

ELIMINATING DIRT:

SWEDISH HOUSING INSPECTION AND THE
SCIENCE OF A WELCOME INTERVENTION

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Word count: 8554

ABSTRACT

Growing up in Sweden, the custom of removing one's shoes at home was ingrained in society. After travelling and living abroad for a number of years, how particularly Swedish this habit was became apparent. However, very few Swedes know how, when and why the custom was acquired. Some light was shed on the subject in the recent years, with Jenny Björkman's research on Swedish Housing Inspection, which became the starting point for this thesis. An aspect that contributed to this custom, that has not been brought to a public discussion, however, is the reasons underlying the need for cleanliness and purity, advocated by the Housing Inspection, as well as the Inspection's long-term implications.

By studying a number of first-hand sources, including guidelines for housing inspectors, contemporary press and memoirs of the first dwellers of social houses in Östermalm, this paper researches the conditions that enabled the creation and development of a consensual intimate relationship between the Swedish authorities and the domesticity. The period in focus is between 1904, when the inspection was first introduced, and 1936, when it was made compulsory.

This essay will analyse the Swedish Housing Inspection in the inter-war period, as a method of 'cleansing' the society from dirt, as matter and as a metaphor for the impurities of the pre-modern, traditional lifestyle.

Finally, this essay will discuss the appropriateness of domestic intervention, as well as immediate and long-term consequences of Housing Inspection in Sweden. Based on the analysis of the application of 'soft' governing for elimination of dirt, this essay will ask whether all dirt can be eliminated, and what happens if it is.

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Tab. 5. Folkmängd i de större städerna vid slutet av åren
1800—1941.¹⁾ *Population des plus grandes villes au 31 déc.*

Städer Villes	1800	1850	1870	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1941
Stockholm .	75 517	93 070	136 016	246 454	300 624	342 323	419 440	502 213	590 503	599 962
Göteborg .	12 804	26 084	56 288	104 657	130 619	167 809	202 328	243 414 ²⁾	281 287	283 183
Malmö .	3 962	13 087	25 593	48 504	60 857	83 373	113 553	120 307	155 506	157 462
Norrköping .	9 089	16 916	23 850	32 826	41 008	46 398	58 098	61 492	70 785	71 150
Hälsingborg .	1 741	4 140	7 941	20 410	24 670	33 347	47 069	55 889	62 176	62 553
Örebro .	3 267	5 177	9 100	14 547	22 018	30 082	36 033	37 522	49 167	49 687
Borås .	1 774	2 733	3 251	8 106	15 837	21 541	28 236	38 235	48 324	48 873
Eskilstuna .	1 341	3 961	5 716	10 909	13 663	28 364	30 353	32 674	40 725	41 176
Linköping .	2 680	5 240	7 257	12 649	14 552	18 149	26 920	29 845	38 654	41 129
Gävle .	5 410	9 261	13 822	23 484	29 522	35 202	37 761	38 857 ²⁾	39 697	39 642
Västerås .	2 824	3 780	5 367	8 122	11 999	19 145	30 633	30 376	38 597	39 433
Uppsala .	5 105	6 952	11 483	21 511	22 855	26 960	28 897	30 313	38 357	38 914
Jönköping .	2 684	6 008	10 879	19 682	23 143	26 969	29 285	30 915	36 280	37 069
Karlskrona .	10 166	14 097	16 558	20 613	23 955	27 434	27 056	25 491	29 604	30 301
Karlstad .	2 165	3 807	5 608	8 716	11 869	17 192	19 248	20 911	28 878	29 711
Halmstad .	1 817	2 761	5 738	11 825	15 862	18 342	18 409	23 866	27 939	28 478
Lund .	3 086	6 709	10 688	15 023	16 621	20 139	23 183	24 520	27 969	28 266
Karlskoga .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26 114	27 806
Kristianstad .	2 369	5 440	7 962	10 670	10 318	11 569	12 740	13 516	16 345 ²⁾	21 714
Kalmar .	3 253	6 684	9 275	11 772	12 715	15 535	17 086	19 800	21 439	21 587
Landskrona .	3 827	4 189	7 821	12 253	14 899	16 041	20 172	18 534	20 908	21 259
Sundsvall .	1 468	2 837	6 405	13 215	14 831	16 854	16 776	18 007	18 582	18 836
Trollhättan .	—	—	—	—	—	—	14 763	15 014	17 507	17 992
Uddevalla .	4 081	3 832	5 540	7 643	9 442	12 583	13 753	15 104	16 782	17 208
Östersund .	150	817	1 717	5 333	6 866	8 264	13 405	14 153	16 647	17 077
Mölnadal .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17 557	16 637	16 419

Figure 1: Population of Sweden's major towns between 1800-1941

Tab. A. Antal lägenheter och eldstäder (bottingsrum el. kök) i under åren 1934 och 1935 fullbordade och beviljade byggnadsföretag i vissa större städer.

	Läg. resp. eldstäder (rum) i full- bordade byggnadsföretag						Läg. resp. eldstäder (rum) i bevil- jade byggnadsföretag					
			Därav fullbordade under 1935 års						Därav beviljade under 1935 års			
	1934	1935	1 kv.	2 kv.	3 kv.	4 kv.	1934	1935	1 kv.	2 kv.	3 kv.	4 kv.
<i>Antal lägenheter.</i>												
Stockholm	3 018	5 686	312	974	758	3 642	5 502	6 868	2 656	2 015	770	1 427
Göteborg	2 989	4 121	1 001	107	2 784	229	3 162	3 248	947	1 202	444	655
Malmö	1 544	2 821	920	10	1 707	184	2 440	2 741	1 238	381	594	528
Norrköping	314	708	158	28	472	50	558	728	309	144	141	134
Hälsingborg	651	1 094	248	12	830	4	986	1 158	329	210	403	216
Borås	168	290	46	20	114	110	428	757	163	227	112	265
Gävle	211	246	24	25	146	50	218	439	115	78	85	161
Örebro	408	493	6	15	258	214	573	555	186	33	104	232
Jönköping ¹	239	261	64	—	197	—	381	467	191	71	97	108
Uppsala	353	703	—	—	—	—	524	592	409	71	44	68
Linköping ²	332	431	20	20	36	355	377	566	195	111	50	210
Västerås	222	423	20	38	308	7	343	626	85	250	169	122
Tillhopa	10 449	17 276	—	—	—	—	15 490	18 745	6 823	4 793	3 013	4 116
D:o exkl. Uppsala	10 096	16 573	2 819	1 249	7 080	4 845	14 966	18 153	6 414	4 722	2 969	4 048

Figure 2: Number of flats and fireplaces between 1934-35

INTRODUCTION

This essay will look at Swedish housing inspection in the inter-war period, as a method of 'cleansing' the society from dirt, as matter and as a metaphor for the impurities of the pre-modern, traditional lifestyle. A distinct feature of the liberal democratic policy which emerged in the 20th century and widely practised in Sweden, was 'soft' governing of society.¹ This implied a relationship between the state and the individual, that was built on trust and on teaching the citizens to become their own governors. Housing inspection may be perceived as a method, as well as a product of 'soft' governing in the 20th century Sweden. In simple terms, its role was to get rid of dirt.

The definitions of cleanliness and dirt are a product of socio-cultural context, rather than of objective truth,² and have therefore shifted over the centuries. For the purpose of this essay, dirt will be categorised into two types – real and poststructural.

Real dirt, or dirt as matter, is what can be removed by physical means. This kind of dirt will be researched in the context of themes of dirt and cleanliness, within the domestic space in newly industrialised Sweden. Jules Lubbock defines dirt as a "political economy of design,"³ implying its significant role in shaping, re-shaping and generating a consumer for products and methods for its elimination. With Lubbock's idea as a starting point, this essay will analyse physical dirt, or rather the purification of Swedish working-class domesticity of it by means of housing inspection. Some light was shed on the subject in the recent years, with Jenny Björkman's research on Swedish Housing Inspection, which became the starting point for this thesis. It will discuss the effect of socio-political setting had on the design of a home, as well as the newly acquired role of the architect as a receiver for the preaching of *zeitgeist*, or the spirit of the time.⁴ The scientific method of tackling dirt will be discussed within the context of its relationship to health and the perception of being healthy.

Poststructural, or metaphorical dirt, will be analysed through its connection to the aesthetic. Described as "playing upon individual and collective desires and anxieties",⁵ this kind of dirt is a simile to the references to traditionalism within the Swedish society of inter-war period, where the modern movement was taking over. Analysis of the role of the Stockholm Exhibition (1930), the architectural manifesto *Acceptera* (1930), and the campaign for more beautiful everyday things - 'Pursuit of the Beautiful' (*Vackrare vardagsvara*), will address the role of propaganda and references to the familiarity of the vernacular in the popularisation and customisation of modernism in Sweden.

¹ Nikolas Rose, "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracy", in *Foucault and political reason: Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government*, ed. by Andrew Barry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 37–62

² Mary Douglas, *Purity and danger* (London: Routledge, 1991)

³ Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960* (Yale: Paul Mellon Centre BA, 1995), 367

⁴ Five principles of modernist architecture as described in Colin Rowe, *Architecture of Good Intentions: Towards a New Retrospect* (United States: Academy Editions, 1994) 45-46

⁵ Ben Campkin and Rosie Cox, *Dirt: New geographies of cleanliness and contamination* (I.B.Tauris & Co, Limited, 2007), 2

Finally, this essay will discuss the appropriateness of domestic intervention, as well as immediate and long-term benefits and drawbacks of housing inspection in Sweden. Based on the analysis of Swedish home inspection as a 'soft' governing tool for elimination of dirt, as well as by looking at an example of a contemporary state-owned flat in Stockholm, this essay will ask whether all dirt can be eliminated, and what happens if it is.



Figure 3: : “Bostadsbristen” (Housing Shortage) 1898. Oskar Andersson

REAL DIRT: FROM 'OLÄGENHET' TO 'LÄGENHET'

Sweden was industrialised at the turn of the 20th century, a few decades after its European neighbours. The newly industrialised towns and other urbanised areas faced overcrowding. In 1930, over 50 percent of Sweden's population lived in villages,⁶ which could not offer a high level of employment or quality of life matching the towns and faced a decrease in population.

Poverty and unemployment caused a significant number of Swedish citizens to emigrate. At this time, young people of working age left the country *en masse* for North America, and the demographic structure became skewed towards the upper age brackets."⁷ What is more, those who did not emigrate, faced extreme housing conditions. In the early 1930s, over two-thirds of accommodation in Stockholm was bedbug infected.⁸ One-bedroom apartments, standard for 60-70% of workers' families in Stockholm in the 1920s, were inhabited by an average of five people.⁹ In response to overcrowding and its health hazards, a new occupational norm of a maximum of two people per room was introduced (1921).¹⁰ To resolve the demographic and housing crises, the state had to build new homes – quickly, efficiently, cheaply – providing the families in need with accommodation. Since private building companies were still recovering from the War, the initiative of creating new housing and jobs was taken by the state.

Due to its relatively late industrialisation, the Swedish nation had a chance to develop a methodological and educational approach to building the new world, both literally and figuratively. This method was based on elaborate analysis of Germany, France and the U.K. By 1930, when the entire Western world faced the Great Depression, Sweden's strategy for fighting unemployment and housing shortages became to buy land on the outskirts of the major cities and, following the German example, to erect simple, economically efficient housing that provided its dwellers with running hot and cold water, central heating and good lighting. This kind of housing was at first met with disapproval. It was perceived by the ruling class as too foreign, unnecessarily luxurious and by the working class inhabitants-to-be as potentially extravagant.

Having left an old home, which is likely to have been a rented room in an overcrowded flat, new tenants of the so-called "magic houses"¹¹ had a poor understanding of how to live in these contemporary, light, wonderful homes with running hot and cold water, showers and

⁶ Urban Lundberg and Klas Åmark, "Social rights and social security: The Swedish welfare state, 1900-2000," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no.26 (March 2001), 157

⁷ Sven E. Olsson, *Social Policy and Welfare State in Sweden*. Second, enlarged edition edn. (Lund: Arkiv Forlag, 1993)

⁸ Ulrika Sax and Stig Dederling, *Stockholms hem under sju decennier* (Värnamo: Fälth & Hässler. Stockholmshem in seven decades, 2007), 33

⁹ Lennart Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1941), 80

¹⁰ In 1921, minimal living standards are introduced for smaller flats. Sweden. Socialdepartamentet, 'Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder' (Kungliga boktryckeriet: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1921)

¹¹ From the late 1920s the houses in the major Swedish cities and their surroundings were mainly of the prefabricated type, labelled by the municipal authorities 'Magic Houses,' in Lars Nilsson, "Stockholm and green space, 1850-2000: an introduction", *The European city and green space: London, Stockholm, Helsinki, and St. Petersburg, 1850-2000*, ed. Peter Clark (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 127

	Birth-rate per 1,000 inhabitants				Death-rate per 1,000 inhabitants				Infantile mortality per 1,000 live births				Rate of increase per 1,000 inhabitants	
	1900	1914	1920	1936	1900	1914	1920	1936	1900	1914	1920	1936	1900	1936
Sweden	27.0	22.9	23.6	14.2	16.8	13.8	13.3	12.0	98	73	63	43	10.2	2.2
Holland	31.6	28.3	28.6	20.1	17.9	12.4	12.3	8.7	155	95	73	39	13.7	11.4
Germany	35.6	26.8	25.9	19.0	22.1	19.0	15.1	11.8	226	164	131	66	13.5	7.2
Vienna	32.4	16.9	16.1	5.5	20.9	15.5	15.1	12.6	—	139	137	64	11.5	— 7.1
Italy	33.0	31.0	31.8	22.4	23.8	17.9	18.7	13.7	173	130	127	100	9.2	8.7
France	21.4	18.8	21.4	15.0	21.9	17.7	17.2	15.3	161	113	99	67	— 0.5	— 0.3
England and Wales	28.7	23.8	25.5	14.8	18.2	14.0	12.4	12.1	154	105	80	59	10.5	2.7

Epidemiological Reports, Health Section, League of Nations, December 1937.

