1975, 380; Ratzka, Sixty Years of Municipal Leasehold, 172.
8 Bodström, Marken, makten och bostäderna, 249-68.
10 Park, Housing Land, 242.
11 SCC Appendage 81 1975, 382; Telephone talk interview with Björn Bergebo at the Department for strategy and valuing, at the street and real estate office.
influence on the overall land value in the region. At the end of the 1970s there was a growing discontent with these conditions, and Ratzka concludes his study with the proposition that the leasehold rents should be adjusted to the market value – which also happened. The only systematic study on how the site leasehold rights were established in the rest of Sweden was made by the historian Thord Strömberg, on the middle-sized Swedish cities Karlstad, Norrköping, and Örebro. When site leasehold rights were introduced in these cities it was connected to the socialist ideological offensive at the end of the Second World War. In all three cases, the planning argument as presented in the governmental enquiry mentioned above was mostly put forth. In all three cases, there were also contentions about the tax aspect – both socialists and non-socialists accepted that ‘unearned’ profits should be taxed away. The housing policy aspects were however not important, since they were discussed instead in connection with the national credit programmes established at the same time. What is common in all three cases is that when established the site leasehold rights acquired only an unimportant place, as used for own-homes in the peripheral parts of cities. Only Karlstad was to some extent an exception, because a right-wing banker stood up for leaseholding – very much like social conservatives had been important when the site leasehold rights were established in Stockholm.

As Kerstin Bodström points out, the housing policy based on the huge land hoarding has been popular and rather successful (although late sixties’ districts like Skärholmen are not too popular in Sweden either). It was never very democratic. Practically all decisions were taken by a small number of people. One could say that to that extent the old real estate director Axel Dahlberg’s heritage lived on. This may be one of the reasons why the system now finds itself in great difficulties in Stockholm also. As geographers Eric Clark and Lennart Runesson have shown, after the

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13 SCC Appendage 81 1975, 383; Ratzka, *Sixty Years of Municipal Leasehold*, 177-182.
heydays in the 1970s the amount of new leasehold contracts has decreased enormously. The extremely high figures for the 1970s, close to 40,000 contracts, were connected to the own-homes expansion at that time, as well as to a law prescribing site leasehold rights for governmentally funded credits. But the much lower amount of the 1980s (about 7,000) was even lower than the figures for the 1940s. Clark and Runesson found two reasons for this. One was that site leasehold rights had fallen out of vogue, because it was considered that administrative planning statutes were sufficient. The other was that rent increases were frequently appealed to administrative courts, which made administration expensive. Because of this, site leasehold rights almost died in the period. In 1997, the law was amended to simplify administration, making the court appeals unnecessary. The main problem with the sites since the late seventies has been that when the old contracts expire after sixty years, the old fixed rent of perhaps a couple of thousand Crowns is all of a sudden increased ten-fold to the market value, more or less. This is the flipside of the propositions made by for instance Ratzka at the time. This has dramatic effects especially for the large number of senior citizens living in these districts. In 1989, the Stockholm City Council decided to cushion these effects by giving a limited rebate to inhabitants living on leasehold sites at that time. The rebate would however not be given to the successors if they sold the house (because in that case they could capitalise on it in the selling price). In 1996, the City Council, under social democrat majority, also decided to permit purchase of leasehold sites. In May 1998, the member of the agrarian Centre Party, Hans Peters, proposed that the prices should be drastically decreased, in order to finally abolish the leaseholding system, as he put it. It is now the contention of both the non-socialists and the social democrats that leaseholding should not be the preferred system for own-homes. Its use for industrial purposes and tenants’ houses is however retained, although limited, under the present non-socialist majority. When the conservatives took over the power in the City Council after the election in 1998, it did

not take long before Peters’ proposal became the ruling decision. While only about 800 rights owners wanted to buy their sites for the 73% of tax value that the social democrats wanted to sell, about 90% of the house owners are expected to buy them for the 50% of tax value that the conservatives are willing to offer. Since the tax value is usually only a fraction of the market value, the offer is in fact even more generous – prices are supposed to climb down to one-fifth of the market value. In September 2000, when 6,611 of the about 25,000 own-homes sites were sold, the City had lost 1.83 billion Crowns on the sale. In mid-March 2001, 10,200 sites were sold out of the 18,000 applicants so far. One of those who had applied was the Swedish Minister of Finances Bo Ringholm, much to the anger of his social democratic party colleagues in the City Council. According to calculations made by the city administration, he will gain about 350,000 Crowns (€ 38,110) on the purchase, or 69% of accounted value. It may be seen as an irony that this sale is induced by prices that have been administratively put much below the market value. Even when they go, the site leasehold rights go beyond the confines of the market.

