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The patchwork planning of a welfare landscape: reappraising the role of leisure planning in the Swedish welfare state

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ABSTRACT

The public memory of the social democratic welfare state in Sweden often emphasizes housing, but in fact post-war planning was far more diverse. One asset which postwar planning developed over time was a landscape that materialized a range of different concerns over welfare. Even today, the impressive investments in recreational facilities and green spaces made during the high point of welfarist planning in Sweden still provides the backbone of Sweden's recreational infrastructure and areas for outdoor leisure and play. This paper highlights 'leisure planning' as a forgotten aspect of the postwar decades, and argues that the relationship between urban planning and leisure planning speaks to the patchwork character of the welfare landscape and explains why it remains elusive or even invisible in the current debate. We illustrate the making of welfare landscapes by analyzing developments in Upplands Väsby municipality, focusing on the complex interplay between leisure planning and urban planning from the 1950s to the 1980s.

KEYWORDS

The welfare state; social planning; leisure planning; urban planning; landscape planning; landscape; public space; green space; Sweden; social democracy

Introduction: reappraising a forgotten landscape

Like many other countries, Sweden's built environment was thoroughly transformed in the decades following the Second World War. A long series of social-democratic governments put in place institutions and arrangements that centred the public's right to welfare and wellbeing.¹ This project had many dimensions, but regional, urban and other forms of spatial planning were certainly among the most important tools for building the Swedish welfare state.² Swedish spatial planning not only responded to rapid urbanization by providing a range of services outside the commercial market, but was also a way to create new kinds of citizens and communities.

The yearly production targets governments set for building housing units has for decades played a key role in the public memory of Sweden's postwar spatial planning. Most importantly, the 1965 government plan to build one million units within ten years resulted in vast modernist residential areas that to this day are colloquially referred to as *Miljonprogrammet* ('The Million Programme').³ Also the more recent neoliberalisation of planning in Sweden is most keenly debated, resisted, and

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¹E.g. Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter*.

²E.g. Franzén and Sandstedt, *Välfärdsstat och byggandet*.

³E.g. Hall and Vidén, "The Million Homes Programme".

studied through the privatization of the *Miljonprogrammet* residential areas.⁴ This attention to Swedish postwar housing construction echoes broader trends in the international scholarship on planning, with key fields curating the public memory of this period tending to focus on the modernist design of the buildings of that period as Mikkel Høghøj recently argued with regard to architectural history.⁵ By contrast, the postwar era's vision for 'life between buildings' was by the 1970s, when Danish architectural critic Jan Gehl's 1971 coined this phrase, often described in terms of an absence of design and programming.⁶ This focus on housing construction and its design in research and public discourse has obscured how important the landscape was for Swedish postwar planning.⁷ Our paper seeks to map the way welfare planning shaped also the landscapes in the postwar period. This, we hope, will contribute to a more robust discussion of places neglected in public memories of the postwar welfare state and help planners come to terms with the enduring effects and possible uses of this landscape.

We suggest that the outdoor environment made by postwar planning are best understood as *welfare landscapes* crafted to support what, at the time, was considered the project of building of 'welfare society'. Welfare landscapes, then, is not a term used in this article to simply denote a landscape ideal of Swedish professionals working on public green space at the height of welfarist planning. Instead we in detail analyze one local case to highlight that actual welfare landscapes were made by a process spanning several decades in which a number of planning actors involved in the material and cultural production of the land aligned with different aspects of the social democratic politics of welfare.⁸ A range of different social democratic ideas and ideals related to welfare were thus expressed by different actors and space-making practices which imprinted, or 'materialized' and 'made solid' to use Don Mitchell's terms, this politics as landscape.⁹

While welfare landscapes thus 'materialized' the politics of welfare, this was not a single coherent and settled political vision flowing downwards from one decree or the other made by the central government. Three decades of unbroken social-democratic governments certainly played a key role in this process by introducing policies, subsidies and planning practices and shaping the meaning of welfare. This is most notable in the way the national policy steered municipal bureaucrats to take up the 'typically' Swedish notion of 'universal' access to welfare in planning by connecting government subsidies to national standards.¹⁰ These governmental interventions were, however, by no means the only force shaping Sweden's postwar landscapes along welfarist lines. Indeed, even the implementation of national policies are far from straightforward adoptions and are negotiated by local landscapes, actors and politics in an 'often messy and unmappable complexity'.¹¹ Thus, bits and pieces of national discourses on welfare, preliminary norms concerning the outdoor environment, national funding schemes and political intentions would, over time, be stitched together on the local level into a welfare landscape. The result is neither a standardized landscape, nor a unique place, but a landscape contingently articulating well-known repertoire of artefacts, institutions and spatialities.

⁴Hedin, "Neoliberalization of Housing in Sweden"; Baeten et al., "Pressure and violence". Exception include: Pries, 2017 "Neoliberalism through urban planning".

⁵Høghøj, "Planning Aarhus as a welfare geography".

⁶Gehl, *Livet mellem husene*.

⁷Notable exceptions to this focus on housing include: Kristensson, *Rymlighetens betydelse*; Mack, "Renovation year zero"; Jansson et al., "Fri Lek och Fasta Normer"; Qviström, "The nature of running"; Moen, *Idrottsanläggningar och idrottens rumsliga utveckling i svenskt stadsbyggande under 1900-talet*; Ahlström, "Utomhus i konsumtionssamhället", Sandell, "Från välfärdsprojekt till upplevelseindustri".

⁸See a similar argument in Schein, "The place of landscape".

⁹See Mitchell, "Cultural landscapes", "New Axioms".

¹⁰On universalism, see Rothstein, *Just institutions matter*.

¹¹Robinson, "The spaces of circulating knowledge".

This articulation of diverse planning practices in the making of welfare landscapes resembles Eugene McCann's use of the Deluzian figure of assemblage to analyze how in urbanism 'actors, ideas and technologies are actively brought into productive co-presence'.¹² Drawing on McCann, and the literature on 'policy assemblage', we in this paper track how the complexity of the welfare landscape thus mirrored the patchwork of decades of welfare-related planning.¹³

To lay bare the different elements assembled in this patchwork planning, we make use of a genealogical approach.¹⁴ A genealogical method attempts to track the different planning actors and practices coming together to form what appears to be a coherent entity such as welfarist postwar planning, highlighting the contingencies, contradictions and negotiations constituting any assemblage.¹⁵ In practice, genealogy entails selectively focusing specific elements of what constitutes the object studied. Therefore, in his study, the interplay between urban planning (*stadsplanering*) and what once was known as leisure planning (*fritidsplanering*), and their multiscalar and translocal character, is examined in a study of one Swedish municipality. Local planners' negotiated scalar tensions between national planning policy and municipal priorities, as well as between translocally circulating modes of expertise and their local embeddedness in a municipal administration. There were, as we also show, several kinds of local bureaucrats that claimed the role of expert planners in the postwar period, with leisure planners briefly challenging urban planning as the dominant way to articulate welfare as spatial design. Crafting a welfare society was at play throughout this process, but its meaning was never fully fixed and how to bring about it was never finally settled in the patchwork planning that shaped the Swedish landscape.

The drawn out production of this patchwork planning were much like a palimpsest of lingering practices constantly being complemented and enriched with new aspects of welfare planning, and to some extent reinterpreted for new ends.¹⁶ This complexity, we suggest, partly explains the conspicuous silence on open space and landscapes in both the historical memory and contemporary political debates about the Swedish welfare state and spatial planning. Because of the number of actors involved, and the unevenly gradual patchwork of planning, Sweden's welfare landscape became an elusive object, slipping out of public memory. Such elusiveness is even more striking when compared to postwar welfare as a housing story, planned, executed and benchmarked by a clearly defined range of bureaucratic actors and objects in terms of housing units and square metres per year.

Methods and material

Given the high level of autonomy of municipal authorities with regard to all kinds of Swedish planning, this study was designed to highlight the complex set of forces aligning in the patchwork planning of welfare landscapes, emphasizing its successive development and the messy interplay between different actors on national and local level. In this case, we focus primarily on the interplay between, largely the uncharted role of, leisure planning and what we might call urban planning. The case presented here, namely the Upplands Väsby municipality, was mainly selected due to its rapid expansion in the postwar period, its moderate size, and its relatively complete municipal archives when it comes to both urban and leisure planning. These three factors makes it possible to trace the

¹²McCann, "Veritable inventions".

¹³Prince, "Local or global policy?".

¹⁴See Fischler, "Toward a genealogy of planning".

¹⁵For similar discussion on landscape and planning history, see Quivström, "Shadows of Planning".