Figure 4: National variations of birth rates in Europe (1937) illustrate the demographic crisis

Themes	N:o of sub-sect.	N:o of reg item
Workers' question	17	389
Sobriety/temperance	11	346
Social hygiene	4	208
Popular education	7	184
Housing	4	180
Poor relief	8	166
General social question	4	131
Agrarian question	2	115
Womens' question	—	101
Socialism	—	89
Crime and criminality	3	73
Social history	4	65
Pol science & statistics	3	64
Taxation	—	58
Consumer Co-operative	—	50
Political economy	—	26
Emigration	—	22

Source: Thunberg & Herlitz (1907).

Figure 5: Rank order of the social policy themes published in Sweden between 1882-1907. Whereas national interest in the workers' question and housing are to be predicted, sobriety and social hygiene are perhaps a little more unexpected among the top social poli

other modern conveniences. A significant part of the population suffered from lack of knowledge of these novelties, so housing inspectors were assigned to ease people's way into a modern, healthier domesticity, in order to avoid replicating poor sanitary conditions and misuse of rooms. From their first mention by the Royal Institute of Health in 1904, housing inspectors, who were often seen as descendants of health police (*hälsopoliser*),¹² became an integral part of everyday life of urban citizens in 1936, following Social Democrats coming to power in 1932.

Their role was to ensure the unsatisfactory conditions of overcrowded urban homes were identified and corrected since they were seen as unhealthy from the perspective of both sanitary and building standards. People were given state-owned flats to live in, where all surfaces and areas were designed to be easy to keep clean. The new homes were adapted to a society filled with a new kind of dirt, which came as a side effect of industrialisation – that of machines and workers' clothes.

Ironically, in Swedish, "lägenhet" is an apartment,¹³ whereas "olägenhet" is a liability, inconvenience or drawback.¹⁴ The intention of housing inspection was therefore, by removing physical dirt from people's lives, to turn "olägenhet" into a "lägenhet". People who move into the new homes did not necessarily know how to keep the new homes clean because they previously had a different idea of what "dirty" was.

¹² 'Health police' (*hälsopoliser*), were first introduced by the Swedish National Health Board in the 1878, to help the population overcome diseases, such as tuberculosis, housing inspectors visited people's homes to share their expertise on how to live well. Their main task was to make sure that the health regulations were followed, as well as informing the citizens what the regulations were, in *Hälsovårdsinspektionen (Hälsopolisen)* (no date) in *Stockholm Stad Stadsarkivet*, accessed 19 February 2017, <http://stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/hitta-i-arkiven/arkivartiklar/h-j/halsovardsinspektionen-halsopolisen/>

¹³ *Lexin Online*, s.v. "lägenhet," accessed April 20, 2017, http://lexin.nada.kth.se/lexin/#searchinfo=both,swe_swe,lägenhet/

¹⁴ *Lexin Online*, s.v. "olägenhet," accessed April 20, 2017, http://lexin.nada.kth.se/lexin/#searchinfo=both,swe_swe,olägenhet/



Figure 6-9: Bathroom, kitchen and living room of Bengt Jonasson's childhood home. Exterior view

REAL DIRT: THE RIGHT TO A NICE HOME

Summarising the relationship between the Swedish State and Home, transformed by the introduction of housing inspection, Swedish historian Björkman states in peer-reviewed *Scandinavian Journal of History*, that "The right to sound living quarters – that is, to a good home – took precedence over the right to live any way one wanted or the right to privacy."¹⁵ The right to a nice home meant that everyone was entitled to healthy and dirt-free accommodation, but it went further. Housing inspection became a tool of social policy, an embodiment of a pursuit of a good home - its aim was not only to mend the social ills, such as frequenting taverns, alcohol abuse, poverty and violence,¹⁶ but also to teach the occupants about a healthier lifestyle and better domestic habits.

Looking back at the Swedish National Health Board's case studies from the 1930s, Gustav Florén, who compiled a state document on housing inspection in 1967, observes that whereas mandatory inspections were held in a routine manner, over a half of the inspections were results of complaints, which came from the tenants themselves.¹⁷ This fact does not seem particularly surprising when watching Stockholmshem Housing Association's documentary film *Barnrikebarn på Stickelbärsvägen* (Children from large families living on Stickelbergsvägen), in which Bengt Jonasson, one of the first tenants of large family-suited homes (*barnrikehus*), describes his previous home:

...we moved [to] Stickelbärsvägen ... when I was just four years old... Before that [we had been] very poor. The windows of those houses went out to the street level ... The worst mother had ever told [me] was that hair had been freezing on us. So overcrowded the homes were! We moved here in 1937... But then [the works] were not really finished here... They had arranged hot and cold water, and a stove... and the laundry room... and the floors that were easy to take care of. When we moved here, we discovered that we had a bathroom. It was really what was needed, it was so nice. But really, it was fun, too. So [the new flat] was like coming to heaven, you might say.¹⁸

Poor relief and child refuge checks were almost solely directed at families, which would typically live in smaller apartments: "Housing Inspection has its main task in the audit of small flats up to 3 rooms, although complaints concerning nuisances in larger apartments, of course, need to be treated ... You generally have to build more stringent views on a small residence than a larger one, where there is usually more space, and better light illumination."¹⁹ This inevitably implied that, despite the general slogans saying that good housing is "for all classes, without distinction,"²⁰ the improvements were directed at raising the quality of life for the working class families: "Inspection requests mainly come from tenants and landlords, with a relatively small number received from doctors, nurses and

¹⁵ Jenny Björkman, "The right to a nice home: Housing inspection in 1930s Stockholm," *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no.37 (April 2012), 464

¹⁶ Björkman, "The right to a nice home," 464

¹⁷ Gösta Florén, *Hälsovårdsstadsgan med anvisningar och rättsfall* (Health Board Act with References to Case Studies). 9th edition edn. (Stockholm: Sveriges kommunförbund, 1967), 30

¹⁸ *Barnrikebarn på Stickelbärsvägen. Stockholms första hyresgäster berättar*, DVD (Stockholm: Stockholmshem, 2007)

¹⁹ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 21

²⁰ Thord Plaenge Jacobson, Sven Silow and Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund (eds.) *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, transl. by William Cameron (Stockholm: Victor Pettersons Bokindustriaktiebolag, 1941), 24

Figure 10: : Housing inspections were carried out to enforce ubiquitous minimal building and domestic standards. Inspector's notes show typical sources of complaints – bad air, bedbugs and wallmites, excessive noise levels from neighbours' renovation works, as well as how these were tackled. This page from the journal has two different handwritings in it – assuming a rotation of inspectors/helpers performing the duty

officials of poor relief and child care. These home visits, however, are focused especially on the poorest people, in whose homes finding ills would not be unusual."²¹

Although this meant taking care of more apartments, the government's intention was to make the inspection more widespread and common, which in itself was an acknowledgement of the natural lack of desire people would have to stand out: "People did not want to be singled out ... Maybe this is why the home inspection was a general thing – that no one was pointed out, that it was a general arrangement."²² The above signifies perhaps one of the key differences between the Swedish social housing and that of its European neighbours: remarkably, it did not encourage segregation, but rather became the consensus for social wellbeing for all.

One example of this is dwellings built by HSB, one of the first housing associations in Stockholm, from 1936 onwards. As a part of a programme, initiated by the state, HSB incorporated three different accommodation types in the layout of a single block of flats. The programme allowed the tenants to own, partially own or rent their flats.²³ Similarly, Bengt Jonasson recollects that his school welcomed children from all social classes:

Us kids thought it [our new home] was great... there were over three hundred kids [in the area] - there was no shortage of peers. As children, we had classmates who lived in Östermalm. There was no fault in them. But they came home to maybe six, seven rooms! And then they would afford to buy some more candy and such. The family next to us ... they had fourteen children.²⁴

In the preceding centuries, in Europe and America, clean homes were seen as an attribute and a privilege of the upper class, who could afford to have servants.²⁵ By means of introduction of the building and domestic standards, enforced by the housing inspection, minimal acceptable living conditions were defined. Moreover, owing to integration, the subconscious meaning of dirt and 'dirty' was rationalised and became identical for the Swedish society as a whole.

The cultural acceptance and approach of equality was conveyed by in the very strategic welfare approach of the social and political elites of the time. Moreover, they are embedded in the very notion of "Swedishness".

²¹ Parliament, Socialdepartamentet, *Betänkande med Förslag Rörande Ändringar i Vissa Delar av Hälsovårdsstadgan samt Anordnande av Förbättrad Bostadsinspektion i Städer och Stadsliknande Samhällen M.M.* (Bills Bostadssociala Utredningen 1935:49), (Stockholm: K.L.Beckmans Boktryckeri: 1935), 60–61

²² Tobias Svanelid, *När folkhemmet städades fram*, Vetenskapsradion Historia. Radio podcast (October 3, 2013)

²³ Elizabeth Denby, *Europe Re-housed* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1938), 80-2

²⁴ *Barnrikebarn på Stickelbärsvägen. Stockholms första hyresgäster berättar*

²⁵ Campkin and Cox, *Dirt*, p.12

P24



35c

SWEDEN THE MIDDLE WAY

THE STORY OF A CONSTRUCTIVE COMPROMISE BETWEEN
SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

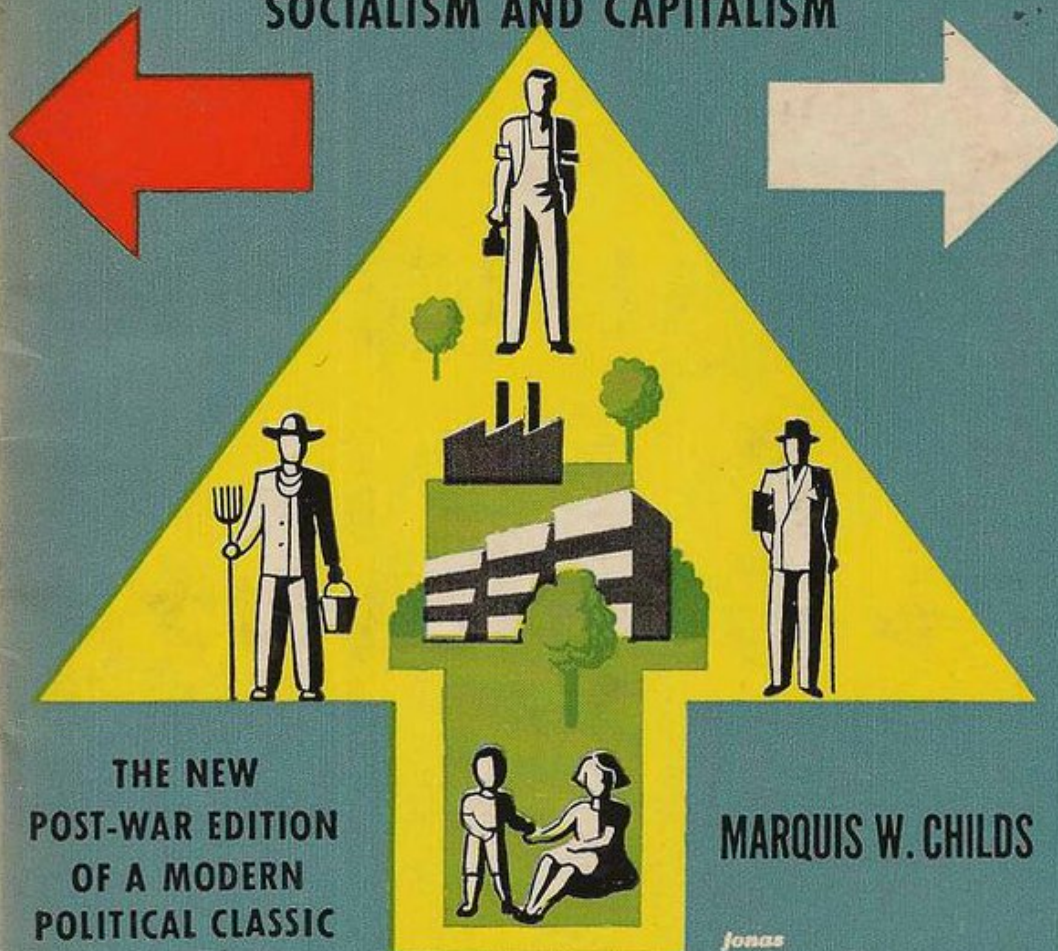


Figure 11: Cover of Marquis Childs' "Sweden: The Middle Way" (1936) portrays Sweden as an country, which promotes harmonious co-existence of peasants, workers and professionals in an industrialised society, based on strong family values and a good home

REAL DIRT: THE NOTION OF 'SWEDISHNESS' – SPIRIT OF ZEITGEIST

Propaganda promoted a new way of life to aspire to, which was in itself analogous to a revolution. Following his travelling experience in 1930s, Marquis Childs described Sweden, as well as the rest of Scandinavian countries, as the land “embodying modernity”, favourably located on a crossroads of socialism and capitalism:

...in Scandinavia there exists a certain frame of mind, a mental capacity by virtue of which a change for the better comes to be regarded as inevitable. Consequently the Scandinavian way of being progressive was perceived as a moral quality, which pushed individuals to act in an innovative manner, to try to act out new solutions and to achieve the unachievable.²⁶