22 Street- and real estate offer, Circular 23 March 1999, Appendage 2. The losses measured against ‘accounting value’ are supposed to be between 64 % (Skarpnäcks Gård) and 82 % (Kista).
Appendix 1

It has to be stated from the outset that the study of discourse through factor analysis can only cover the most superficial aspects of discourse. Following the Dutch discourse analytic Teun A. Van Dijk, if discourse studies can be made on the levels of expression, meaning and action, the factor analytic framework as applied here, can only work on the level of meaning. Furthermore, within the realm of meaning in our study, we only work with topics or themes (which we prefer to call arguments), ignoring other categories such as style and schematic structures. It would be theoretically possible to also take account of these characteristics of discourse through factor analysis, but we chose to refrain from such broadening of our subject, since we did not want to mix different levels of study in our model. We are, however, conscious of the fact that we approach the subject of style when addressing certain of our topics/arguments, such as the anti-social ones. The different fields of discourse analysis are not equivocally separated from each other but we believe that the balance we have chosen is defendable.

A list of the different topics/arguments found in the different texts examined in chapter three is, with actual examples, provided by Appendix 2. Generally, a number of these arguments are found in each document/statement, and it is thus this combination which the factor analysis will bring out. The results will tell us how the arguments were most commonly combined and this will, we believe, tell us something about what conceptions were found most important in contemporary discourse. The factor analysis can not and will not tell us anything more that this.

However, the assumption underlying both our study and the logic of factor analysis is that the way discourse is produced is determined by manifest regularities, labelled discourses, or more accurately and according to Foucauldian parlance, orders of discourse. We are thus not only trying to find out what was actually said (for which perhaps a cluster analysis would have been better suited), but we are also trying to find the regularities determining discourse at the time (and, probably also other discourse not included in our study), or even more precisely, how discourse was regularly determined. We

do not argue that these regularities have an existence independent of discourse, as structures in a vulgar way. We would however on the other hand also not accept that discourse was only created by chance. No matter how these regularities in their turn were determined, they were nonetheless there at the time and place and it is in our scientific interest to find out what they looked like.

This is also the assumption underlying the logic of factor analysis. The mathematical construction of factor analysis is intended to bring forth causal factors that are not directly connected to any of the variables – but assumed to cause the covariation among the variables. While the variables are unique, the factors are common. On the other hand, while the unique variables are observable, the common factors are not (apart from their alleged effects). They could be such things as anomie, love or trust – or a discourse. That they exist, and in fact cause the covariance at hand can never be proven, only assumed. Of course, the covariance observed could have other causes – we however assume that this is not the case.

**The technical procedure**

The first step in the analysis is to create a correlation matrix. That is, the variables to be investigated must be extracted from a number of documents or cases. Since factor analysis analyses only columns, we will put the cases, or documents, in the rows and the variables, or arguments/topics/themes, in the columns. The schematic structure of the matrix will thus be such as in Figure Appendix: 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Argument 1</th>
<th>Argument 2</th>
<th>Argument 3</th>
<th>Argument 4</th>
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<tr>
<td>Document 3</td>
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</table>

As already mentioned, we have chosen to include and mix different kinds of documents: rescripts, minutes, enquiries. This is a methodological choice motivated by the belief that different kinds of documents all participate in the same discursive order. Of course, a good argument could be made for the separation of spoken and written discourse, not least because of the higher degree of dialogue in the latter. However, we believe that the similarities between spoken and written discourse in such a regulated context as a
municipal administration make it defensible to treat them as discourses on a similar level.

Perhaps an even bigger problem is that the variables are not metric, in fact not even ordinal, but dichotomous (yes or no, 1 or 0). It is generally assumed that factor analysis is robust enough to handle ordinal values, re-coded into metric (such as a five alternative questionnaire where the alternatives from very x to very non-x are coded from 5 to 1), but recoding a yes-no scale into numeric values is generally considered as going a step too far. The problem however is, that in many cases the empirical material is of a yes/no character, and results like the one we have obtained shows that at least as long as recoded dichotomous values are not mixed with metric or ordinal values. This weakness of the material seems to be possible to overcome.

The next step of the analysis is the determination of the number of factors that would be necessary to explain the variance among the variables. In order to receive an interpretable pattern, the amount of factors should be restricted to the number that may give a reasonable contribution to explaining the variance. There are a number of methods to make this determination. The one chosen by us (and as well the most commonly used one) is called the Eigenvalue or Kaiser method, applied on a Principal Component Analysis. The Principal Component Analysis has many similarities with factor analysis, but instead of hypothetical factors, it searches for the hypothetical influence of the unique variables at hand, and treats them, thus, as common variables. The common variables, or components, thus computed are always as many as the unique variables at hand, but only a limited number of them give a more that negligible contribution to the explanation of the variance among the variables. This contribution is measured with an artificial mathematical measure, the Eigenvalue, and the rule of thumb is that only as many factors should be computed, as there are components with an Eigenvalue over (in most cases) 1.