¹⁶See for example, Carter et al. "A planning palimpsest".

patchwork formation of welfare landscapes spanning several decades. Furthermore, urban development projects in Upplands Väsby were at the time considered a typical case and used as an example in national policy on developing public space and recreational amenities at the time.¹⁷

Our analysis indicated that the main bureaucratic actors in this patchwork planning was urban and leisure planning, and we have therefore mainly presented examples found in documents created by Upplands Väsby leisure and planning institutions. The study begins in 1952, when the municipality was founded, and continues until the early 1980s when leisure planning as a bureaucratic idea began to recede. The archival material is somewhat fragmentary in the first decade, but as far as it is possible to tell are all important documents archived from mid-1960s onwards. The municipality formed a Sports Board (*Idrottsstyrelse*) in 1952, which was transformed into a Leisure Council (*Fritidsnämnd*) with a corresponding Leisure Department (*Fritidsförvaltning*) in 1966 and again reconfigured as a Social and Leisure Department (*Social- och Fritidsförvaltningen*) in 1974. The Leisure Department began in 1966 to experiment with long-term, municipality-wide investment plans for providing recreational amenities for the municipality's residents. This work became increasingly complex and in 1976 the Social and Leisure Department produced the first formal Leisure Plan, a document which was then revised in 1980.

We have also used map and field studies to better understand what plans materialized and how. Furthermore, we supplement archival work with analysis of national policies and debates referred to in this local case. This helps us identify how local planning related to national policy and commissioned work by influential planning consultancies (Figure 1).

The origins of leisure planning and its landscapes

In the 1960s, the notion of 'leisure planning' began to emerge in Swedish municipal government on the margins of the more established field of urban planning. By the 1970s leisure planning, as we will show, had become an important means of structuring the spaces of everyday life at the municipal level. The dynamic between leisure planning and spatial planning contributed to a patchwork character of spatial planning practice and this period's welfare landscape, easily neglected by an exclusive focus on the architect-planners' engagement with housing and the public space 'between the buildings'.

Leisure planning was, to be sure, itself a patchwork of governmental practices. This planning drew on the nineteenth century's nationalist preoccupation with sports, outdoor activities and nature which in the interwar years increasingly become framed as an object of government, and was politically appropriated by Swedish social democracy as it was becoming the dominant political force in the country and reworked into a mode of spatial planning highlighting a range of particular issues by the 1960s.¹⁸ An important example of this is shift is the Public 'Leisure inquiry' initiated in 1937 by a coalition government led by social democrats. This inquiry shows how the government of leisure life was still shaped by nationalist ideas of wholesome organized outdoor recreation even as it was taken up to legitimize planning in the name of the public good. The inquiry formalized the still in place 'Right to Roam' by opening up all land (except private yards and cultivated fields) to leisure activities, and lake and sea shores were protected from housing construction. Also, the government set up the so-called 'Leisure Fund' for infrastructure projects such as nature reserves and public beaches. This was a radical extension of the public's right to leisure life along social

¹⁷E.g. Statens Planverk, *Exempelsamling*.

¹⁸Mels, *Wild Landscapes*; Sörlin, "Upptäckten av friluftslandskapet"; See Lundberg, *Naturliga medborgare*.

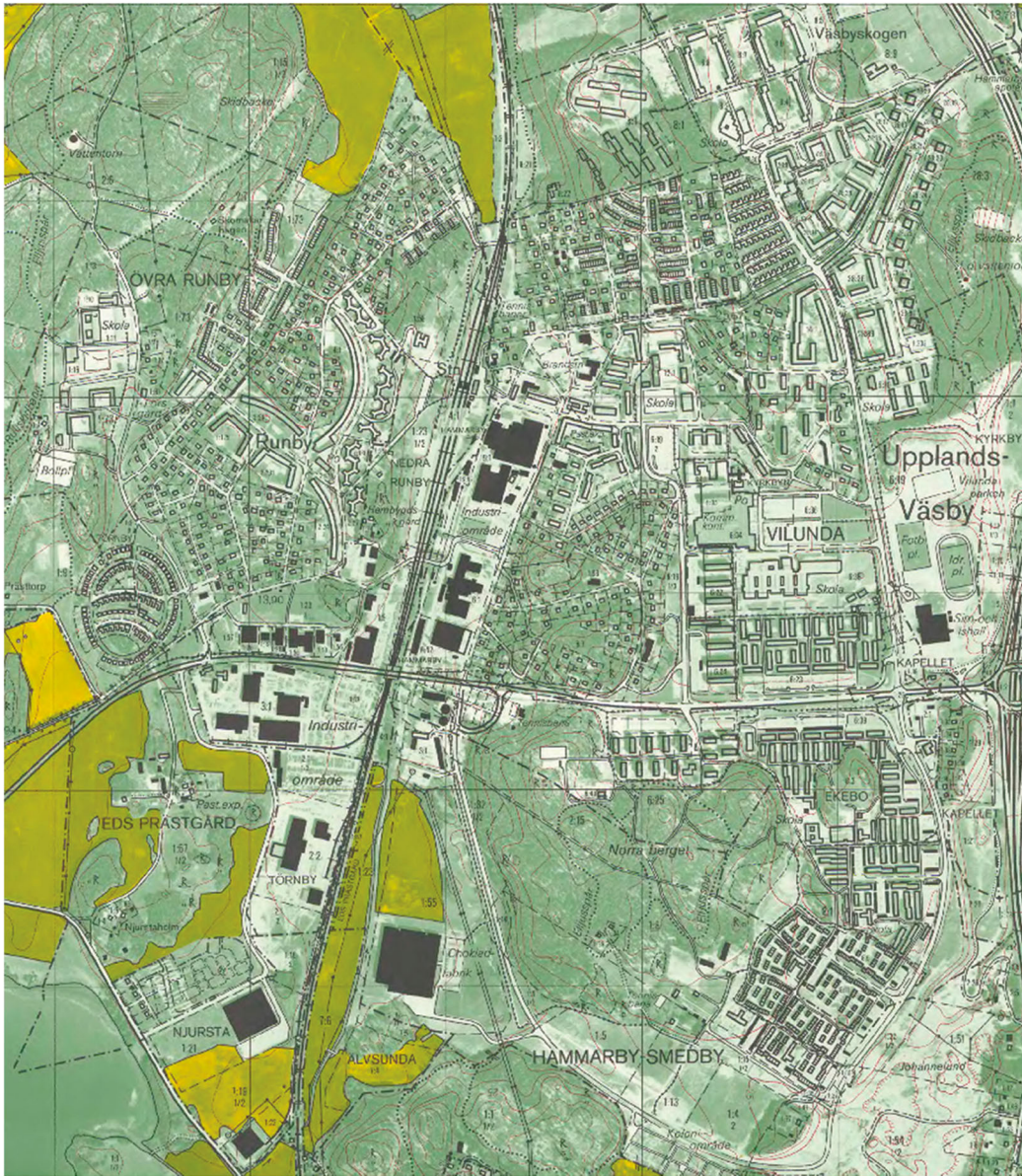


Figure 1. 1979 survey map of Upplands Väsby and its surroundings, showing the municipality at the height of welfare planning. Source: Lantmäteriet.

democratic lines, but clearly also shrouded in the old nationalist landscape ideals defining forests, mountains and shores as the appropriate setting for recreation.¹⁹

Debates on outdoor recreation shifted, by the 1960s, away from excursions in the countryside. Architects and planners were, together with public health experts, assuming an important role on this field and the main Swedish architecture journal even hosted a special issue on leisure in 1967.²⁰

¹⁹Qviström, "Shadows of Planning", Emmelin et al, "Planera för friluftsliv".

²⁰*Arkitektur* 2, 1967.

A new priority was building facilities for everyday physical recreation to improve health across large parts of the population. The nineteenth century nationalist landscape ideals were, however, still subtly shaping this investment in outdoor recreation in the way that certain kinds of natural environments tended to be selected for recreational facilities like hiking paths and running tracks.²¹

By the 1970s, municipal authorities could apply for public funds to co-finance a range of facilities, physical spaces, and other resources needed to sustain leisure life, be it in terms of cultural activities, sports, outdoor recreation, kindergarten or youth centres. The result was a remarkable expansion of leisure infrastructure in Sweden, with the steady expansion of public swimming pools, indoor arenas for various sports, and facilities for outdoor recreation and play. Municipalities increased investment in leisure from 100 million Swedish crowns in 1961–5000 million on it in 1981, when this development was at its most ambitious phase.²²

Priorities for how local and mostly municipal planners should treat these issues were set out in a series of government inquiries published around 1970. Within just over a decade the government committee delivered ambitious inquiries on leisure life (1964, 1965, 1966), organized sport (1968), the outdoor environment of children (1970), and the leisure activities of young people (1975, 1976) and several other topics that related indirectly to this kind of planning.²³ This production of new planning concerns at the national scale dovetailed with an international expansion of recreational geography and recreational planning.²⁴ Taken together, the ideas put forward in public inquiries, new forms of professional and academic knowledge and constantly increasing public funds had by the late 1960s laid the foundation for leisure planning as an increasingly well-established new field of planning practice speaking to a broad range of issues related to life outside the workplace (Figure 2).