Andersson sides with Childs, and therefore argues that the Scandinavians possess a certain mentality, a national culture of common historical experience and imagined community, “historically anchored in the definition of Sweden and Swedishness”, which may be traced back to the eighteenth century.²⁷

If tradition provides a method, the problem to be resolved – dirt – is heavily influenced by the time it is set in, which will be referred to as ‘fashion’. In *Chasing Dirt*, Hoy makes an observation that, over the course of the 19th century, the Americans’ care for hygiene, particularly in rural areas, changed dramatically.²⁸ From celebrating dirt, as described by Twain: “...there was nutritiousness in the mud, and a man that drank Mississippi water could grow corn in his stomach if he wanted to,”²⁹ the society turned its head to the pleas of sanitation becoming rather fashionable, associated with social responsibility, respectability and health.³⁰

If the idea of a common ground is associated with tradition, and the idea of time- and setting-specific change – with fashion, the Swedish national tradition was reinvented to comply with modernity, by adapting cultural continuities to new concepts and forms. One might therefore suggest, that the notion of a common ground, in typical early 20th century modernist fashion, enabled the emergence and development of People’s home (*Folkhemmet*).³¹

²⁶ Jenny Andersson, “Nordic nostalgia and Nordic light: The Swedish model as utopia 1930–2007,” *Scandinavian Journal of History*, no. 34 (March 2007), 231

²⁷ Andersson, “Nordic nostalgia and Nordic light: The Swedish model as utopia 1930–2007,” 231

²⁸ Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (Oxford University Press, 1996): 1-2

²⁹ Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* [1883] (New York: Signet Classic, 1980), 29

³⁰ Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness*, 6

³¹ Andersson, “Nordic nostalgia and Nordic light: The Swedish model as utopia 1930–2007,” 231-2

REAL DIRT: FOLKHEMMET

During an international lecture series in the post-war period, Alva Myrdal, one of the Swedish social policy makers, revealed the formula for the Swedish success: "Industrialisation in Sweden happened late and rapidly, but we improved our education and culture first."³² In tune with the spirit of time, the new social goal was the creation of a "new, rational, civil administrative order, to be distinguished from the old military-clientilistic state apparatus."³³ Reformed into a notion of People's Home, the concept of belonging and coming together, which Childs sees as natural for the Swedish, turns into a nationwide movement "Your Own Home" (*Egna hem*), encouraging citizens to take greater care and appreciation of national possessions.³⁴

The Swedish political debate during the first decades of the 20th century was framed by emigration, poverty and population crisis on the one hand, as well as industrialisation and its consequences on the other.³⁵ The country became a political battlefield between the bourgeoisie, who promoted population growth, and Social Democrats, whose priority was an active social policy.³⁶ The resultant social policy was a cross between German *sozialpolitik* and poor relief practice.³⁷ This symbiosis implied that those who needed help received it.

The routes of this social policy go back to the key debate between the political right and left in Sweden at the turn of the twentieth century, being the outcome of a symbiosis of socio-political and industrial revolutions. In a broader context, one might argue that social insurance was invented by the enlightened welfare intelligentsia. This view is supported by Olsson, who believes that: "the dominant mode of thought both [of] the conservative defenders of the old social order and the proponents of the new liberal-capitalist society viewed with suspicion and awe the capricious crowd or mob, which one way or another had to be disciplined and subordinated."³⁸ The First World War had not only decreased the population and brought poverty upon many, but it also increased the cost of building materials, labour and land - which meant that private individuals found it significantly harder to build at their own expense.³⁹ To resolve the problem, the building industry had to become heavily subsidised by national and municipal wealth. Rent-control on pre-war buildings and 33% subsidies were granted for the building of new housing. The Urban Mortgage Bank of Sweden was founded in 1910; it functioned by using two thirds of state funds and one third of the municipal funds.⁴⁰ In 1935, Stockholm Town Council decided to put 2 million kronor towards "simply decorated cheap accommodation," which in turn made Stockholm one of the leading investors into the building industry. In 1937, Stockholmshem AB, the first entirely communal building association, was formed.⁴¹

³² Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 3

³³ Olsson, *Social Policy and Welfare State in Sweden*, 41

³⁴ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 7

³⁵ Lundberg and Åmark, *Social Rights and Social Security*, 157

³⁶ Lundberg and Åmark, 163-4

³⁷ Olsson, *Social Policy and Welfare State in Sweden*, 47

³⁸ Olsson, 36-41

³⁹ Denby, *Europe Re-housed*, 28-9

⁴⁰ Denby, 51

⁴¹ Sax and Dederling, *Stockholmshem under sju decennier*, 19

One of the key struggles of private individuals wishing to build in the aftermath of the First World War was the burden of the repayment of loans. Eliminating this burden became one of the key objectives of the Co-operative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*), established in 1899. Co-operative building societies' may be described as 'semi-philanthropic', since they are equivalent of municipal building societies, yet organised by charitable people, who recognised the problem of housing.

Frequently referred to as 'welfare intelligentsia',⁴² these philanthropists believed in a positive social change brought on the working class from above. On the one hand, eliminating dirt in form of bad housing could assist the more privileged to maintain their status quo. Planning, designing and financing a more comfortable life for the working class would in the long run reduce the possibility of an uprising similar to the Russian Revolution. On the other hand, eliminating bad housing in itself could become a profitable source for investment, similarly to the connection one might see between Franklin's philanthropic views on eliminating dirt, once aware of his family's soap making business.⁴³

To re-iterate, the lively political debate about the intrusion of People's Home into the citizens' lives presents two opinions. The first, heavily relying on the values of "Swedishness", asserts that Swedish welfare state was built on values of common ground and individual rights. The other argues that there is a "dark side" to the social engineering behind People's Home.⁴⁴

⁴² Denby, *Europe Re-housed*, 45

⁴³ Hoy, *Chasing Dirt*, 3

⁴⁴ Andersson, "Nordic nostalgia and Nordic light: The Swedish model as utopia 1930–2007," 230

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Interiör från Sönderås kasern.

Men om alla de andra, de som av en eller annan anledning dras sig för att anlita den offentliga hjälpen, nota bene om de kunna på något sätt inkvartera sig hos fattiga släktingar eller bekanta, på även hos vitt främlande människor, som själva redan leva i källar- eller trågbodder, om dessa vet den utomstående innet. Det blir ofta tre familjer i två rum och kök.

Var och en kan tänka sig vad detta innebär — nej, minsta en någon det kan, som icke varit i samma förtäring!

I tecknet från utlandet och i romaner äro de fattiga och de hemlösa alltid mycket intressanta typer. Även så när vi som turister i främmande land genomströva en överordad färdväg, se vi dess inredare genom ett skimmer av romantik. Och så slå vi oss för vårt bröst och säga: «Vil tacka dig Gud att vi icke ha någon nöd hemma hos oss. Hos oss finns överhuvudtaget icke någon nöd, och hemlös!» — tänker någon det? Vad Sverige i alla fall är för ett flott land!

Nå, det är icke slumkvarterns nöd vi syfta på, när vi här tåga till enda, det är icke heller vad vi mena med nöd, utan rätt och slätt de hyggliga familjer med sjukvård, som vid detta kvartalshug skulle stå på gatan, om staden icke kunnat ingripa. Dessa befundo sig icke utan tak över huvudet på grund av eldsvåda, sjukdom eller varusökost av ekonomen, utan på grund av att de av diverse anledningar sagts upp från sina lägenheter och icke själva kunnat skaffa sig annan bostad på grund av bostadsbristen.

Många av dessa hemlösa familjer ha blivit uppsagda från sina lägenheter som de behövt i ett tjugotal år. Det finns de som bebott den lägenhet, de nu måst lämna, i ett fjortio år. D. v. s. de äro födda i lägenheten, och de ha gift sig och övergått den efter sina föräldrar.

Anledningar till uppsägningen varierar i de olika fallen. En del ha sagts upp på grund av att huset

övertägit till ny ägare, andra ha måst flytta därför att huset stod inför ombyggnad, andra därför att lägenheten blivit i behov av genomgående reparation, som husvärdens föreställt att hyresgästerna skulle betala — eller flytta! I flera fall är anledningen till utflyttning den att det blivit så stark hyreshöjning, att den gamla hyresgästen icke sett sig i vård att be kvar. Vad säger i en om en årshyra på 600 à 1,000 kronor för en gammalmodig lägenhet om ett rum och kök?

Ja, enskilda till att det blivit en stor skara bostadslösa äro många. Bland de bostadslösa fanns även en fjortioårig nygift.

Ät de flesta av stadens inkvarteringsplatser för alla dessa bostadslösa, är det åtminstone avskalkning för respektive familj. Detta åter något avundsvärt för den som gjort en titt till Sveriska kasernen. Låt mig berätta vad jag såg när jag under ett besök där en söndagsförmiddag, den första söndagen i oktober förristen.

Mitt första intryck var det, att de flesta av dessa 125 bostadslösa äro personer med en viss pretension på levnadsvisdom. Barnen vore välvårdade och välklädda. Se bara på den där lilla parvellen i fin blå kavajkostym sitta upp ena foten på en låg utö i förestugan och medelt beströ och skocorer ge söndagskläderna en extra glansning! Hustrurna, som äro i fullt besitt med morgnens svårar, äro alla klädda som de som ha respekt för sig själva och sin omgivning. Männen i söndagskostym.

Är här har staden måst dela på familjerna, placera hustrur och barn i ena kasernen och männen i den andra. Ingen som sett denna syn — flera sader fullgrypade med kvinnor och barn, den ena sängen täckt, täckt intill den andra med liggläpplor, i två våningar — kan så gossens glömma den! Man fick det intrycket att det krä-



Interiör från Sönderås kasern.

lade av människor överallt. Här och där spårades en ansträngning att ge en allfär av propheeten och trenden som var rätt av hjärtfrändse. Här skulle det väl vara möjligt att i längden hålla det hyggligt omkring sig i denna till det yttersta trångboda inkvartering, där varje familj måste vara så gott som med armålgarna i beröring med grannfamiljen de hustrur och kvinnor. Här och där en bukett blommor i en vas som försök att lysa upp tristen.

Koop. Åkeri- och Renh.-fören.

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Figure12-15: In 1930s, housing investigations were discussed by sociologists ('Kris i befolkningsfrågan'), housing associations (Stockholmshem), in propaganda of housing associations' magazines (HSB)

20

REAL DIRT: HOUSING INVESTIGATIONS

In 1933, the Social Minister Gustaf Möller initiated a housing investigation. As described by the Swedish Association of Architects in the post-war period, the research and reforms that followed were to create a new image of the family, which favoured marriage and children, rather than portraying them as a burden.⁴⁵ As a part of the reforms, family-adapted homes (*barnrikehus*), such as the development on Stickelbärsvägen, and subsidies for larger families were introduced, to provide the right conditions for children.⁴⁶ In 1934, Gunnar and Alva Myrdal published *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*. The book concerned itself with a new idea of a healthy home in which to bring up healthy children, with the intention of fighting an ageing population, emigration and the increasing childless demographic.⁴⁷

For families with many children, who were most likely to suffer from the overcrowding, the situation was brightened by the state grant for construction, specifically for large families.⁴⁸ Children from families, who moved into the Körsbärshagen development, built in 1937, as a response to the Government's call and funding for larger families in need, confirm Erik Norman's memories from early years at Stockholmskem.. The development by Stockholmskem, which qualified as suitable for larger families (*barnrikehus*),⁴⁹ consisted of three blocks, with 72 flats in total, inhabited by a homogeneous group of worker parents in their late thirties-early forties and their children, usually three or more per family. One of the first inhabitants, Bengt Jonasson, remembers that, prior to moving into a flat on Stickelbärsvägen, their family would hang a bag outside the window, and use it as a fridge.⁵⁰ Britt-Marie Velin, who moved in in 1937, too, recollects that her family received a new flat after a doctor who saw her realised that the conditions she lived in as a child were making her unwell:

The ear was running ... each morning. Then we went to Sabbatsberg, to the ear clinic there. They asked how we had it at home, then mum told them that the apartment was not so good. That it had not been repaired, and it was humid, and we lived on the bottom floor, on Tomtegatan. And then he [the doctor] suggested to put in an application [for one of the flats] that Stockholmskem would build. In this way, we got an allotment for an apartment on Stickelbärsvägen.⁵¹

Although the need for an improvement in sanitary standards was rather urgent, instructions for the inspectors showed an empathetic understanding. This suggests that the directive for improving should be given in a way that did not create any hard feelings from the tenants' perspective:

...the primary focus lies on creating a solid practice, and on being absolutely fair... All, property owners and tenants alike, must be treated equally, with kindness and persistence - this way one will get quite far.⁵²

⁴⁵ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 3

⁴⁶ Sax and Dederling, *Stockholmskem under sju decennier*, 18

⁴⁷ Refer to Appendix 4

⁴⁸ Bladini, 82

⁴⁹ Barnrikehus are meant for families with three or more children, and depending on the number of children in the family, the rent goes down by 30-70 percent. The queues are enormous, even though the building tempo is incredible, in Sax and Dederling, *Stockholmskem under sju decennier*, 22

⁵⁰ *Barnrikebarn på Stickelbärsvägen*

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 11



Figure 15-17: A typical kitchen in Stockholm in 1910 and a kitchen in HSB in 1930s

Housing investigations, to an extent, became a study of people's living habits, initiated from above. It allowed the state, with the help of inspectors, to gather and map information, which could later be processed and used to design new, better spaces and consequently improve living habits. The "dining corner", rather than the rather formally furnished parlour, would become the hearth of the house. It would be simply furnished, to accommodate the housewife's sewing and the children's play, as well as the dining itself.⁵³

This behavioural study is perhaps most interesting, because it confirms that the parlour was not the hearth of the Swedish family home either, similarly to what Hilary Pepler described in his poem *Parlers*.⁵⁴ The voice in *Parlers* becomes frustrated by the forceful removal of the parlour by the English health authorities. In Pepler's poem, the authorities' representative cannot see the value of the activities carried out in the parlour, nor its symbolic role as part of being house-proud and maintaining a distinction between the semi-public and private parts of even a small home. By contrast, the changes brought to Swedish working class families, in this essay exemplified by Britt-Marie Velin and Bengt Jonasson, are undoubtedly positive. Their memories are supported by the Housing Inspection Journal (*Figure 10*), which illustrates numerous complaints by the tenants about other tenants, noises, necessary repairs – but not the inspection itself.