In order to receive an even clearer picture of the variation, we at this step also chose to omit those variables which did not have loadings to any of the components with an Eigenvalues higher that 1, higher than 0.5. This step is not necessary, but we considered that it, without influencing the end result in any considerable way, made the picture much clearer.

When the number of factors is determined, we forget about the result of the principal component analysis and proceed to the factor analysis. The method chosen is called Principal Axis Factoring, and is known as the mathematically

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most robust of the most well-known methods for factor analysis. We chose it because its robustness would minimise the influence of the fact that our matrix, as mentioned, consists of dichotomised and not internal values. The results obtained were rotated with the Varimax method known to produce the clearest results. It should be pointed out, that rotation does not in any way change the results of the factor analysis, it only recalculates them in order to obtain a clearer picture. A specific difficulty is that both the factor analysis and the method of rotation suppose orthogonality, i.e. that the common factors are unrelated. For discourses, this is probably an unrealistic assumption, but we chose to make it since the alternative to make assumptions about relatedness before any factors had been obtained in the first place seemed unreasonable. We would argue that this strategy is defensible for heuristic purposes.

The factor scores (and the indexes) obtained are not only interpreted, but are also used for correlation tests in order to determine the degree of connection between some of the leading actors and the factors – or discourses. In order to determine the correlation, we use Pearson’s Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, and Kendall’s Tau-b. Both vary between −1 and 1 (where complete absence of relation is indicated by the zero). Pearson’s coefficient supposes that the variables are have no relations to each other; Kendall’s accepts such co-variation. It should be emphasised that the coefficients obtained do not measure the relative strength of association (for instance, 0.4 does not indicate an influence twice as big as 0.2), neither are the factor scores or indexes used to be understood as actual representations of the factors under study.
Appendix 2

Arguments that were used to support stands in debates about housing policy, in the Stockholm City Council and the rest of the administration in 1907-08. Relating to the Factor analysis in chapter three.

Foreign examples: How things have been done in other countries is held forth – positively or negatively.

Other cities: The same as the first, but relating to other cities within Sweden.

Fairness: It is ‘not more than fair’ or the like, that things are done in a certain way.

Formal reasons: On formal grounds…

Shortness of time: On administrative grounds, something must be done quickly.

Administrative tradition: This procedure has a long continuity – why break it?

Administrative reasons: For the sake of efficiency…

Bad administration: Earlier on, these things were not well done.

Public economy: This is good for administrative economy (and the taxpayers).

Regulation of construction: In this way we can regulate construction.

Aesthetics: This is good for aesthetical reasons.

Zoning: Certain spaces should not meet.

Rational handling: Efficient and ‘modern’ ways are good.
Cheap Housing: This is a way to provide poor people with cheap housing.

Public interest: It is in the benefit of all…

Tenements: This will lead to more tenements (which is bad).

Shackle Towns: This will lead to…

Cosiness: This is needed if people are to enjoy their homes.

Hygienics: This is good (or bad) for hygienic reasons.

Crowdedness: This is good to avoid…

Separating: This will make it possible to separate people.

Nature, garden: This will give people better contact with nature.

Distribution: The poorest will suffer most from this.

Land price hiking: Land will be more expensive.

Ethnic characteristics: This is typical for this group.

Antisociality: Cultural categorising as arguments.

Control: Society should control certain people.

Limiting of power: The government should have limited powers.

Economic laws of nature: Some things in the world can not be controlled politically.

Ownership acts stimulating: More activity will be the result of privatisation.

Laws of development: The time has come for this or that.

Limited size of reform: This is not so important anyway.
Economic steering: People should gain from certain behaviour.

Political steering: Political means shall make people behave in certain ways.

Life forms: This is needed in order for good ways of living to prosper.

Class mixing: This will make class mixing easier.

Public action: The government should regulate the market.

Municipal socialism: The municipality should build houses, drive trams and so on.

New way of looking at the city: This is needed to build a new way of cities.

Contrast: What is done in the inner city should not happen in the outer city.
Appendix 3.

Tables relating to the Election analysis in chapter 7.

**Table 1:** (relating to graph VII:3) Electoral participation in (whole) Stockholm, and the Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes. Municipal elections 1921-42.

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*Source:* Stockholms stads statistik, Allmänna val (Vol XIX).

**Table 2:** (relating to graph VII:4) Electoral participation in the garden cities. Municipal Elections 1921-1942.

<table>
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*Source:* Stockholms stads statistik, Allmänna val (Vol XIX).
Table 3: Percentage of socialist votes in the Stockholm, the Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes and the leasehold settlements. Municipal elections 1927-42.

<table>
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Source: Stockholms stads statistik, Allmänna val (Vol XIX).

Table 4: Percentage left-wing among socialist votes in Stockholm, the Brännkyrka and Enskede parishes, and the leasehold settlements. Municipal elections 1927-1942.

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Source: Stockholms stads statistik, Allmänna val (Vol XIX).
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*Source: Stockholms stads statistik, Allmänna val (Vol XIX).*