Swedish leisure planning related to the social democratic welfare state in a series of different ways, speaking to this part of the welfare state's patchwork planning too was stitched together by different forms of expertise. A common motivation for public investment in leisure was the health benefits associated with sports and outdoor recreation which could counteract the decline of hard manual labour in a 'welfare society', and thus something that planners should do their utmost to encourage individuals to take part in.²⁵ Another issue that framed leisure planning was the rapid industrial and urban development taking place at this time, which was understood to be a threat to urban residents' ability to spend time in traditional rural landscapes. National governments thus sought to put in place plans that protected rural nature, and, more importantly for leisure planning, made that landscape accessible to the growing urban population for weekend excursion, recreational exercise, hiking and tourism.²⁶ Third, Swedish leisure planning was not only responding to the internal problems of the welfare society, but seeking to create the spatial foundations for a more deeply democratic and equal way of living together in everyday life. One example of this is how leisure planning framed support to voluntary associations, like sports

²¹Qviström, "The nature of running", Ahlström, "Utomhus i konsumtionssamhället".

²²Kommunförbundet, 1981. See also Moen, *Idrottsanläggningar och idrottens rumsliga utveckling i svenskt stadsbyggande under 1900-talet*, Sandell, "Från Valfärdsprojekt till upplevelseindustri".

²³Statens offentliga utredningar, *Friluftslivet i Sverige I*; Statens offentliga utredningar *Friluftslivet i Sverige II*; Statens offentliga utredningar *Friluftslivet i Sverige III*; Statens offentliga utredningar, *Idrott åt alla*; Statens offentliga utredningar, *Barns utemiljö*; Statens offentliga utredningar, *Barns sommar*; Statens offentliga utredningar, *Barns fritid, fritidsverksamhet 7-12-åringar*.

²⁴E.g. Gold, *Urban recreation planning*; Mitchell and Smith, "Recreational geography"; Nahrstedt, *Leisure Policy in Germany*. See also Tal, "Outdoor recreation in Israel from the early 1950s to the 1970s".

²⁵E.g. Statens offentliga utredningar, *Idrott åt alla*.

²⁶Nordström, *Trängsel i Valfärdsstaten*. See also: Statens naturvårdverk & Statens institut för byggnadsforskning, *Planerings för friluftsliv*.



Figure 2. Illustration from the 1970 Public Inquiry on the outdoor environment of children, showing a characteristic blending of modernist housing, pastoral landscapes and everyday leisure pursuits. Source: Kungliga biblioteket.

clubs and cultural groups, as being vital for creating a sense of community and fostering democratic citizen participation in the management of society's affairs.²⁷ Fourth and finally, leisure facilities and activities began to be defined as the foundations of meaningful life and thus a social right that the government should provide for its citizens, often posed against commercial entertainment, which by contrast was seen as unequally accessible for those with little consumer power. Around 1970 the idea of equal access to a meaningful and diverse leisure life really came to the fore in both Swedish government inquiries and municipal planning documents, as we will show using the case of Upplands Väsby.²⁸ Leisure planning thus articulated a diverse set of governmental concerns, and became deeply imbricated with creating the spatial foundations of a welfare society and solving the problems this project encountered. In this regard, leisure planning was an important part of the patchwork planning of welfare society, a patchwork which often is reduced to urban planners' attention to housing and residential areas (Figure 3).

²⁷Statens offentliga utredningar, *Idrott åt alla*: 41. See also Daun, *Förortsliv*.

²⁸Statens offentliga utredningar, *Idrott för alla*; Statens naturvårdverk & Statens institut för byggnadsforskning, *Planerings för friluftsliv*.



Figure 3. The recreation centre, a model originally developed by the Ski and Outdoor Association. Source: Statens naturvårdsverk.

Upplands Väsby's patchwork planning of welfare landscapes

Urban planners laying the foundations of a welfare society

Upplands Väsby's first Comprehensive Plan, published in 1951, envisioned this rural industrial community between Stockholm and Uppsala rapidly growing into an urban area with large engineering factories and tens of thousands of residents on the outer periphery of the capital's commuter belt. The plan was co-authored by two towering characters in Swedish planning, Hungarian-Jewish former CIAM member and Bauhaus teacher Fred Forbat and his long-term Swedish collaborator and National Planning Director of the powerful cooperative housing association, Harry Egler (Figure 4).

Guaranteeing future residents' easy access to green space and recreational facilities was a foundational concern in the plan which went far beyond automatically deploying the modernist model of apartment buildings surrounded by public green space. One example of this is how Forbat and Egler quoted ideas just proposed by the not-yet-published 1952 Comprehensive Plan for Stockholm concerning the minimum 'norm' for size and content of, and maximum distance to, recreational assets. In this way the plan proposed an even distribution of facilities such as playgrounds and football pitches for 'physical recreation important to constructing society' in all residential areas of the town.²⁹ Defining these kinds of norms, or 'standards' as they were also called, was a crucial planning practice for Swedish postwar housing construction. Standards prescribed the provision of primary needs as the foundational concern of development, subtly reformulating postwar Swedish social democracy's 'universalist' visions of equality as a technical measurement of space in terms of visions, plans and the actual landscape.³⁰ Standards for the design of public space were in 1951 still at an experimental phase, and would only become comprehensive national policy by the early 1970s, yet Forbat and Egler were actively seeking out standards to ensure a minimum level of access to green space for Uplands Väsby's future residents.³¹

Concerns with providing recreational public spaces took on a less strict form than the precise measuring of access through standards as they extended beyond residential areas. Outside the built-up areas the plan instead sought to create a 'balance between buildings and the natural dominance of landscape' by preserving places that were 'naturally beautiful'.³² It thus suggested conserving forested ridges and placing new neighbourhoods on open fields with close access to the forests. This generous open space structure with elements of the landscape conserved based on assessments of the area's topographical features shaped the municipality for decades. It is in this regard similar to many other Swedish towns from this period which also were designed with local topography conserved as part of the more general welfarist planning ambition to provide public green spaces for new urban spaces.

Enter leisure planning

Based on the summary notes found in the archives from this period, we can see that Upplands Väsby's Sports and Leisure Council's work from 1952 until the mid-1960s is focused on day-to-day management of funding for voluntary associations and maintenance of recreational facilities.

²⁹Egler's stadsplanebyrå, *Generalplan för Hammarby*, 58–60.

³⁰For a primer on Swedish universalist notions of equality, see Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter*. See also Fischler, "Toward a genealogy of planning".

³¹See Statens planverk, *Bostadens grannskap*.

³²Egler's stadsplanerbyrå, *Generalplan för Hammarby*, 28.



Figure 4. 1965 Photograph of residential area near Upplands Väsby train station, built in 1952 just after the municipality's first Comprehensive Plan came into effect. Source: Stockholms Länsmuseum. Photograph by Alf Nordström licensed under CC BY.

The dominant force strategically shaping these landscapes was instead urban planners working along the lines Forbat and Egler had suggested in 1951. By the mid-1960s, just as the term 'leisure planning' first entered the Swedish vocabulary and a series of public investigations were proposing new models for public support of leisure life at the national scale, Upplands Väsby's Sports and Leisure Council began to work in a more strategic fashion. This shift is most clearly visible in a memo proposing that Upplands Väsby's Sports and Leisure Council in 1966 should reorganize itself as a Leisure Council presented alongside the first long-term municipal-wide Investment Plan for recreational facilities.

This reorganization meant that a new municipal bureaucratic unit, the Leisure Department, was set up to 'strongly increase' the number of trained staff working on leisure issues. The memo proposing the reorganization argued that 'voluntary associations' which were 'responsible for leisure activities only a couple decades ago' was 'finding it ever more difficult to recruit leaders and volunteers'. Leisure activities organized by voluntary groups had a 'decisive influence in (...) communal life', but needed to be reinforced by public funding and planning. This issue was approached in a range of ways, for instance in supporting existing voluntary associations by providing more grants and offering new comprehensive leadership training for volunteers.³³

The work of voluntary associations was described as insufficient when it came to young people. Instead, the memo proposed the municipality provide a wider range of different activities and meeting places for Upplands Väsby's young people, including the quadrupling of youth centres.

³³Upplands Väsby's Fritidsnämnd, *Förslag till organisationsplan*, 1–3.

While young people's needs were an important aspect of this work, the memo's aim to 'curb vandalism' indicates how early leisure planning easily slipped into the established role of the social engineer, disciplining unrespectable behaviours. Indeed, this desire to discipline unrespectable, and in particular riotous, behaviour among the young is an only recently-explored element of welfare government of leisure life in postwar Sweden as Ericsson's and Brink Pinto's recent research illustrates.³⁴

The main way that early leisure planning envisioned its more strategic role was by translating social issues into the production of sites and facilities in a way that was clearly inspired by urban planning. One example of this is Upplands Väsby's Leisure Department's 1966–1970 Investment Plan, which prioritized constructing physical infrastructure for sports and outdoor recreation.³⁵ Looking at national records for co-funding recreational facilities, this approach appears not to be untypical; indeed the late 1960s saw a building boom for the kinds of facilities that nascent leisure planning was proposing.³⁶

It is important to note that Upplands Väsby's Leisure Department was not building a welfare landscape from scratch in 1966. Its predecessor had, together with the municipal Planning Department, constructed an impressive range of recreational facilities by this time. The 1966 memo mentions three municipal meeting places for voluntary organizations, two running tracks doubling as ski tracks, three football pitches, one public beach, three ice hockey rinks, three other ice skating rinks, one ski slope and one multipurpose sports hall.