The key to a good relationship with the tenants was treating them well and listening to their needs and wants. Despite the fact that they were dealing with people with "slum mentality", the *Guide for Housing Inspectors* insists that any misunderstanding should be resolved and any argument needs to reach a consensus:

"During housing inspection, a great deal of time and patience should be devoted to attempts to reach a consensus on how a nuisance is to be removed. The attempt is almost always crowned with success, provided the issue is well understood, and [the tenant] realizes that the proposal has support of both of common sense that National Health Board, and that no ulterior motives of the proposition lie hidden."⁵⁵

One might conclude, that it is the success of social welfare policies, that made the changes in Swedish society more successful: conscious effort was made to bring the best out of practice.

⁵³ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 91

⁵⁴ Hilary Pepler, *Parlers*. Refer to the Appendix 4

⁵⁵ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 88

REAL DIRT: THE ROLE OF EXPERTS

In *Seeing Like a State*, James C. Scott developed an observation that, particularly since the industrial revolution, expert knowledge became increasingly important in governing society. One of the state's tasks is to ensure the citizen is predictable and readable by the state.⁵⁶ This theory is recognisable in the Swedish family politics of the first half of the 20th century. Traditionally, family was considered an issue the Conservatives represent. However, when the Liberals came to power in 1932, they took a pragmatic approach to the research of the population crisis, which in the spirit of the modern time, turned family and home into a Socialist issue. This change also brought a desired transformation, and transparency into domesticity, which was previously unattained.

People's Home had input from a wide range of experts – sociologists, economists, medics, etc.⁵⁷ All candidates required a certain level of expertise in what they did: "Upon employment of potential inspectors, it should be ensured that, apart from the necessary knowledge of domestic hygiene, they should have such an understanding of the technical construction knowledge, to be able to advise (inhabitants) on simpler repairs and changes to existing housing."⁵⁸ The inspectors' role had a dual character: firstly, to assess the living conditions and condemn those homes that are not suitable for inhabitation.⁵⁹ Secondly, where dwellings were of good standard, but bad habits could not be eliminated by design, housing inspectors had to teach people how to live:

A vast field for the housing inspectorate intervention is property management, or rather mismanagement, and many gaps in knowledge about this must be stated. A common sight is lack of beauty, dirty and smelly bedding, garbage lying around, the floors not scoured, dirty wash water remaining in sinks, cabinets and closets filled with waste etc. At the same time, personal hygiene is often grossly neglected. In such families you can also see how taking care of the apartment affects its facilities.⁶⁰

Sociologist Thomas Brante suggests that one of the unspoken roles experts had was to make interference in private life more acceptable.⁶¹ Home experts, or housing inspectors, became a link between law, science and home, making people's lives easier, more comprehensive, and taking some of the responsibility off the tenants' shoulders.

However, whether or not target of the research is to prove the necessity of the point it was looking to find evidence for, it inevitably becomes the end result. This theory is well illustrated in Malcolm Gladwell's podcast *Saigon, 65*, which discusses a piece of state-funded research with an agenda behind it.⁶² Intelligence of this sort is flawed, because the conclusions drawn from the outcome of such research would be obvious, regardless of the possible evidence to the contrary. 1

⁵⁶ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*

⁵⁷ Björkman, "The Right to a Nice Home," 462

⁵⁸ *Betänkande med Förslag Rörande Ändringar i Vissa Delar av Hälsovårdsstadgan samt Anordnande av Förbättrad Bostadsinspektion i Städer och Stadsläkande Samhällen M.M.*, 1935, p. 31, own translation

⁵⁹ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 34

⁶⁰ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 76-7

⁶¹ Thomas Brante, *The Nature of Science-based Controversies*, Conference proceeding, (Unpublished, 2007), <http://lup.lub.lu.se/refmole/detail/934188?style=harvard1> (accessed February 2017)

⁶² Malcolm Gladwell, *Saigon, 1965* (2016) Revisionist History Online. Available at: <http://revisionisthistory.com/episodes/02-saigon-1965> (Accessed: April 2017)

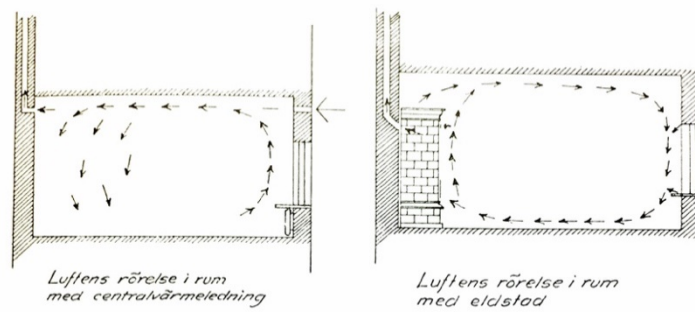


Fig. 3 och 4 visa luftens cirkulation i rum med olika uppvärmningsanordning.

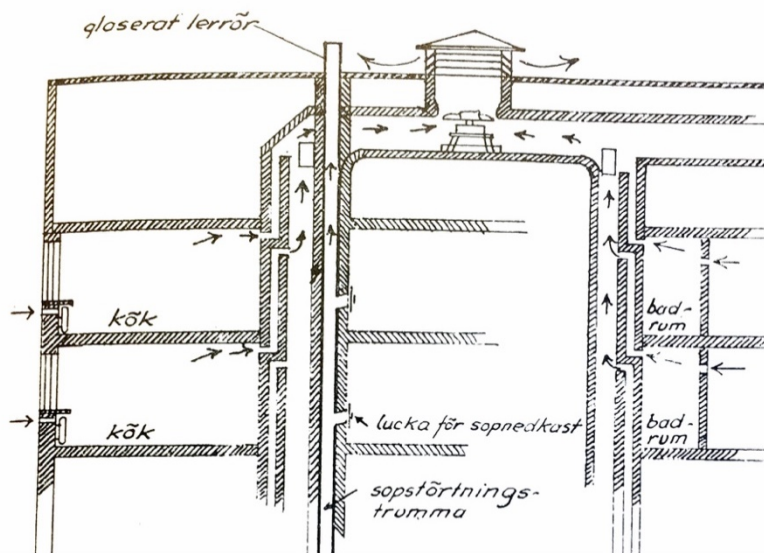


Figure 21-5: Air circulation in rooms with central heating and a stove. Section through a block of flats, illustrating air circulation

REAL DIRT: THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

The scientific nature of housing inspection was positively received by the tenants. As an example, the levels of noise, from the neighbours' radio and barking dogs, to nearby factories and noisy businesses, were measured, as were other housing ills.⁶³ The significance of these methods lay in the fact that they were as much a novelty as the subjects of their investigation – the factories themselves, for example, started being built in Sweden only at the turn of the 20th century. Perhaps the image of housing inspectors as pilgrims of technology, knowledge and science helped the tenants to not see the inspection as a breach of privacy, but instead perceive it as a helping hand.

In his lecture to an international audience, Ahbrom stated that for architects to design the kinds of spaces that are desirable and suitable for living, they need “an idea how to live, not merely how to build”.⁶⁴ One might interpret this by saying that habits, good and bad, have to be studied so that the bad could be made impossible to maintain by design, and the good to be developed, to become a basis for and encouraged by good design. For example, a study of people's personal belongings led to the standardisation of wardrobes and cupboards, and the fact that workers' clothes and shoes were dirty after a shift, led to a development of a hygienic habit of taking them off at home.⁶⁵ Similarly, a study of the needs of an average family has allowed optimisation of spaces and areas, including multiple furniture layouts for a single bedroom, or an improved kitchen design, based on motion studies on productivity and efficiency, similar to those in Frank Gilbreth's films.⁶⁶

Since the new type of housing became a result of objective, rational studies, the very method became presented as the optimum result and was unable to be challenged. By mapping reality and facilitating a controlling, but trusting relationship with the people, the housing inspectors were giving the population knowledge about their homes, which made living in them a lot easier and more manageable. The Guide for Housing Inspectors states that “even where ‘slum mentality’ by no means exists, one often finds a lack of ventilation with bad smells in the apartment, as a result. The nose is a simple but reliable indicator of home care.”⁶⁷ Subsequently, unacceptable smells and fumes became categorised, and the Guide for Housing Inspectors even provided the housing inspectors with a recipe for making palladium chloride solution, used for testing carbon monoxide levels.⁶⁸

Attention to good ventilation and purifying foul air historically goes back to the 19th century, when most diseases were believed to be air-borne. “All smell is, if it be intense, immediate acute disease,”⁶⁹ states Chadwick in the Sewage Committee proceedings, in defence of ‘miasmatist’ theory of air-borne disease, which explained the cholera epidemic

⁶³ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 53

⁶⁴ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 3

⁶⁵ Jacobson et al., 87

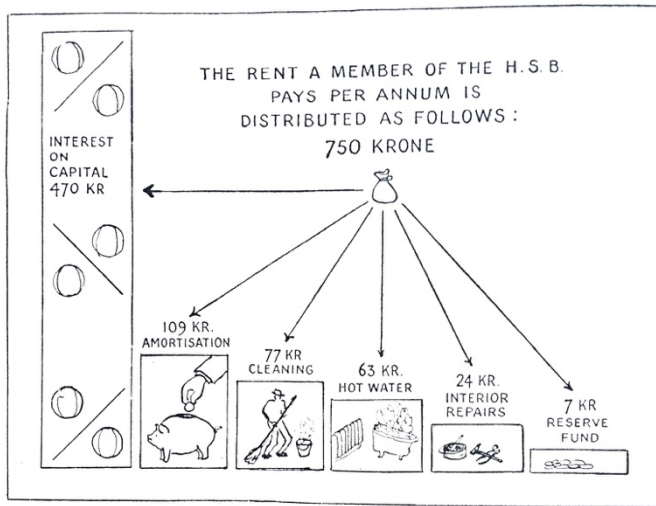
⁶⁶ Frank B. Gilbreth, *The Original Films of Frank B. Gilbreth*. Video (Chicago Chapter of the Society for the Advancement of Management, 1945)

⁶⁷ Bladini, 76-7

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 64

⁶⁹ Metropolitan Sewage Committee proceedings, *Parliamentary Papers* (London, 1846, 10), 651

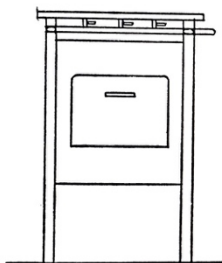
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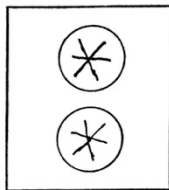
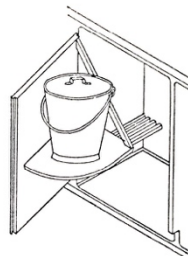
Typical educational propaganda among the tenants of H.S.B.

SWEDEN

it direct from the pail; it has to be wrapped in paper and special container bags are provided for the purpose; the rubbish is burnt in an incinerator and helps to provide the central heating for the building.

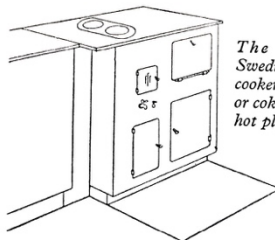


The refuse pail is generally kept on a special ledge on the cupboard door next to



the sink. Ventilation is ensured by simply making the cupboard door too short by an inch at the top and bottom

A drop-door to the stove is usual abroad; it is easier to look into the oven, and the door acts as a shelf on to which food can be drawn



The traditional Swedish enamelled cooker. Burns wood or coke. Ample ovens, hot plate surface and boiler

Figure 26-7: Educational propaganda for social housing tenants in Sweden during 1930s

as a result of dirt in the atmosphere.⁷⁰ The above makes ventilation perhaps the most fascinating aspect of inspection, since it underwent a transformation with the introduction of the scientific method. In order to help housing inspectors rationalise their recommendations and instructions to tenants, the Guide for Housing Inspectors recommends a parable about diffusion happening in a pool of water:

Fresh air shall have permanent access to the apartment and the existing rather slowly disappear. This could be compared to the relationship [between water] in a swimming pool, where the inflow and drainage must constantly be [taking place], for the water to maintain their healthy character.⁷¹

However, it is only logical that in the modern Swedish housing from the 1930s, ventilation and rubbish chutes have to be entirely separated (*Figure 23*).⁷² The in-valve (*imventilen*), which first appears in modernist housing to eliminate any odours and moisture, generated by cooking, is still present in most social housing (*Figure 25*), and new tenants receive instructions on how to efficiently ventilate their flats to present day.⁷³

⁷⁰ Anthony S. Wohl, *Endangered Lives – Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London, 1983), 121

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 24

⁷² *ibid.*, 31

⁷³ Aleksandra Kravchenko, *Interview with Miriam Axelsson* (Stockholm, December 29, 2016). See Appendix 3

THE SCIENCE OF A WELCOME INTERVENTION

An observation that can be made from studying the Housing Inspection Guide and other primary source documents, is that the Swedish population saw housing inspection as a part of their right to a nice home. Tenants soon became co-operative and began filing complaints to maintain the quality of life they were entitled to. The landlords also realised the benefits of housing inspection involvement – for example, to persuade an overcrowded family to vacate their property.⁷⁴ The *Guide to Housing Inspection* states that, when assessing levels of inconvenience presented in properties, inspectors were strongly advised to take into account their own experience and common sense.⁷⁵ In other words, when dealing with poor sanitary habits of the working class, the inspectors had to compensate for the knowledge – and a level of education – that the tenants did not have.

When interviewed for this article, Hjördis Kristenson, the daughter of a businessman and a housewife, from a middle class family, found out that housing inspection was a lot more common than she had realised, from Björkman's article in *Forskning och Framsteg*:

It talks a lot about the Home Inspection, which was far more widespread than I had realized, I must admit. I do not, however, know anyone, be it a relative or a friend, who would have been exposed to Home Inspection. This intrusion into the private must have touched certain social groups... I have no personal experience of the topic that you are investigating. I grew up in an apartment with four rooms and a kitchen, in addition to two balconies, one east, one west. We belonged to lower middle class, and I was the only child. No one ever came to us to teach us how a home should be handled; or decided on the way in which my parents would decorate it: furniture, art, colors.⁷⁶

In contrast, for many in the working class, "the home often only consisted of a bed or a sleeping place,"⁷⁷ and public places, such as pubs and taverns, would be where workers' leisure was likely to be spent. The existence of the above was put in jeopardy by the Referendum on alcohol prohibition.⁷⁸ The country voted against it, which were frequented by many without a kitchen or a kitchenette at their own home, remained open. Undeniably, it was due to the conditions such as these, introduced by the welfare intelligentsia. Perhaps the above could also help explain the high rates of satisfaction with the inspection, and lack of complaints. However, one cannot be absolutely positive that, if existing, these would have been recorded. And finally, when making a choice between a bed in an overcrowded flat and a new small flat of one's own, one is hardly in the position to complain.

⁷⁴ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 81

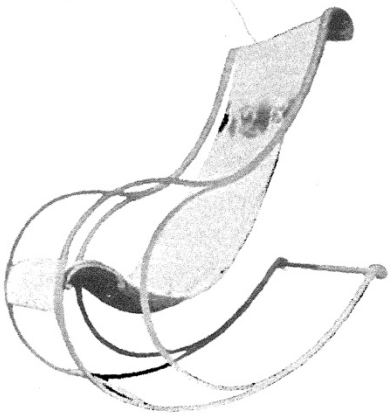

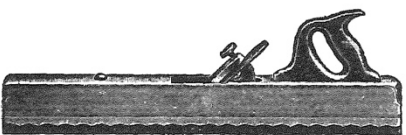
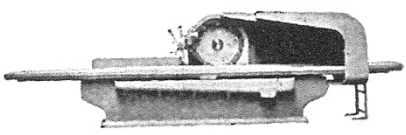
⁷⁵ Bladini, 57-8

⁷⁶ Kristenson, *Frågor om Heminspektion*, e-mail. Refer to Appendix 2 for full text

⁷⁷ Björkman, "The Right to a Nice Home," 467

⁷⁸ 'Sveriges första folkomröstning,' *Folk i Rörelse*. Available at: <http://www.folkirorelse.se/Sveriges-forsta-folkomrostning> (Accessed: April 2017)

Many of the special guardians of culture consider

that this is good culture: "architecture," "art"	and this is un-culture: "machine culture," "soulless technology"
	
old wrought-iron Swedish chair	modern German tubular steel chair
Cloaca Maxima in Rome	modern sewage systems
Roman concrete (opus incertum, opus reticulatum)	modern concrete
sawn timber	rolled-iron girders
painted commercial signs, shopping streets, Pompeii	modern advertising
old-fashioned waltzes, the Boston	jazz
scent of manure from a meadow	smell of petrol
old flat roofs	new flat roofs
	
old tools	new tools, etc.

Why?

Our sense of history and our experience tell us, however, that all these new objects will, in fifty or one hundred years, be included in "good old-fashioned culture."

Figure 28: An illustration from "Acceptera," showing the contrast between the traditional (tradis) and the functional (funkis)

METAPHORICAL DIRT: VACKRARE VARDAGSVARA

Among the rules of inspection, as described by Bladini, the most ambiguous were perhaps those that described the psychology behind it. The *Guide for Housing Inspectors* stresses that “the inspection is an operation in the name of hygiene. Hence, instructions that lack a practical background and are a result of an aesthetic have no place.”⁷⁹ Instead, as confirmed by one of the first employees of Stockholmshem Erik Norman, “it was important that it looked integral, clean and tidy, both on the outside and on the inside... It promoted well-being and paid off at once.”⁸⁰ These ideas suggest that the general look of the home was central to the process of transformation. By encouraging the conditions for orderliness and cleanliness, with the visual and hygienic purity being interconnected, the inspection created a predisposition for a radical change.⁸¹

The notion of a “sensible décor” is present, but not central to the *Guide for Housing Inspectors*. One might argue that, it was intentionally not prioritised in the inspection’s procedures, as the right kind of aesthetic would become the natural choice for the kind of hygienic spaces the inspection was promoting. In contrast to this belief, Björkman suggests the authorities’ instructions were in fact a lot more stringent. The sociologist implies that people were only allowed to paint their walls light colours, have desks by the window, as well as told to only have the necessary furniture, and avoid clutter.⁸² Direct references to first-hand sources are missing in the article, which makes it hard to validate the statements. It could therefore be speculated that these recommendations on the aesthetics of home are more connected to functionalism (*funkis*) and the campaign for “more beautiful everyday things” (*vackrare vardagsvara*), than the inspection itself. While the housing inspection was more concerned with cleanliness, functionalism was taking over Sweden, and it was vocal about promoting a taste for everything with a clean look.

During a post-war lecture series on Swedish architecture given in London, Ahbrom described *funkis* as a reaction against European eclecticism in the art of building. He suggested that Swedish functionalism questions the relationship between the exterior, the interior and the construction methods used; that it reassesses the socio-economic aspect of building; finally, it redefines what is classified as “architecture”:

...only a decade earlier, the word “architecture” had been used exclusively in connection with monumental buildings, now all kinds of everyday, utilitarian buildings were reckoned as important architectural subjects. The whole period is distinguished by a demand for beauty in the everyday milieu - the original slogan being “*vackrare vardagsvara*” (“more beautiful everyday things”).⁸³

Functionalism made a call on rational standardisation to produce new individual combinations; it would no longer be the excess of furniture, but its character, or combination of items.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Bladini, *Praktisk Handledning i Bostadsinspektion*, 11

⁸⁰ Sax and Dederling, *Stockholmshem under sju decennier*, 33

⁸¹ Åhren and Myrdal, 62

⁸² Jenny Björkman, “När vi fick lära oss ta av oss skorna”, *Forskning & Framsteg*, no.6 (2007), 18–23

⁸³ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 5

⁸⁴ Jacobson et al., 80

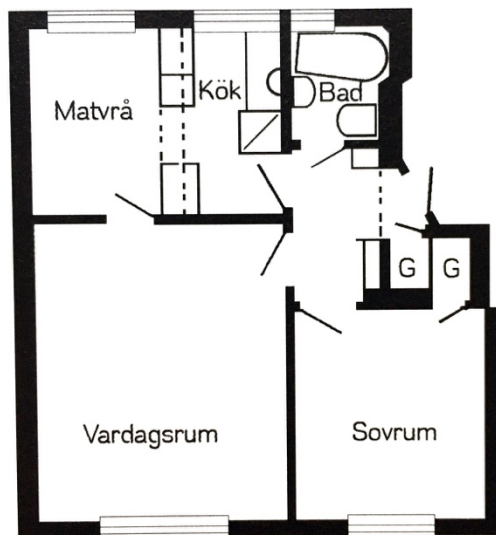
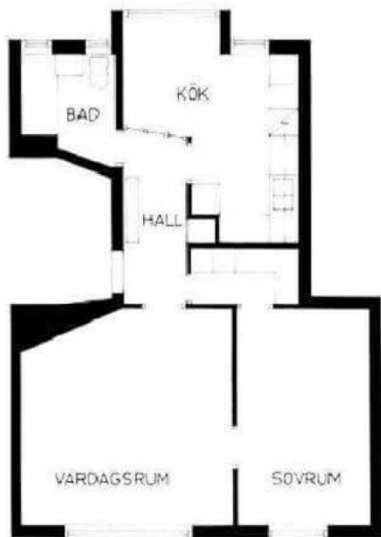
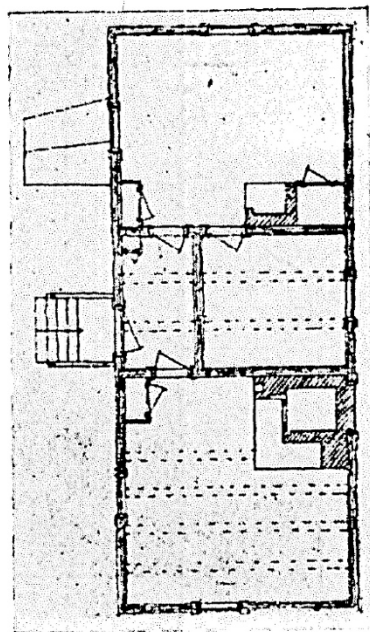
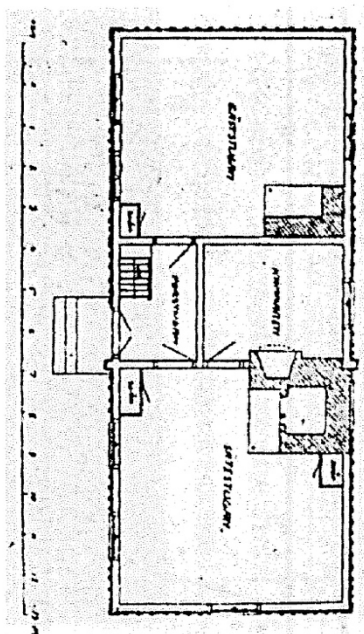


Figure 29-32: Modern architecture looked to learn from the simplicity and the relationship between the use and the user, typical for the vernacular. Top: two typical Swedish stuga (vernacular) plans. Bottom: Plans of Miriam's and Bengt Jonasson's flats

The propaganda of the time would preach that personalisation, or making the home “homely” should be derived differently from the past. Ellen Key, an internationally renowned Swedish sociologist published “Beauty for All” (*Skönhet för alla*) in 1899. The publication encouraged looking into “true” beauty in everyday objects – those that have no vanity in them.⁸⁵ Similarly, the Stockholm Exhibition (1930), in collaboration with leading Swedish Handicraft Association (*Svenska slöjdföreningen*), together with some of the leading Swedish architects of the time, promoted not only the idea of modern design, but also a particular lifestyle, associated with it. Full-scale exhibits of furnished rooms in the Housing Department of the Exhibition served as a form of propaganda for the new way of living.

Consequently, they opened a public debate about domesticity, which was previously unheard of. Advertisement of personalisation and publication of home at the Exhibition meant that the home was becoming a part of a lively public debate: "discussions about *funkis* (functional) and *tradis* (traditional) were no longer confined to professional circles. Everybody took part in ardent discussions, and in fact, one may say that not only during the Exhibition summer but for years afterwards, a free-for-all debate went on - sometimes with great bitterness."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ "Ellen Key Som Funktionalistisk Pionjär – Rävjägarn" 2017

⁸⁶ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 10



Figure 33: "Stylistic trappings no longer suit us"

REFERENCES TO THE FAMILIAR

Decoration and culture, be careful not to equate them,⁸⁷

stated the authors of the architectural manifesto *Acceptera*, in response to hypothetical opponents in the debate of 'traditional' versus 'modern.' In a sharp-witted manner, *Acceptera* provided the reader with a significant number of anti-modernist claims and disputed them. This was reflected in the intentions of the Housing Department of the Exhibition – using the publicity as an opportunity

to teach people to form and organise the home after the life that is lived there, and not with a reference to opinions on representation or old routines from the time, when home's tasks were to an extent different from those today.⁸⁸

The main theme in *Acceptera* was personalisation of mass-produced items, to satisfy the individual needs of the population. The aim was to educate and nurture a new type of consumer, as well as a new programme of design to be consumed. However, since the approach from above was applied, the drawback meant that the needs of an individual were overlysimplified and underestimated.⁸⁹ The authors call upon endless repetition, simplicity of the materials, as well as the anonymity of the vernacular, as a precedent for the standardised. Since Sweden was only industrialised – and urbanised – at the turn of the 20th century, the vernacular became a role model for modern life. The open-air museum, *Skansen*, celebrating the rural living forms from all corners of Sweden, opened in 1891. By the 1930s, the interest in the museum increased dramatically, with visitors forming a reference to the past, in the same way as the link to the future was provoked by the Stockholm Exhibition.⁹⁰

Drawing on the familiar simplicity and reasoning of the vernacular of the recent past, one could refer to and better associate with the radical modern. Social engineering, in this case, used the traditional (old) to appropriate the modern (new), as well as erase everything in-between. Not only did 'soft' governing use housing inspection to illustrate that architectural and interior decoration and ornamentation provided room for dirt to accumulate. What is more, arguments in favour of *funkis* preached that the decorations could therefore be equated with dirt, in a metaphorical, spiritual and literal senses.