Nonetheless, the memo proposed three large development projects that each had several components: electrically lit running tracks to, and more resources for, a public beach on Lake *Mälaren*, an existing running track in a forest on the town's eastern periphery being installed with electric lights and a ski-slope being attached to it, and the first concrete plans for the large multipurpose sports ground which had been discussed as early as the 1951 Comprehensive Plan.³⁷ It is worth noticing that all three major projects proposed in the Investment Plan were for areas outside the built-up parts of the town, spaces that traditionally were viewed through romantic landscape ideals related to physical activity in the countryside rather than public space in urban locations. Leisure planning was perhaps formed by governmental concerns about public health, youth culture and voluntary associations converging with the practices of urban planning, but this happened primarily in locations on or beyond the urban fringe that already were related to the government of leisure life.

With the new Leisure Department's mid 1960s ambitious strategic plans, a new force shaping Upplands Väsby's already-emerging welfare landscapes can then be detected. This early experiment with leisure planning focused on new issues and new kinds of sites, compared to the urban planners' focus on buildings and the public space around them. Early leisure planning instead emphasized the design of public spaces far beyond residential areas, with the main proposals of the 1966 plans being for sites on, or beyond, the urban fringe. Emerging leisure planning's attention to spaces outside residential areas thus not only extended the reach of urban planners' production of welfare geographies, but also contributed to deepening attention toward urban public spaces by foregrounding the relationship between physical space and actual use by young people, sporting associations and cultural organizations. Both leisure planning and urban planning were by the late 1960s powerful bureaucratic forces translocally connected to national policy concerns and

³⁴Ericsson and Brink Pinto, "Att reglera ungdomars rörelser i staden".

³⁵Upplands Väsby Fritidsnämnd, *Ekonomisk flerårsplan*.

³⁶Naturvårdsverket, *Statlig stöd för anläggningar*.

³⁷Upplands Väsby Fritidsnämnd, *Förslag till organisationsplan*, 8–9. See also Upplands Väsby Fritidsnämnd, *Ekonomisk flerårsplan*.

communities of expert knowledge, combined contingently in the complex patchwork of planning which shaped Upplands Väsby's welfare landscape.

Modernist urban planning beyond the buildings

At the same time that leisure planning was taking shape in Upplands Väsby, urban planners proposed plans that were both more comprehensive and detailed than before, contributing to the increasingly complex patchwork production of welfare landscapes. Fueled by a rapidly growing population, a series of new planning documents were published to make space for the expanding town. Several of these late-1960s plans were commissioned to the practice of the senior architect Jöran Curman, who in the 1940s had been one of Sweden's theoretical pioneers of 'neighborhood unit' planning.³⁸

One of the key features of 1966 Comprehensive Plan that Curman co-authored was integrating the patches of forest in and around the town that the 1951 plan had protected from development in order to 'mediate contact with the outdoor spaces' of the countryside. Curman's 1966 plan paid particular close attention to protecting the 'valuable' nature along Lake Mälaren at the far western reach of the municipality. The plan proposed that the shoreline, largely private land, was to become the basis for a public 'recreational area' for hiking, swimming and daytrips to the countryside. This area was connected by road to the central and eastern parts of Upplands Väsby, exemplifying one of the ways traffic planning was marshalled to make a varied leisure life more accessible for residents within the dominant car-focused paradigm of the time.³⁹ The 1966 Curman plan thus turned to the rural spaces that had been saved in the 1951 Comprehensive Plan's focus on conserving 'naturally beautiful' landscapes, also echoing the Leisure Department's increasing attention to the urban fringe. The 1966 Comprehensive Plan proposed a more definite vision of a landscape stretching far beyond the residential building that had been the focus of urban planners' work on public space and sustaining a wide range of recreational uses.⁴⁰ Urban planning was in this way envisioning a multi-scalar idea of public green space, stretching from the finer mesh of green around residential buildings to large parks and recreational spaces on the town's outskirts.

This multi-scalar, patchwork vision of public green space can be illustrated by one of Jöran Curman's more detailed plans for Upplands Väsby. The 1969 *Dispositionsplan för Smedby* described the new residential neighbourhood *Smedby* in the forests and fields around the *Vilunda Hills*, directly south of Upplands Väsby's new city centre which was largely completed according to Curman's designs. It was, like many late 1960s developments, operating at the neighbourhood scale and proposed 3000 apartments divided up into three residential areas and with roads carefully separated from pedestrian spaces along the lines set out in the 1968 national, but informal, 'SCAFT' guidelines for traffic planning (Figure 5).⁴¹

The 1969 *Smedby* Plan also proposed preserving large parts of the hilly forests as a public park within the residential area. The two steep, forested, mountain-like hills of *Vilunda* were to be set aside as a City Park 'assumed to be used by the entire municipality'. Much of the surrounding fields were slated for housing construction, but also here attention to nature was important. Indeed, fully

³⁸See Franzén and Sandstedt, *Välfärdsstat och byggande*.

³⁹J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Generalplan för Upplands Väsby*, 7, 8; no page [17].

⁴⁰Kristensson shows how important the residential area had been for urban planners in the early postwar period in *Rymlighetens betydelse*.

⁴¹J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionsplan för Smedby*, 5. See also Franzén and Sandstedt, 1993;

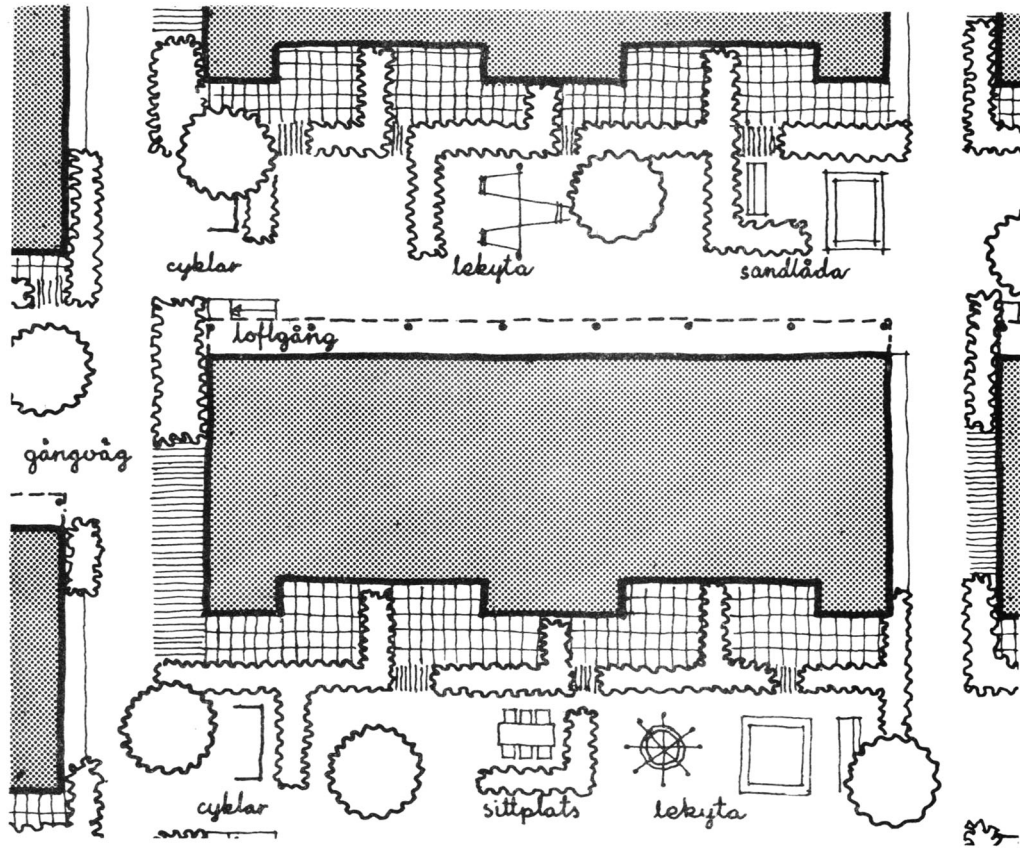


Figure 5. Public spaces within housing areas were meticulously planned to support a range of uses and connected to large green spaces, like in this 1969 plan for Smedby. Source: Upplands Väsby Municipal archives.

40% of the development area was made up of different kinds of parks, and another 10% comprised other green spaces or public functions.⁴²

The closer to Smedby's residential buildings this abundance of public space was, the more meticulously it was designed to provide the amenities that urban planners considered crucial for life in a welfare society. Facilities like kindergartens, schools and youth clubs were distributed according to standards of how many were needed per 1000 residents, and also their sizes were derived by looking at minimum standards. Similarly, outdoor recreational sites were distributed according to this logic: a toddler playground of 100–200 m² for every 30 flats and within 50 metres from any entrance, a more well-equipped playground of 1500–2000m² for every 150 flats and within 150 metres from any entrance, a more advanced play area for older children of 1600 m² for every 500 children located anywhere within the development and an outdoor swimming pool of 2000m² for every 1200 flats. Within every group of houses at least 13m² per projected residents was to be set off as public space for free play, and another 50m² for every resident was reserved as public green space for walking within the development as a whole.⁴³

⁴²J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionsplan för Smedby*, 21.