⁸⁷ Gunnar Asplund, Gregor Paulsson, and Uno Åhren, *Modern Swedish design theory: Three founding texts*, ed. by Lucy Creagh and Helena Kåberg (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 304

⁸⁸ Wolter Gahn, "Bostadsavdelningen på Stockholmsutställningen" in *Byggmästare*, Utställningsnummer, Upplaga A (1930): 8

⁸⁹ Jacobson et al., *Ten Lectures on Swedish Architecture*, 13

⁹⁰ Skansen (2017). *About Skansen*. [online] Skansen.se. Available at: <http://www.skansen.se/en/artikel/about-skansen-0> [Accessed 3 Apr. 2017].

CONCLUSION

In Sweden, at the turn of the 20th century, dirt took two forms – physical and metaphorical. This article concludes that metaphorical dirt appeared as a result of modernism's appeal for spaces and items that had a clean look. Therefore, the removal of the physical dirt, which took shape of decoration, meaningless objects, and finally grit and filth, became a positive side effect of the de-cluttering of daily life that modernism advocated.

Housing Inspection held nationwide implied that the lack of knowledge and education of the less privileged working class in personal and domestic hygiene, could be compensated by an intervention of domestic experts. Since historically, clean houses were the privilege of the upper class, this article suggests that a higher level of education and welfare would have been necessary to eliminate the need for a domestic intervention. As well as educating the masses about a healthier, better domesticity, this intervention ensured that the perception of dirt was levelled in the society, regardless of social class and occupation.

The research of dirt as a matter related to time and place, shows that 'soft' governing brought an aesthetic change into the Swedish domesticity under the perception of purifying dirt. However, it must be acknowledged that the housing inspection, which advocated cleanliness, also helped ordinary people gain new accommodation with contemporary conveniences, such as hot and cold running water, sufficient daylighting and good ventilation. In return for a lack of privacy, one might argue, the citizens received knowledge, and hence, better control of their own life and health. The new improved homes which, together with instructions for their best use, were carefully constructed by *Folkhemmet's* experts, who had been yearning to make a positive change in a society, suffering from the consequences of industrialisation.

The popularisation of modernism among the working class could only come from above, through social reforms, state finance and philanthropy. The families received new accommodation with modern conveniences, and hence a more comfortable lifestyle. The Swedish state wielded a remarkable level of control over domesticity. For the philanthropists, involvement in the movement could imply social respect – similarly to that for being tidy in the past, or even financial benefit, such as Franklin's campaign for personal hygiene, ambiguous due of his family's ownership of a large soap production company.

However, evidence exists for the good nature of *Folkhemmet* – highlighted in the chapter on Swedishness. A strong belief in community is rooted in Swedish tradition, going back centuries. Although designed from above, the Swedish welfare state focussed on unification instead of segregation. Arguably, the key factor was the availability of finance for house building in the 1930s, and the level of consensus about how it should be done.

Nonetheless, even if the intentions were good, they were not necessarily as successful as first-hand sources suggest. Though the scientific research into domesticity held by numerous experts of *Folkhemmet*, in a modernist fashion typical for the early 20th century, as well as the unprecedented sophisticated methods of measuring the domestic ills that they introduced consequently, undeniably made an impression on the tenants.

Although the modernist movement evidently simplified the needs of the individual, its role in creating and regulating minimal acceptable living conditions for all cannot be denied. By illustrating how traces of methods, used by housing inspectors are still recognisable in certain aspects of everyday life in Sweden, this thesis suggests a large degree of the efficiency of 'soft' governing, when applied with conscious respect to its subjects.

Although the modernist movement evidently simplified the needs of the individual, its role in creating and regulating minimal acceptable living conditions for all cannot be denied. By illustrating how traces of methods, used by housing inspectors are still recognisable in certain aspects of everyday life in Sweden, this thesis suggests a large degree of the efficiency of "soft" governing. Fifty years after housing inspection was abolished in 1966, Swedish people have become home inspectors of their own homes, although perhaps not in an alarming sense of the word. This article therefore attempts to reflect on the efficiency of the "soft" governing method and suggests its usability in the light of recent socio-political events in Sweden. Referring to the notion of dirt as a concept related to time and place, it is suggested that a similar method that successful in the first half of the twentieth century in Sweden, could used to tackle a different kind of dirt today – that of the digital revolution.

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Figure 26. Elizabeth Denby, *Europe Re-housed*. 1938. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd,80

Figure 27. Elizabeth Denby, *Europe Re-housed*. 1938. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd,85

Figure 28. Gunnar Asplund, Gregor Paulsson, and Uno Åhren, *Modern Swedish design theory: Three founding texts*. 2008. Edited by Lucy Creagh and Helena Kåberg. New York: Thames & Hudson, 299

Figure 29,30. Gunnar Asplund, Gregor Paulsson, and Uno Åhren, *Modern Swedish design theory: Three founding texts*. 2008. Edited by Lucy Creagh and Helena Kåberg. New York: Thames & Hudson, 239

Figure 31. Stockholmskem. *Plan of Miriam's flat*. 2015. Stockholm

Figure 32. Ulrika Sax and Stig Dederig. *Stockholmskem under sju decennier*. 2007. Värnamo: Fälth & Hässler, 27

Figure 33. Gunar Asplund, Gregor Paulsson, and Uno Åhren, *Modern Swedish design theory: Three founding texts*. 2008. Edited by Lucy Creagh and Helena Kåberg. New York: Thames & Hudson, 304

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Kravchenko, Aleksandra. Frågor Om Heminspektion. 2017. E-mail.

FRÅGOR OM HEMINSPEKTION

Friday, 20/01/2017
17:49

Dear Hjärdis,

Thank you in advance for your help.

I went to an English school since I moved to Sweden from Ukraine, so I can write and speak with mistakes at times. Apologies if there are any errors!

Over Christmas, I have interviewed with a single mother, who lives in a house built in 1950s by the Svenska Bostäder in Stockholm; and an architect who is retiring this year, who has never lived in one the modernist flats. I did not plan to go to Sweden until the summer, but can arrange to go, if you believe it would help my research.

Could I please ask you to tell a little bit about where you live and what you do for a living, or worked with in the past?

I will write a few numbered paragraphs, so that You could comment from personal experience, where possible:

1. To begin with, I was interested in why I take the shoes off in Sweden (whereas this is not something you do in England, and it's a shame, I think!) Then I read an article from Tema called "When we got to learn to take our shoes off", which shows the changes in the way Swedish homes looked before and after the apartment blocks were built in the 1930s. I enclose the article for your attention, to view the images only, You certainly do not need read it!

The article says that the new way of living, with a fireplace, a shower, or perhaps a bathtub, demanded that the new inhabitants were trained in how to live – in an apartment. That is how Home Inspection was introduced. First voluntary, then –compulsory. I wonder if you remember, or perhaps have heard about the Home Inspection? Did someone come and check out how people live? Did it feel necessary?

2. Public bodies, like poor relief board, child welfare board and temperance board for alcohol abuse, all trained members of staff to make home visits. The roots of it was in the 1800's of health officers, who had been introduced to monitor communicable disease control at the looming cholera epidemics. That's when you had to, inter alia, remove dirty uteskorna indoors. Today it feels like you are jättevan with it and none of my friends can how and when it came to. Did you know?

3. There are some housekeeping rules I have found from the 1930s, they state the following things:

- a. Walls painted white (or another light colour)
- b. No or little pictures on the walls
- c. No furniture next the walls
- d. New storage belonging to the apartment – for the dirty outside clothes
- e. Desks should be by windows
- f. As little furniture as possible
- g. The flat is to be kept clean and tidy

4. Did you live in a villa or an apartment as a child? How has it changed since you became independent? Do you remember if you wanted to stay in an apartment, or was it more like a temporary solution for young people and the poor, who could not afford to own property?

5. Home Inspection became mandatory in 1936, three years after the Social Democrats came to power. Do you think there is a strong social connection there, meaning that modernism (funkis) in Sweden was somewhat a social project?

6. Myrdals played a major role in changing how family and the household were seen - they helped with making family what was in political terms called a "social issue". In the 1960s, Jan Myrdal, son to Alva and Gunnar, wrote an autobiography that describes his upbringing. Was it big in Sweden? Have you read or heard about it?

I would be very grateful for any potentially helpful resources, anything that you can think of on the topic – newspapers, archives, books, etc..

It was a very long email, I hope it is ok. Please take your time to answer, I understand that it may take a while!

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,
Aleksandra

APPENDIX 2

Kristenson, Hjärdís. Re: Frågor Om Heminspektion. 2017. E-mail.

FRÅGOR OM HEMINSPEKTION

Tuesday, 01/31/2017

19:53

Dear Aleksandra,

Sorry you have had to wait too long for me to respond, but I have, as I think I said, been busy with a few other tasks. Hope all is well with you and that your investigation of Swedish Modernism as a Social Project is going well.

I will answer your questions in the order that you set them.

1. Taking your shoes off. Do you know of an article in the journal Research & Progress, 2007/6? The text begins with reference to an article titled "When we got to learn to take off our shoes," just what you mentioned. I heartily recommend this edition of Research & Progress, which gives you answers to many of your questions, not just on the shoe question.

Concerning the shoes - and when I speak of the circles in which my parents moved in - as a guest, you took outdoor shoes off, especially in bad weather, and put fancy slippers on instead. One did not go around in stockings/ barefoot at a party. And so it remains. As for your own home, I believe you choose comfortable shoes or slippers to wear. It is more comfortable that way.

As a curiosity, I can mention that I spent a few weeks in Hawaii, specifically Honolulu, a few years ago. There, I learned that you should never have shoes on indoors; I'm talking about private environment, not public. This is a customary practice that came from Japan. To reiterate, this custom is likely to have originated sometime in the in the 60's.

Could the shoe matter in Sweden have initiated alongside the new apartments? Possibly. I have no personal experience of the matter, however.

2. I will once again refer to the Research & Progress. It talks a lot about the Home Inspection, which was far more widespread than I had realized, I must admit. I do not, however, know anyone, be it a relative or a friend, who would have been exposed to Home Inspection. This intrusion into the private must have touched certain social groups. I do not think Home Inspection exists anymore, other than in connection with a newborn baby. In contrast, the domestic ills haven't ceased to exist; I am mainly talking domestic violence and child abuse. There are so-called "safe houses" for women who are abused by their husbands or partners. But this is another thing that does not concern your research.

3. I am afraid that I may not be of much assistance, since I have no personal experience of the topic that you are investigating. I grew up in an apartment with four rooms and a kitchen, in addition to two balconies, one east, one west. We belonged to lower middle class, and I was the only child. No one ever came to us to teach us how a home should be handled; or decided on the way in which my parents would decorate it: furniture, art, colors. This wasn't the case for my friends either – they were children of doctors, lawyers or workers. My father was a businessman and my mother was, typically for the middle of

the last century, a housewife.

4. I lived in an apartment. Villa or apartment was a choice to be made, which is important to emphasize. My parents had plans to build a villa, they had even acquired a plot of land. My mother, however, was not entirely happy with the blueprints for the house. Instead, they chose an apartment in a newly built house, which was in the same neighborhood, a residential area. This house was not large, consisting of my parents' apartment and another four. The house also had a very beautiful garden. Living in the apartment or villa was not, or has not been, a class issue. However, the design of the apartment and the location in the city were a class issue indeed, or rather, an indicator of financial prosperity. Thus, there were very exclusive and coveted apartments in the "finer" neighborhoods. At the same time, there are areas with apartment buildings that are plainer, the so-called "public housing", that is, the houses owned by the municipality. More now than before is the "condominium" normal. This form of housing feels like a safe bet: one owns their own apartment.

When I left home, I came to Lund to study at university, and lived in various places: in a student house, in different apartments, usually with only one room, maximum two. Now I own a condominium of three rooms plus large furnished hall and kitchen, just over 90 square meters. The house is located in the city center.

Unfortunately, we are now facing an extensive segregation, especially in our three biggest cities: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. This segregation has largely developed with immigration. People from other countries often live in the suburbs, where very few Swedes live. A positive integration is lacking. But this is not what your research is about.

5. Was Modernism in Sweden a social project? The question has two answers. 1) Yes, a social project. 2) But modernism is also the expression of the new architecture, in Sweden called "functionalism." Stockholm Exhibition of 1930 was the start. Many who worked with the Stockholm exhibition were highly socially aware.

You may be familiar with these writings, to only name a few of the time: *Acceptera* (1931), *Architecture and Society*. *Spectrum* (1932), Cooperative Association's architectural office 1925-1935 (1935), Alva and Gunnar Myrdal, *Crisis in the Population Question* (1934).

I've read [Myrdals'] son' Jan's books about his childhood. But can't say more.

Important people to check: Carin Boalt, National Institute for Consumer Affairs. Brita Akerman (sister Carin Boalt), researchers war housing and accommodation. Alf Johansson (married to Brita Akerman), the initiator of the introduction of a social housing policy in the 1930s. Lennart Holm Lisbeth Söderqvist *Turns welfare. From the idea to the built environment* (2008). In this book, I think you will find much of value, and in her bibliography of important titles.

Finally - what is my own background? At Lund University, I studied English literature and art history (today called art history). Art Science is my major, and here I have a PhD. The title of my thesis is the science buildings in the 1800s. Lund and Europe (Science and Architecture in the 19th Century, Lund and Europe.) Behind this title hides observatories, fysiologi- physics and chemistry departments, anatomy buildings and botanical gardens. I have also written a book on school buildings, school building. Concept and shape. Furthermore, a series of essays on urban planning and design, mainly concerning Lund. I am a docent (associate professor) and lecturer and has taught architecture and planning at the Department. Art Science and LTH / architecture school, in both cases in Lund.

Dear Aleksandra, I'm sorry if I failed to live up to your expectations, not been able to answer your questions based on my own experience, or that of my parents. I think that many questions you will find answers for in the literature, and the archives, such as the Labour Movement Archives in Stockholm; such is also in Malmö. But of course, you are welcome to come back with questions. And when you come to Sweden next time I'd like to meet you. In the current situation I do not know when I will next be in London.

Hope I have not written in overly complicated Swedish.

Best wishes / good luck, and my greetings to Alan,
Hjördis

APPENDIX 3

Kravchenko, Aleksandra. Interview with Miriam Axelsson. Personal interview. Stockholm, December 29, 2016.

INTERVIEW WITH MIRIAM AXELSSON

Aleksandra Kravchenko: Hi Miriam! Merry Christmas and thank you for the invitation to your new apartment! Hello Vibeke!

Vibeke: (mumbling)

Miriam Axelsson: Hello! It's been a while. Let's have fika, and then I show you around the apartment?

AK: Absolutely!

MA: Do you want to know more about the apartment then? What should I tell you anyway?

AK: I would like to know how you live here and who lives in the neighbourhood; whether you feel safe and content here; whether there are enough cupboards and storage; whether you are still using the built-in furniture and so on! Everything, in other words!

MA: Oh, I see.

AK: On the way here from Bagarmossen (tube station), it became apparent to me that this entire area was built in this period [1950s]. But there are some detached houses you see from your window. The land around here must have belonged to them one day.

MA: Exactly. New houses were commissioned, as the population grew.

AK: Since all the houses in the area are almost the same, I have a question: does this apartment block belong to HSB or ... [similar]?

MA: It's Svenska Bostäder.

AK: And do you have to queue? Do you perhaps remember...

Vibeke: (mumbling)

AK: ... was it yourself or your family who were in the queue in a while?

MA: I got in the queue eleven years ago, perhaps even longer - eleven and a half years ago; that was a year after I moved to Stockholm. Previously, parents could put their children in a queue. But now one must be 18 years old to enter the queue, I believe. I think that's the case...

AK: What if you had been in the queue for eleven and a half years, and you have a daughter? Say, she turns 18 tomorrow, and you do not want the apartment that you had queued for. Could you say that you would like your daughter to get it instead?

MA: I do not know. I can check it, if you'd like me to.

AK: Yes, I think this could be interesting ... And when it comes to the size of the apartment ... Was a one-bed your choice to begin with? Or did you decide on the number of bedrooms, when the time came?

MA: I had to think about what works now and what ...

Vibeke: (throwing raisins round).

MA: No, stop, Vibeke ... When I was choosing, I asked myself whether we would be able to stay here for a while. So I realised that I needed a minimum of a one bed flat ... eeemmm ... Actually, a two bed flat would have worked even better, because I will have to move when [Vibeke] gets older and wants to have her own room.

Vibeke: Oooooj. oj ... oh!

MA: But it was the location that played a big role. [Vibeke's] dad lives in white houses over there (pointing outside the kitchen window).

AK: There! I see...

Vibeke: Daddy!

MA: It's very close ... Yes, that's where your daddy lives!.. So... it works great. Plus, I have friends that live on this street.

AK: I guess there are many young parents who live around here then?

MA: Exactly! There is a playground in the courtyard. This means that there are many families who would want to live here. I would say that it is mainly the elderly and the [parents with] buggies.

AK: I have only seen families around – mums and dads with buggies.

Vibeke: Ooooj ...

MA: Exactly. When I ... Last spring, when I realized that I need to move ...

Vibeke: NO!!!

MA: Into a separate apartment (I previously lived with Vibeke's dad). Then, I wrote in a Facebook group here in Bagarmossen, a Bagarmossen Group, asking young parents about their favourite streets. There are quite controversial areas here in Bagarmossen, a bit shabby, you know, a little insecure. And the very nice and the shabby can be next door! Since I am a parent, I felt I had to find out, so that we would want to stay here and feel safe, and perhaps be able to stay for a while. So then wrote to a few people there, and [there] was someone who wrote ...

Vibeke: LOOK!

MA: If you see [many] buggies around, you have done yourself a great service for years to come, because then there will be children your daughter could make friends with.

AK: Yes... and have you become friends with those who live in these houses?

MA: Yes.

AK: And as I understand...

Vibeke: Look...

MA: Yes, Vibeke, I see.

AK: So there is room...

Vibeke: Little Vibeke...

AK: Do you think this happened by design, or that it became so?

MA: Eeeeem ...

AK: As users come and adapt the design...

MA: I'm just thinking of this playground in the middle, whether it is original from that time... I can't say. But as to design intention... There is plenty of storage in the apartment and in the cellar, so it feels as if the intention was for these apartments to house quite a few. The rents here are quite expensive actually, I think.

AK: [Does the same statement work for] the place where you had lived before?

MA: I lived in a newly built apartment... with Fredrik... a part of Svenska Bostäder, too. The house was built around a courtyard, just like this one.

Vibeke: NO!!!

MA: But there was not very much... not a sandbox or stuff like that. I imagine it was supposed to fit retirees better.

AK: Ok.

MA: But it was also one, two and three bed apartments. Wondering if there could be any four bed apartments there too. Hmmm...

Vibeke: Tu-tu-tu-tu-tuuu ...

MA: It was a totally different standard, of course. But there was not much storage.

AK: Do you think it is... In this case, storage would be a consequence of modernism, so to speak.

Vibeke: Ti-ru-ri-ri-ri ...

AK: That would be typical for the time. For I see that most of the furniture, for example here in the kitchen, belongs to the apartment.

MA: All the cupboards and the closets are built-in, so one can not move them; very standardized. I am under the impression that builders are nowadays more cautious with

attaching things to walls -they don't do it to the same extent anymore. But here it is (shows around the kitchen). The kitchen cupboard doors are new (opens the kitchen cupboard)... But the inside is not so new – one can not move the shelves, for example. So it's ... "Original" (both laugh).

AK: I see...

MA: I do like it! I get excited when I see stuff like that!

AK: I think it is great fun too! It's lovely.

MA: Isn't it?

AK: Indeed.

MA: And this window (pointing toward the glass wall between the kitchen and the hallway), don't you think it's ever so nice?

AK: Absolutely, I think so! It's great to be able to see through, and [the door to the living room is open] look from one end of the apartment to the other, and through the window at the other end.

MA: Exactly!

AK: I understand that it is morning light on one side and the evening light on another?

MA: Precisely!

AK: You said that mostly families and older people live in this area. What do you reckon happens to those children who are maybe ten, fifteen?

MA: I do not really know where they would live in this area, I must say. Mainly because I can only see families here.

AK: I guess this is suitable accommodation for those who have just acquired families then.

MA: Yes, I would agree. It is perhaps so that those who have older children need larger apartments, just [for children] to be able to have their own rooms and stuff. For there are many who I talk to on the playground that say, "Yeah, we can stay here for a few years." There are quite a few families of four that live in a one bed flat with two children. They put up some temporary walls, curtains and other temporary solutions... to create more room. But at the same time, they enjoy it here so much that they come up with all these solutions to be able to stay [here] longer. Closer to [Bagarmossen] Centre, there are apartments that are larger, and still pretty cheap. Then you can get a three bed for around six thousand [SEK] per month, and then this flat costs six thousand [SEK], but it is a one bed flat.

AK: The streets closer to the Centrum aren't as nice though, right?

MA: Not so nice, no. I also think that renting with Svenska Bostäder...means getting a recently decorated place, a place in a good state. They have a pretty good living standard. So [the apartment] that isn't new still feels quite fresh. Despite that, when drilling the walls, you get to see the whole story (laughs).

AK: I can imagine there will be five layers or something, in the best case (laughs).

MA: You don't even know (laughs).

AK: One thing that I have read ... When Home Inspection was first introduced in the thirties, in similar homes, housing inspectors checked that the walls should be white, or at least bright; that there is a maximum of two sleeping in the same room; that there isn't too much furniture or frames on the walls etc ... When you moved in, was there anything you were told about this?

MA: (laughs) One may make some changes to the flat, but it must be done in a professional manner. It must not be too extreme...

Vibeke: (throwing raisins everywhere)

MA: No, but Vibeke... Enough (takes raisins away from Vibeke)... One must restore anything to its original state as well. But this paint (pointing to the walls) is of some kind of standard shade. I have friends who live in the house next door, they are parents of Vibeke's nursery friends. They have the same on their walls.

AK: Okay...

MA: And then they wondered what kind of wallpaper it was. When they asked [Svenska Bostäder], it turned out that it was the painter who got to choose. They have certain limitations... To ten or so types of wallpaper in this area.

AK: Ten that you get to choose from then?

MA: Exactly. It was the painter who had to pick some though. And in my friends' apartment, for example, it's just striped wallpaper in every room (laughs).

AK: It's actually hard to get my head around this (laughs)! Maybe it's luck for you then (with more neutral wallpapers)!

MA: Well! I was going to paint closet; and I have taken a hat rack in the hall. Wanted to know what the colour of the kitchen walls was, so I spoke with Svenska Bostäder. They gave me all the information, so I can fix all of this by myself. I also painted the bedroom. Then, came the house ward came to see the colour and stuff.

AK: Wow!

MA: She was here in another errand, but inspected this, too. She said like, "You may have to fill up a bit over there," or something along those lines.

Vibeke: Eeeeh...

AK: How fascinating! You could certainly stay here... If you would still like to have this apartment... forever? It is the privilege of having the first hand contract, isn't it?

MA: Exactly! One must just take care of the flat and what's in it well. One must not disturb the neighbours. And moreover, it is one's responsibility to keep the house free of pests and rodents... [The house ward] showed me how to air the flat in a good way - there is no fan here (shows the mechanism that is used as a fan).

AK: Oh!

MA: Well, then you should open this bit (showing how it works). You open the balcony door in the living room, and so open this thing here. That draws the air in through the apartment and makes it come out here (through a hole in the wall). I was also recommended to open the windows while showering, so that still air and steam comes out... Apparently, a lot of tenants don't, and then the air becomes trapped. That causes mold and other problems.

AK: It's so nice to hear about this, it supports the initial housekeeping rules introduced with Home Inspection! Was wondering if they still say these things to tenants.

MA: Well, here we are!

AK: Was also wondering if you get to have frames on the walls etc? Pictures, perhaps, or anything else?

MA: Yes. It seems to be OK, one just has to make sure one does it in a neat way, and that the condition could be restored to original.

Vibeke: (screaming)

MA: I forgot to tell you that I have taken down this hat shelf!

AK: Would the house ward not find out?

MA: Oh no, it's of no importance. I will just have to restore things to their original state, that's it. Because (the hat shelf) belongs to the apartment.

Vibeke: Mum! Cooooome!

MA: However, should there be any problems with the elements or anything else, someone will come (to have a look).

AK: So, someone would only come, if you have problems with electricity or gas or elements?

MA: If you request for someone them to come, they will. But never otherwise. For example, they are building those houses now (points at the building site outside); they (people from Svenska Bostäder) came before and after, to check for cracks in the walls. It is on behalf of Svenska Bostäder, however. And even of those who are building.

Vibeke: Look! LOOK!

MA: There are newsreels at SVT about similar apartments. You might get even more information from them?

AK: It sounds like a great idea. Thanks for your time, Miriam!

MA: Anytime!

APPENDIX 4

PARLERS

We wunce had a parler fer tea on
 Sunday,
John cleaned cleaned his bisickle their
 on the Monday.

Charles en his fren Hamelia Rite
sat in the dark ther on Toosday nite.
An Wensday, bein erly closin,
is sooted me to ave a dose in;
On Thursday it were used for nowt
bekors the missis scrubbe it out.
On Friday it were clean and tidy,
redy for the Vicar's lidy;
Feeling extra ale and arty,
On Saturday we ad a party.

But their aint no parler now –
an wi?
The L.G.B.* e she's tear me,
You give up this ere luxuree,
Tis not the likes ov you, ses e,
as should be a in cumprennee –
Besides you av a skuleree.
 Wot strong wiv you, e ses ter me,

Is that your wiges is, ses e,
too i.

Hilary Pepler

*A Government Department now absorbed into the Ministry of Health

Statistisk årsbok för Sverige (1936) Available at:

http://www.scb.se/Grupp/Hitta_statistik/Historisk_statistik/_Dokument/Statistisk%20årsbok%201914-2001/Statistisk%20årsbok%20for%20Sverige%201936.pdf (Accessed: 27 January 2017).