⁴³J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionsplan för Smedby*, 21–23.

Using standards to provide an equal distribution of necessary functions and facilities was in 1969 still mainly an approach adopted in local plans, with national policy only adopting this approach for playgrounds.⁴⁴ Thus, rather than simply adjusting to national policy, Curman's Smedby plan actively assembled recreational standards by citing a range of rather different sources. The 1969 Smedby Plan did quote the, in other contexts immensely important, national 'God Bostad' housing policy with its consciously vague guidelines for access to public space, but the Smedby Plan also referenced an inquiry by the Tenants' Rights Association, the 'SCAFT' guidelines for traffic planning with its standards for distances between roads and housing, and the very detailed 1965 'Plan-standard' model of standards used by Stockholm Municipality.⁴⁵ Even this mode of urban planning, actively concerned with creating equal access to recreational opportunities, was actively assembled in a patchwork fashion. The plan prefigured open space standards not yet in place at the national scale, rather than passively following government decree's. Indeed, while The National Planning Agency proposed national standards for public space of new residential areas—actually citing Upplands Väsby and Smedby as cases—this document was not approved until 1975 when the housing boom had already subsided.⁴⁶

If Curman's vision for Smedby shows how urban planners applied intricate models for open space within the residential neighbourhood to provide for life in a welfare society, their involvement in larger green spaces were also increasing in ambition, though it also showed less precision. The 1969 Smedby Plan made clear a large area was to be preserved as a public park, but the commission for the actual planning for the park was given to the well-known garden architect Eric Anjou. Anjou's plan emphasized preserving the rural character of the existing forest, while at the same time aiming to 'provide a large number of people of all ages the possibility to use the park for recreation' by building a range of hiking trails and sports grounds including two major 'recreational facilities'.⁴⁷

A foundational function of these green spaces was promoting everyday geographies connecting residential green space to parks and other parts of Upplands Väsby. These relationships were mainly understood in terms of connective green space, a 'gradual transition from residential space' to 'the untouched forest lands' of the Villunda Hills.⁴⁸ The Smedby Plan had already suggested pushing thin green wedges of the park through a 'belt' of public institutions like schools, kindergarten and sports grounds at the edge of the residential area. These green wedges running through this built-up, but publically accessible, belt directly connected the green spaces enveloping the neighbourhood's residential buildings that the urban planners focused on with the larger park. Green space was in this way designed to seamlessly shift from the forested park area to the more programmed urban green space between the residential buildings and around public institutions that held the majority of facilities that Smedby's ambitious recreational standards prescribed.⁴⁹

Smedby's 'gradual transitions' between relatively dense city blocks and the forest partly spoke to how planners sought to bring nature closer to residents of particular neighbourhoods, but also related to how public green space was imagined as way to connect residents living in different neighbourhoods. The plan was clearly inspired by the theories of the neighbourhood unit as the basis for fostering a sense of community that Jöran Curman had debated decades earlier. A typical feature was how

⁴⁴Jansson et al., "Fri lek och fasta normer".

⁴⁵J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionsplan för Smedby*, 22.

⁴⁶Statens Planverk, *Bostadens Grannskap*; Statens Planverk, *Exempelsamling*.

⁴⁷Anjou, *Förslag till program*, 3–6.

⁴⁸Anjou, *Förslag till program*, 3.

⁴⁹J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionsplan för Smedby*, 18.

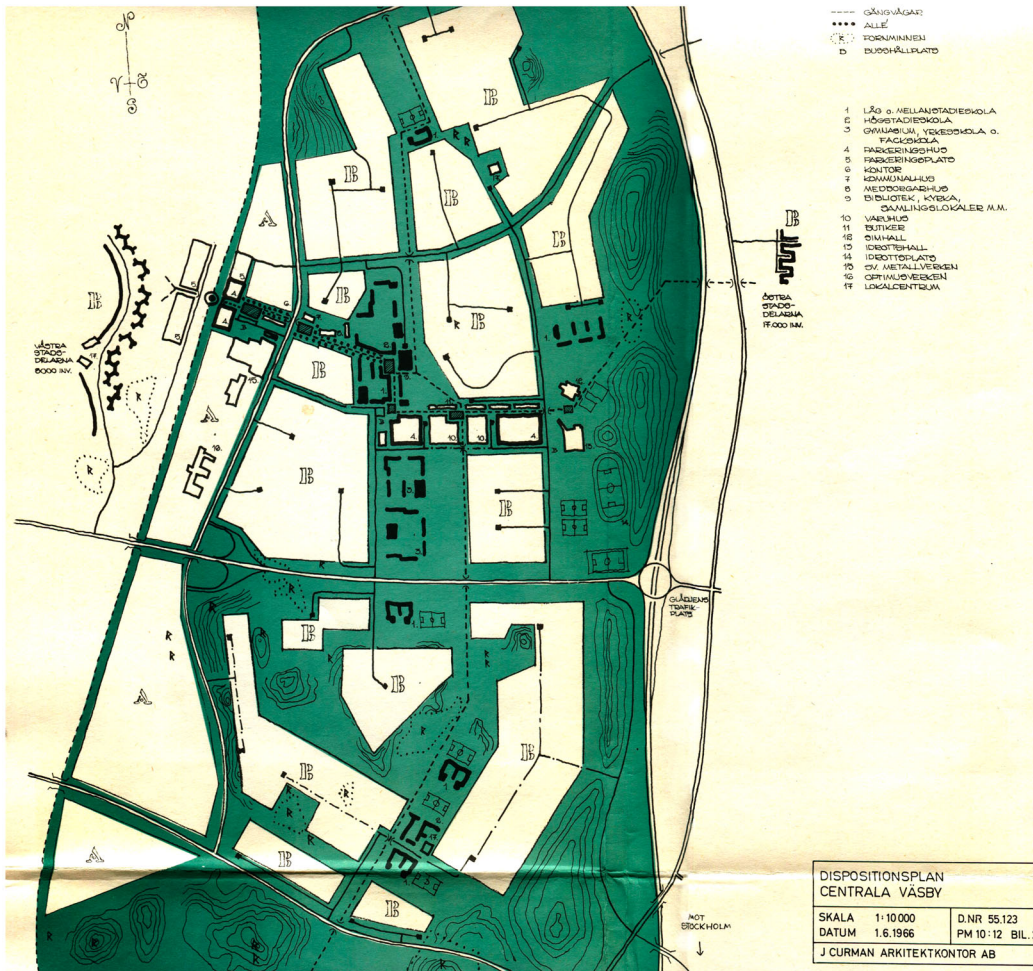


Figure 6. A map of central Upplands Väsby attached to the 1966 Comprehensive Plan showing residential areas as white spaces marked 'B', enmeshed in a continuous corridor of public space consisting of civic buildings, parks and patches of forest. Source: Upplands Väsby Municipal archives.

public spaces guided residents towards the area's public institutions such as schools and sports grounds, where everyday interactions were to foster a sense of community among residents. Yet, the design of Smedby's public spaces was not strictly inward-facing, or even only connected to the neighbourhood's park, in the manner one would expect. These public spaces were planned to also direct everyday use outwards and connect Smedby to other parts of the town and encourage the crossing of the possible barriers in the area, such as major roads.⁵⁰ This structure of pedestrian green spaces was in fact designed to connect Smedby to a 'central park belt', proposed by the 1966 Comprehensive Plan to run through the entire town and 'mediate connection' between the town's neighbourhoods' and 'areas for recreation' in the countryside (Figure 6).⁵¹

⁵⁰J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Dispositionplan för Smedby*, 9, 14, 18, 29.

⁵¹J. Curman Arkitektkontor, *Generalplan för Upplands Väsby*, 6–7.

In sum, the Smedby plans show how urban planning was designing public space to speak to a range of welfare issues rather than merely producing residential buildings with nothing but empty leftover space for 'life between' them. Urban planning was itself a patchwork of practices shaping public green space across a range of scales, seeking to foster cohesive communities within neighbourhoods but also connect different neighbourhoods to each other and to larger parks. Urban planning was also distributing amenities and facilities for recreational activities to meet residents' primary needs by assembling a patchwork of standards.

Superimposing a 'rational' model of leisure life

Within just a few years around 1970 a series of public inquiries dealing with leisure, childcare, youth activities, sports and outdoor recreation were published, which gave Swedish leisure planning a considerable boost. At the same time, Upplands Väsby's Leisure Department commissioned a 'leisure investigation' to a firm called K-Konsult—the dominant planning consultancy in the 1970s that largely was owned by the Swedish Association of Municipal Authorities. K-Konsult's 1973 leisure investigation described its ambition as providing 'rational, effective, flexible and economical leisure facilities' for Upplands Väsby's residents.

K-Konsult's proposals partly built on already existing landscapes and modes of planning, with the 1966 Comprehensive Plan's vision of green space as a connective network explicitly cited. Its ambitious vision also indicated that leisure planning was stabilizing as a force, seeking to know and shape the landscape in its own particular way. One way that the investigation exemplifies leisure planning's increasing authority is the way that it used cartographic analysis. Attached to the report were 19 annotated maps covering the entire municipality and charting the existing leisure landscape in terms of land ownership, transport infrastructure, already approved development plans, locations of schools and the city's range of facilities for sport and outdoor recreation. K-konsult used these maps by contrasting them with their model of ideal leisure landscapes. In that manner K-Konsult identified areas of improvement that needed planned interventions to 'create the conditions for every citizen of society to have good opportunities for practicing the leisure activities most suitable within a short distance from one's home and for a reasonable cost'.⁵²

K-Konsult's investigation measured this 'opportunity', and suggested improvements, for leisure activities at three scales: the entire municipality, the neighbourhood, and the area directly around each residential house. At the municipal scale the report suggested that two kinds of facilities were necessary—what K-Konsult called 'sports areas' and 'outdoor recreation areas'. Upplands Väsby's (by 1973 partly-finished) Vilunda sports ground was according to K-Konsult a sufficient 'sports area' for the entire municipality once it had been completed. Similarly the nature reserve, hiking area and beach by Lake Mälaren proposed in 1966 and inaugurated in 1970 ticked most of K-Konsult's boxes for an 'outdoor recreation area'. Also at the other end of the spectrum was the more fine-grained distribution of recreational amenities within residential areas mostly in place, because of the detailed attention to this in 1960s urban planning projects like Smedby (Figure 7).⁵³

The leisure investigation's main contribution to the already complex patchwork of welfarist planning of the landscape was at the neighbourhood scale. The investigation divided Upplands Väsby into four 'zones' for around 8000 residents and a secondary school. K-Konsult proposed building a 100,000 m² 'exercise centre' (*motionscentrum*) next to each zone's secondary school.

⁵²K-Konsult, *Fritidsutredning*, 5–43.

⁵³K-Konsult, *Fritidsutredning*, 20, 23–29, 40.

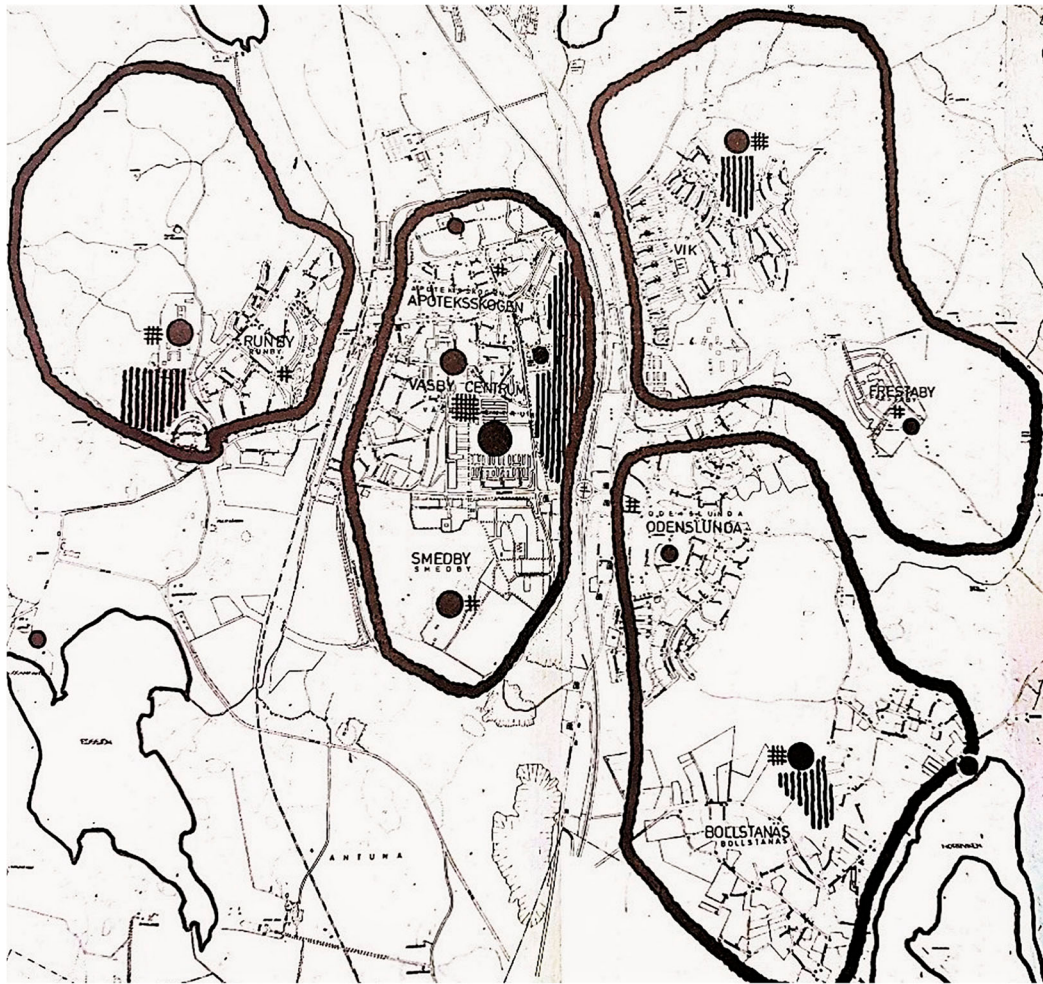


Figure 7. K-Konsult's 1973 leisure investigation divided the municipality into four zones around a primary school, and proposed 'exercise centres' (marked as striped areas) for each zone. Source: Upplands Väsby Municipal archives.

The 'exercise centres' would contain football pitches, running tracks, a public outdoor pool, an electrically lit terrain-running track and larger playgrounds. By being located next to a school these facilities could be used as an extended schoolyard in the daytime, and by sports associations in the evening. Like many of the ideas presented in the 1973 Upplands Väsby Leisure Investigation, the 'exercise centers' closely followed ideas proposed in K-Konsult's own brochure-like journal *K-Kontur* the year before. This series of articles showcased its vision of ideal leisure landscapes, a vision that one can assume had a considerable influence in the wake of the 1972 government recommendation that municipalities begin work on leisure plans and created a market for K-konsult's leisure investigations (Figure 8).⁵⁴

⁵⁴K-Konsult, *Fritidsutredning*, 23–29, 44–6.

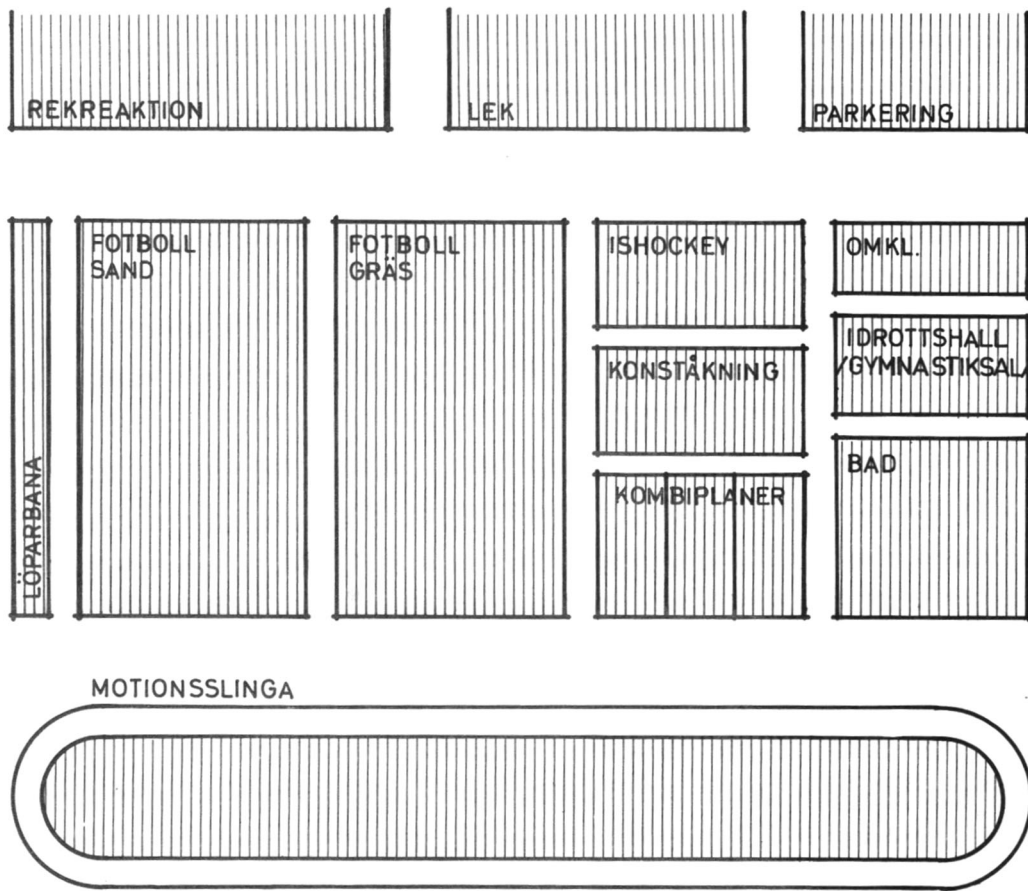


Figure 8. K-Konsult's 'principle draft for local exercise centre', to be located next to each secondary school. Source: Upplands Väsby Municipal archives.