Digitalised by Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB) 2009

28 Tab. 24. Barnlösa äktenskap i % av samtliga äktenskap samt medelvaraktighet och hustruns vigselålder, länsvis, den 31 december 1930.¹⁾
dans les mariages avec enfants, répartis par durée du mariage et par

Län Départements	Vigselår (Äktenskapets varaktighet) ²⁾	1926—1930 (0—5 år ans)				1921—1925 (5—10 år ans)				1916—1920 (10—15 år ans)				
		Hustruns vigsel- ålder ³⁾	-24 år ans	25-34 år ans	35-44 år ans	Samt- liga Total	-24 år ans	25-34 år ans	35-44 år ans	Samt- liga Total	-24 år ans	25-34 år ans	35-44 år ans	
Barnlösa äktenskap i % av samtliga äktenskap. Mariages sans enfants en % de tous les														
Stockholms stad		54.5	70.7	79.6	66.3	20.3	42.0	65.4	37.7	12.4	27.9	52.0		
Stockholms län		25.5	42.8	61.3	38.6	10.6	20.9	42.4	18.9	4.8	12.1	36.5		
Uppsala län		21.6	44.5	50.0	33.7	6.4	18.6	40.0	14.4	5.4	9.4	31.8		
Södermanlands län		26.2	46.2	52.8	39.3	8.2	20.9	41.3	15.5	5.5	14.2	33.3		
Östergötlands län		26.9	46.4	59.3	37.4	9.6	21.8	46.2	17.8	5.3	13.4	37.0		
Jönköpings län		23.3	39.9	61.1	36.0	5.4	15.3	39.7	14.2	4.1	9.0	30.9		
Kronobergs län		23.6	37.1	54.0	33.5	5.0	13.7	42.2	13.5	3.1	8.3	37.2		
Kalmar län		26.8	42.0	60.9	36.6	7.2	17.4	45.1	14.7	5.0	10.0	34.5		
Gotlands län		23.9	37.0	62.1	31.7	3.6	10.7	47.3	11.1	2.8	12.4	33.8		
Blekinge län		19.6	37.4	56.1	31.1	6.0	18.5	39.0	14.3	5.1	11.7	37.0		
Kristianstads län		18.8	33.4	59.6	28.8	4.5	14.1	36.4	11.7	3.7	9.7	26.9		
Malmöhus län		29.6	50.8	63.4	41.4	7.5	21.8	48.7	17.1	4.7	12.0	35.5		
Hallands län		23.1	37.5	56.0	34.2	3.9	12.4	34.2	11.1	2.4	10.0	40.8		
Göteborgs o. Bohus län		29.4	49.7	67.8	43.3	7.1	19.7	47.2	17.7	4.0	12.1	36.8		
Älvsborgs län		22.5	38.0	58.3	34.0	5.2	14.8	42.1	14.0	3.8	9.5	34.2		
Skaraborgs län		21.6	38.0	58.5	33.3	5.5	14.3	36.6	13.0	3.9	10.3	35.2		
Värmlands län		25.3	41.6	58.0	34.8	7.0	17.0	41.9	14.0	4.5	13.0	30.8		
Örebro län		26.9	46.6	62.0	39.5	8.2	21.9	41.1	17.3	4.8	13.1	33.7		
Västmanlands län		29.4	44.6	58.6	37.0	9.6	21.4	48.9	16.3	5.4	13.5	42.7		
Kopparbergs län		21.5	39.8	57.3	32.8	7.5	17.3	35.2	13.8	5.4	11.1	20.2		
Gävleborgs län		21.7	37.9	50.2	31.2	6.4	17.5	38.4	13.9	4.4	9.2	31.1		
Västernorrlands län		21.9	36.5	53.2	31.1	6.7	14.7	34.1	12.7	3.8	9.3	29.6		
Jämtlands län		19.1	28.6	47.0	27.6	6.2	13.5	27.9	11.7	4.1	9.8	27.0		
Västerbottens län		26.6	36.2	50.0	32.4	6.1	9.9	25.9	9.5	3.8	6.2	30.1		
Norrbottens län		20.8	36.4	54.8	30.3	4.8	11.1	23.7	8.7	2.8	7.5	29.5		
Hela riket <i>Royaume entier</i>		27.3	45.6	61.6	38.8	7.9	20.1	43.5	16.8	5.0	12.5	35.1		
Medelantalet barn i äktenskap med barn. Nombre moyen des enfants dans les mariages														
Stockholms stad		1.32	1.31	1.37	1.32	1.88	1.73	1.76	1.79	2.38	2.24	2.19		
Stockholms län		1.48	1.42	1.66	1.45	2.37	2.24	2.11	2.27	3.14	2.82	2.89		
Uppsala län		1.48	1.49	1.80	1.51	2.44	2.23	2.86	2.87	3.40	3.11	2.36		
Södermanlands län		1.47	1.41	1.58	1.45	2.24	2.17	2.10	2.22	3.15	2.93	2.69		
Östergötlands län		1.45	1.41	1.50	1.45	2.33	2.15	2.08	2.26	3.30	2.86	2.21		
Jönköpings län		1.48	1.44	1.43	1.46	2.64	2.37	1.93	2.44	3.71	3.30	2.38		
Kronobergs län		1.47	1.50	1.47	1.49	2.66	2.50	1.85	2.53	3.74	3.42	2.19		
Kalmar län		1.45	1.42	1.52	1.47	2.46	2.21	1.90	2.36	3.40	3.10	2.45		
Gotlands län		1.57	1.43	1.23	1.50	2.78	2.30	2.21	2.54	3.52	2.97	2.06		
Blekinge län		1.56	1.59	1.79	1.57	2.74	2.53	2.43	2.63	3.88	3.49	2.25		
Kristianstads län		1.60	1.62	1.86	1.61	2.69	2.56	2.20	2.60	3.84	3.48	2.94		
Malmöhus län		1.47	1.43	1.83	1.48	2.46	2.27	2.10	2.37	3.43	3.05	2.60		
Hallands län		1.50	1.48	1.38	1.48	2.63	2.44	2.05	2.48	3.85	3.38	2.54		
Göteborgs o. Bohus län		1.43	1.42	1.90	1.46	2.43	2.23	2.20	2.31	3.35	3.05	2.67		
Älvsborgs län		1.42	1.45	1.62	1.46	2.48	2.43	2.03	2.42	3.54	3.19	2.40		
Skaraborgs län		1.50	1.45	1.38	1.47	2.44	2.36	1.58	2.35	3.65	3.16	2.19		
Värmlands län		1.44	1.37	1.61	1.43	2.31	2.17	1.99	2.28	3.21	2.85	2.21		
Örebro län		1.42	1.38	1.65	1.44	2.22	2.12	1.98	2.14	2.99	2.81	2.47		
Västmanlands län		1.38	1.35	1.66	1.43	2.11	2.04	2.13	2.22	2.83	2.63	2.24		
Kopparbergs län		1.36	1.44	1.86	1.41	2.25	2.25	2.42	2.26	3.07	2.87	2.57		
Gävleborgs län		1.45	1.50	2.21	1.52	2.33	2.28	2.53	2.33	3.22	3.10	2.73		
Västernorrlands län		1.50	1.60	2.35	1.59	2.61	2.48	2.53	2.54	3.77	3.50	3.18		
Jämtlands län		1.59	1.79	2.72	1.74	2.76	2.61	2.80	2.70	3.85	3.74	2.79		
Västerbottens län		1.49	1.58	1.86	1.54	2.85	2.76	2.40	2.78	4.41	3.96	2.57		
Norrbottens län		1.69	1.68	1.73	1.66	3.23	3.07	2.66	3.13	4.80	4.44	3.22		
Hela riket <i>Royaume entier</i>		1.46	1.46	1.75	1.48	2.44	2.29	2.15	2.35	3.41	3.09	2.50		

Statistisk årsbok för Sverige (1936) Available at:

http://www.scb.se/Grupp/Hitta_statistik/Historisk_statistik/_Dokument/Statistisk%20årsbok%201914-2001/Statistisk%20årsbok%20for%20Sverige%201936.pdf (Accessed: 27 January 2017).

Digitalised by Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB) 2009

Tab. 56. Emigranter och immigranter, fördelade efter länder, åren 1861—1941.¹⁾
Émigrants et immigrants par pays.¹⁾

Årligen <i>Moyennes annuelles</i>	Danmark och Island <i>Danemark et Islande</i>		Finland <i>Finlande</i>		Norge <i>Norvège</i>		Estland o. Lettland <i>Esthonie, Lettonie</i>		Frankrike <i>France</i>		Italien <i>Italie</i>		Polen o. Litauen <i>Pologne, Lithuanie</i>		Sovjet- unionen <i>U. R. S. S.</i>		Storbrit. o. Irl. <i>Gr.-Bret. Allemagne</i>		Tysk- land	
	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.
1861/70	1 125	.	207	.	1 055	.	—	—	15	28	.	.	—	—	.	.	44	.	486	.
1871/80	1 891	.	407	.	1 634	.	—	—	28	6	.	.	—	—	.	.	107	.	708	.
1881/90	2 349	1 244	327	337	1 347	631	—	—	42	26	4	4	—	—	63	87	173	70	555	418
1891/00	1 601	1 126	333	434	1 575	738	—	—	36	31	5	26	—	—	46	68	156	92	429	496
1901/10	1 191	958	319	667	995	1 182	—	—	42	38	35	51	—	—	54	255	163	122	475	561
1911/20	1 127	786	245	659	1 200	825	5	9	45	56	15	20	5	14	56	305	99	107	357	721
1921/25	730	620	286	437	816	963	29	32	86	56	21	32	36	35	14	119	83	97	440	776
1926/30	529	538	230	339	454	943	17	59	114	90	26	46	22	32	10	214	75	92	298	456
1931/35	609	408	146	414	273	503	10	61	84	114	23	38	9	20	33	39	76	98	244	623
1936/40	430	563	483	983	256	783	38	190	58	106	34	35	9	64	9	30	105	124	258	817
1932	499	425	144	375	314	490	8	50	87	104	19	42	7	26	24	54	60	110	219	670
1933	589	316	135	370	249	482	12	44	99	118	28	32	10	25	9	37	55	88	272	646
1934	654	388	129	385	224	446	9	69	78	126	28	28	8	12	8	33	79	91	206	594
1935	660	457	153	470	236	470	14	73	56	109	16	33	8	9	18	21	109	101	309	608
1936	527	449	193	484	237	525	26	71	62	97	15	19	4	20	3	18	117	85	262	519
1937	418	492	139	588	237	464	32	110	40	77	27	30	14	19	1	28	78	75	182	499
1938	346	554	159	701	204	710	29	185	61	93	7	38	5	40	1	48	117	156	216	793
1939	547	661	564	810	394	816	77	273	91	169	99	60	12	86	28	32	168	192	377	1 595
1940	311	657	1 361	2 334	207	1 401	26	309	38	92	25	28	8	157	10	23	43	111	252	680
1941	177	882	158	1 164	122	1 046	7	181	12	75	8	29	1	126	4	5	26	60	199	572

Årligen <i>Moyennes annuelles</i>	Österrike m. m. ²⁾ <i>Autriche, etc.</i>		Europa i övrigt <i>Reste de l'Europe</i>		Summa Europa <i>Total de l'Europe</i>		Förenta staterna <i>États-Unis</i>		Kanada <i>Canada</i>		Övriga Amerika <i>Reste de l'Amér.</i>		Övriga länder <i>Autres pays</i>		Ej upp- givet <i>Inconnu</i>		Summa fram- mände världsdelen <i>Total des pays hors d'Europe</i>	
	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.	Em.	Imm.
1861/70	—	.	1	.	2 933	.	2 887	3	.	.	.	.	10	.	429	.	9 312	.
1871/80	—	.	2	.	4 777	.	10 117	.	.	.	.	.	82	.	48	.	10 250	.
1881/90	5	9	24	14	4 889	2 840	32 429	1 877	5	—	3	127	12	161	22	9	32 751	1 920
1891/00	21	35	24	23	4 226	3 069	20 052	4 714	48	3	230	40	117	53	4	2	20 451	4 812
1901/10	49	73	40	36	3 363	3 943	21 925	4 403	315	20	67	23	97	53	—	—	22 404	4 499
1911/20	48	81	33	54	3 235	3 637	8 154	3 715	297	68	66	67	85	68	—	—	8 602	3 918
1921/25	45	97	47	56	2 633	3 320	10 901	2 809	784	95	57	28	146	83	—	—	11 888	3 015
1926/30	37	89	80	76	1 892	2 974	7 485	2 686	1 588	273	89	51	153	121	—	—	9 315	3 131
1931/35	25	80	60	96	1 592	2 494	669	4 030	43	429	55	67	113	131	—	—	880	4 657
1936/40	21	187	63	141	1 764	4 023	708	1 420	27	148	57	43	125	139	—	—	917	1 750
1932	30	78	59	75	1 470	2 499	474	5 654	48	616	40	88	85	133	—	—	647	6 491
1933	12	98	54	95	1 524	2 351	682	4 308	46	413	65	55	100	129	—	—	893	4 905
1934	11	66	53	112	1 487	2 350	710	2 919	31	245	47	50	125	143	—	—	913	3 357
1935	40	72	53	125	1 672	2 548	560	2 457	20	210	56	82	146	115	—	—	782	2 864
1936	22	61	40	94	1 508	2 442	664	1 895	32	175	46	37	121	130	—	—	863	2 237
1937	17	109	29	102	1 214	2 593	876	1 471	39	176	44	53	116	177	—	—	1 075	1 877
1938	8	180	56	164	1 209	3 662	634	1 690	20	180	53	52	146	172	—	—	853	2 094
1939	51	420	132	199	2 540	5 313	746	1 500	31	143	87	60	176	162	—	—	1 040	1 865
1940	8	166	60	146	2 349	6 104	619	544	14	68	53	13	67	55	—	—	753	680
1941	5	80	17	167	736	3 887	289	262	10	21	22	33	44	51	—	—	365	367

¹⁾ Uppgifterna i såväl denna som följande tabeller avse den officiellt redovisade utvandringen. Rörande summa ut- och invandring se tab. 33. *Les données dans ce tableau comme dans le suivant se rapportent à l'émigration officiellement connue. Pour le total des émigrants et des immigrants voir tabl. 33.* — ²⁾ Finland och Ryssland. — ³⁾ Frankrike, Schweiz och Italien. — ⁴⁾ Tyskland och Nederländerna. — ⁵⁾ Tyskland, Nederländerna och Belgien. — ⁶⁾ Före år 1919: Österrike-Ungern; åren 1919—1938: Österrike, Tjecko-Slovakien och Ungern; fr. o. m. år 1939: Böhmen o. Mähren, Slovakien och Ungern. — ⁷⁾ Amerika. — ⁸⁾ Nordamerika.