Leisure planners' increasingly authoritative claims in terms of how to design landscape on these three scales mean that some existing urban planning visions were challenged while some were reinforced by the leisure planners. When leisure planning in 1966 began to take shape in Upplands Väsby, all the major recreational facilities it prioritized were either outside or on the peripheries of the town. While Upplands Väsby's Leisure Department had been involved in the maintenance of sports facilities and playgrounds within residential areas, it was urban planners that had been the primary force shaping space at this scale—as the Smedby case illustrates. By 1973 K-Konsult's mode of leisure planning made detailed claims for the spatial distribution of *every* aspect of municipal development. When it came to residential yards and large-scale facilities, K-Konsult's mode of leisure planning converged with the landscapes and planning practices already established, but the proposal to locate 'exercise centres' next to the secondary school in every neighbourhood was a different matter.

The neighbourhood scale had been the domain of urban planners, and they traditionally prioritized building schools and their sports facilities as close to the surrounding housing as possible. K-Konsult instead prioritized building as many kinds of sport and recreational facilities as possible for the people of the neighbourhood by proposing a large exercise area next to each school. Both modes

of planning were dealing with access to recreation through public space and public facilities as a welfarist planning issue, but they framed how provision for local needs were to be met in different ways.

This difference was one of the most important issues of contention in how K-Konsult's model was received. Upplands Väsby's City Architect fiercely objected to the strictness with which the inquiry imposed a functional coordination between outdoor sports and schools. Locating schools next to large exercise centres would 'splinter these small parts of the city', and thus undermine the inherited ideal of community life forming in the public buildings and spaces of each neighbourhood's centre. Furthermore, K-Konsult's 'overly institutional thinking' was not grounded in a careful study of Upplands Väsby's actual landscape. Proposals like running tracks beginning in school yards risked missing 'the best natural areas' and one of proposed exercise centres would, because of 'its location in the landscape', spoil a particularly beautiful piece of the countryside.⁵⁵

The 1972K-Konsult investigation intervened in a landscape already shaped by other forces which were also concerned with how public space could contribute to life in welfare society. At the scale of the entire municipality or residential area, the investigation's proposal largely confirmed plans and facilities already in place. However, the vision of prioritizing access to recreational facilities at the neighbourhood scale by building 'exercise areas' next to all secondary schools had little short-term influence. Although a similar concept was floated again a few years later, as will be discussed in the following section, it was plainly the established urban planners' vision of public space that won the day. The main achievement was instead that this investigation entrenched leisure planning as a bureaucratic force with a broad range of practices at its disposal. Leisure planning was perhaps by the early 1970s mainly shaping Upplands Väsby in ways that either focused on sites beyond urban planning or projects which converged with the urban planners' visions. Still, it was capable of producing detailed, strategic planning documents, when a few years before it had focused more on individual facilities. In this way leisure planning was contributing more forcefully to the patchwork of planning debates shaping Upplands Väsby's welfare landscape, but also directly shaping the welfare landscape of the municipality by extending the detailed gaze of planners beyond the concerns of urban planners.

Conserving and fine-tuning welfare landscapes

In the mid-1970s, a combination of a surplus of housing units, the fiscal constraints posed by the global 1973 recession and critical public discussion about large scale planning brought the Swedish urban development machine to a halt.⁵⁶ The window of opportunity to shape the spatial structure of everyday life in the construction of new housing areas that leisure planning had experimented with was rapidly receding. However, a public inquiry on education published in 1974, and approved as policy in 1976, recommended that all municipalities develop 'Leisure Plans' which, as far as we can tell, led to an upsurge in leisure planning throughout Sweden.⁵⁷

It is then not surprising that municipal leisure planning in Upplands Väsby reached its most advanced and ambitious phase in the mid-1970s, just as its potential to shape the structure of leisure life had begun to fade. With no new residential development to latch onto, or to be hampered by as in 1973, leisure planners turned their attention to the existing welfare landscape.

⁵⁵Berglund, *Yttrande*.

⁵⁶Hall and Vidén, *The Million Homes Programme*, 303–4.

⁵⁷Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 74.

This tactical fine-tuning of Upplands Väsby's already-existing welfare landscapes can be seen in a 1976 document that became the first official 'Leisure Plan' for the entire municipality.

What is most striking in this 230-page plan is the degree to which the patchwork of different forms of municipal planning for leisure had materialized by the mid-1970s into a complex welfare landscape. A series of annotated maps marked 75 different leisure sites or facilities, almost all publicly owned and managed, covering almost every corner of the municipality. Upplands Väsby could in 1976 boast two dozen football pitches, thirteen tennis courts, four running tracks, four public beaches, three ski slopes, three shooting ranges as well as three plots reserved for community gardens. There was also a publically owned stable, a racing track, a large nature reserve and hiking area, an archery range, a canoeing club house, a harbour for sailing boats and even an airstrip for model airplanes. The municipal funding for voluntary associations that were to bring this landscape alive, which increased fourfold during the first seven years of the 1970s, was also having measurable effects.⁵⁸ During October 1976 a full 858 people had volunteered in 61 different associations, of which the various kinds of sporting associations had a combined membership of 7697 people, cultural associations had 859 members, youth groups including the Boy and Girl Scouts had 595, and 'other' groups had 2127 members. This activity took place in a modest, small-town municipality of around 29,000 inhabitants (Figure 9).⁵⁹

Some of the plans' proposals did little but reinterpret these existing spaces. One example is the notion that patches of forested land along the edges of the town were to be designated to 'recreational areas', seen as a necessary leisure amenity to have within walking distance of all the town's neighbourhoods. This scale of analysis was similar to K-konsult's 1972 models of large 'exercise centres' for each of the town's four 'zones'. But instead of the standardized and highly programmed facilities suggested by K-Konsult, the 1976 Leisure Plan argued for protecting existing forested areas as they were for 'basic reoutdoor recreation activities'. Places that in various ways had been saved from development since the 1950s were in this manner formally reframed as a necessary element of the leisure life of a welfare society by 1976.⁶⁰

The 1976 Leisure Plan also identified issues that required planned interventions. For instance, the large sports ground close to the town centre still lacked an indoor swimming pool, and the eastern parts of the town had no outdoor swimming pool for use in the summer. One more electrically lit terrain running track, three more sportsgrounds with running tracks and two other smaller football pitches as well as more tennis courts were to be built close to recently completed residential areas, in the latter case referencing a standard for the number of pitches necessary per 1000 inhabitants. Finally, the plan proposed to invest more in the hiking area by Lake Mälaren by constructing trails, shelters, fireplaces, and a special path and fenced-off meadow for horseback riding, as well as public restrooms and parking places.⁶¹

Interestingly, the 1976 Leisure Plan combined this technocratic welfarist language of standards, providing everyone equal access to leisure facilities with a new and much more politically explicit set of arguments about equality. This new understanding was inspired by a 1971 report, published by the Environment Protection Authority, called 'Planning for Outdoor Recreation' which explicitly argued that equality was the primary objective of the government of leisure life.⁶² Upplands Väsby's recently renamed Social and Leisure Department lifted entire sections about equal access

⁵⁸Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1980–1984*, 46.

⁵⁹Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 22–72.

⁶⁰Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 39, 95–6.

⁶¹Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 91, 95.

⁶²Statens naturvårdsverk & Statens institut för byggnadsforskning, *Planering för friluftsliv*.

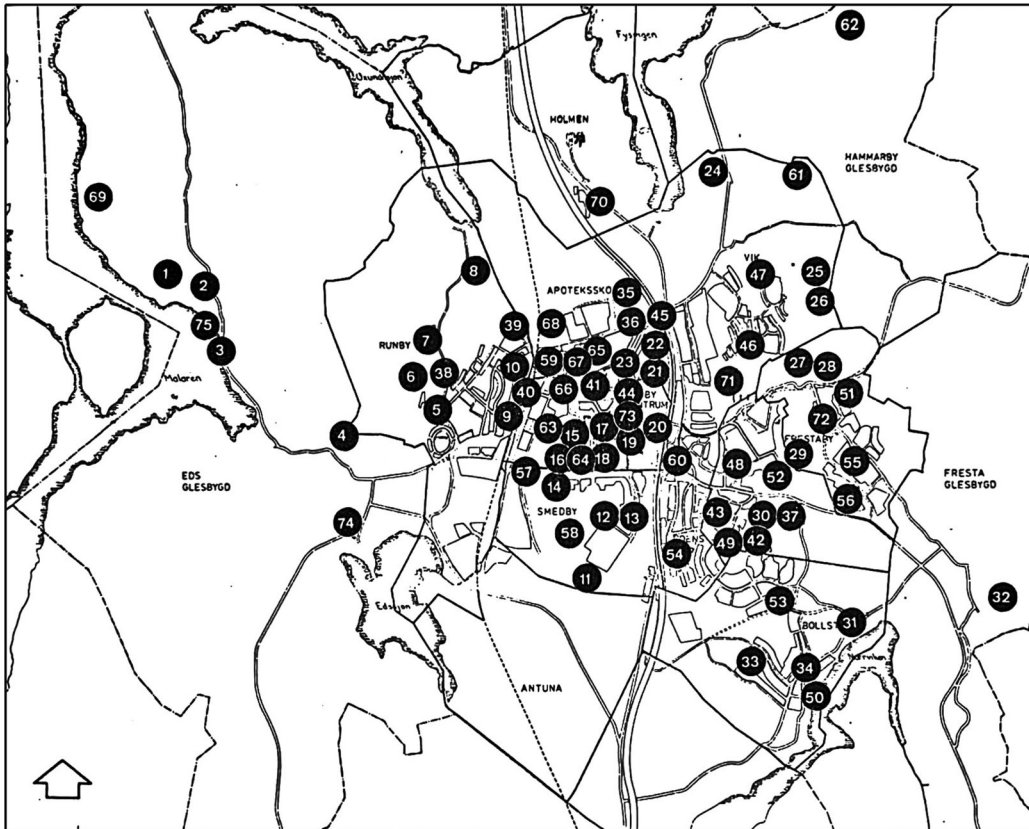


Figure 9. The existing infrastructure for leisure in Upplands Väsby according to the 1976 Leisure Plan. Source: Upplands Väsby Municipal archives.

to leisure life word for word from this report in the 1976 leisure plan. Inspired by the 1971 report, leisure life was described as an emancipatory sphere outside not only the confines of work and commercial entertainment, but also ‘one’s “duties” towards the body, work, the family, the home, the household, and society’. The plan indicated several concerns motivating funding public leisure facilities, like the health benefits and how participatory self-organizing of recreation was an apprenticeship in democratic practice. At the core of the 1976 plan was, however, the political vision that ‘to the most possible degree equal leisure life’ was a ‘goal worth striving for, for its own sake’.⁶³

The way that Upplands Väsby’s 1976 Leisure Plan sought to realize this political concern with equality was by focusing on ‘the less fortunate of society’. Doing so partly relied on the tested old approaches of using standards to provide subsidized, and often free, access to publicly-funded leisure activities and facilities. The plan argued that this would mainly benefit families that did not have the economic means to spend on commercial entertainment. But the Leisure Plan also contained a critique of Upplands Väsby’s actual welfare landscape crafted to provide an even distribution of leisure facilities. The plan argued that the approach was insufficient for groups like the low-income residents that often lived in ‘densely populated areas of the municipality with high-

⁶³Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 11–12.

risers and greater needs than, for instance, single family unit neighbourhoods'. The 1976 plan displayed a newfound scepticism about the ability of planning to solve structural inequalities at all, yet argued that these spaces of marginality at least be 'supplemented' with additional leisure facilities to compensate for the uneven geographies of recreational 'needs'.⁶⁴

By 1976 these residential areas were, however, already built. There were thus few opportunities to add new substantial leisure facilities to alter the situation. Neither did the plan show signs of planning practices translating the newfound redistributionist understanding of equality into concrete spatial design. Despite developing this critique of how landscapes designed to provide equal access were distorted by structural inequalities, Leisure Planning at its most developed and ambitious had no new solutions to offer.

The 1976 Leisure Plan was instead relegated to fine-tuning existing welfare landscapes. It added a few tennis court or football pitches. It designated a few patches of forest left on the urban fringe as 'recreational areas'. In addition, the plan focused municipal attention on the new geographies of inequality emerging despite the best intentions of several generations of planners, enabling the wave of focused upgrading and renovations that would come to characterize these kinds of residential areas in the 1980s.⁶⁵ The main task, it seems, was naming and counting of all the recreational spaces, facilities, uses and users that already existed.

This contradiction between increasing ambitions and diminishing opportunities continued to characterize leisure planning in the years that followed. A brief and updated Leisure Plan for Upplands Väsby was published in 1980, after which there appears not to have been any comprehensive planning documents published concerning leisure life in the municipality—echoing the decline in funding and national coordination of outdoor recreation in Sweden's early 1980s.⁶⁶ Upplands Väsby's 1980 leisure plan also focused on inequality, but proposed few concrete changes besides support for voluntary associations and more funds for maintenance.

Despite the dramatic critique of inequalities in Upplands Väsby, these two municipal Leisure Plans did little but add a few more pieces to the already intricate patchwork of planning. Leisure planning at its peak thus fine-tuned Upplands Väsby's existing landscape and provided new arguments for legitimizing the maintenance of the facilities and institutions, enabling an active use of the landscape. The physical and cultural welfare landscape that these formal Leisure Plans mapped, legitimized and fine-tuned, were chiefly however the product of a long and intricate history spanning decades and involving a range of planning actors and practices.

Conclusions: welfare landscapes formed by patchwork planning

In this article we have shown how leisure and urban planning in Upplands Väsby's postwar period came together in the patchwork production of landscape, materializing a range of concerns connected to the making of a 'welfare society'. This process was uneven, with different concerns and visions for different kinds of spaces coming to the fore at different moments. Upplands Väsby's patchwork of planning was deeply shaped by geographical contingencies but also, we would suggest, speaks to how the planning of postwar welfare landscape in Sweden, and perhaps beyond, more broadly were assembled in an improvised manner.

⁶⁴Upplands Väsby kommun, *Fritidsplan 1976–1980*, 69–70.

⁶⁵See Mack, *Renovation year zero*; Hall and Vidén, *The Million Homes Programme*.

⁶⁶See Moen, *Idrottsanläggningar och idrottens rumsliga utveckling i svenskt stadsbyggande under 1900-talet*; Ahlström, "Utomhus i konsumtionssamhället"; Qviström, "The nature of running".

Urban planners initially had the most defined visions for the public spaces of Upplands Väsby's residential areas, but also made an important contribution by designating urban forests and the countryside as places worthy of preservation as early as the 1951 Comprehensive Plan. Later more advanced place-making for the neighbourhood scale emerged within urban planning, in particular detailed but improvised standards to benchmark and guarantee access to certain recreational needs. At the same time green space was emerging as a way to steer everyday mobilities, connecting residential areas with public space and institutions as well as the rural hinterlands and other neighbourhoods.

Leisure planning took shape in response to concerns about unruly youth culture, attention toward voluntary associations as institutions for democratic conduct, attempts to combat declining public health by exercise and notions of providing urban dwellers access to more rural spaces converging with the space-making practices of urban planning. At first, leisure planning coordinated with urban planners in a range of issues and focused its creative energies on more rural locations, but by the early 1970s it produced detailed plans spanning a range of scales from the public space around residential builds to the entire municipality. As long as the rapid urbanization of the *Miljonprogrammet*-era kept going urban planning had the upper hand when the visions of these two realms of bureaucratic practice didn't match. In the mid-1970s, with the Million Programme plans coming to a close, leisure planning managed to push new issues to the fore. While maintaining the idea of guaranteeing everyone's access to primary needs through standards, leisure planning also attempted to introduce a redistributive notion of equality. Leisure planning's articulation of equality did, however, not manage to substantially remake the welfare landscapes already in place by then—at least not in Upplands Väsby.

As Upplands Väsby illustrates, this landscape was created over an extended period even in a town almost entirely built from scratch. Some of welfarist planning's visions had long antecedents. One example is the romantic and nationalist nineteenth century landscape ideals which resurfaced in the concept of the preservation of 'beautiful' rural nature and the need to provide urban dwellers with easy access to the countryside. Another example is the role of sports and outdoor recreation which was steeped in the earlier nationalists' cult of health, but re-activated and re-articulated to instead curb emerging 'welfare diseases'. This continual reworking of older elements, of planning practices as well as physical spaces, was typical of how the welfare landscapes of Upplands Väsby were crafted.

Welfare landscapes were assembled in a patchwork of planning, with different planning actors not only changing with time but each responding to a range of different complementary issues coming to the fore at different moments. We have in this study only captured some of the complexities of the patchwork assembling of welfare landscapes. Further studies of, for instance, local planning for public transport such as cycle paths and bus routes or of the regional planning of leisure facilities in the countryside would doubtlessly reinforce the picture of Sweden's welfare landscape as a heterogeneous assemblage of related but shifting ideas of welfare, landscape and equality.

Because of this complex character, the landscapes made by welfarist planning have proven difficult to 'read' and easily forgotten by the custodians of public memory. This, we suggest, means that present-day planners have important, but little-used, resources at their disposal in terms of often-forgotten planning practices and taken-for-granted landscapes which are worth engaging with. In particular, the way in which the welfarist planners' core commitment to designing spaces for equality and democratic citizenship deserves to be evaluated in a nuanced manner half a century after their making. Thus, by emphasizing the patchwork planning of welfare landscapes we hope to provide a way for those today living in, working with, or in some other capacity

involved in these actual landscapes to critically evaluate and engage with the many different issues raised in their design.

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