

Avedøre Stationsby during construction  
Avedøre Stationsby počas výstavby



Source Zdroj: Forstads museet

## ON LARGE-SCALE HOUSING IN DENMARK

### HROMADNÁ BYTOVÁ VÝSTAVBA V DÁNSKU

Počas druhej svetovej vojny ostal stavebný fond v Dánsku relatívne nepoškodený, ale po vojne aj tak vznikla potreba nových bytov. V roku 1945 v Dánsku, krajine s vyše 4 miliónmi obyvateľov, chýbalo približne 50 000 – 60 000 bytových jednotiek. Vláda zaradila do svojho programu systém sociálneho zabezpečenia. V roku 1947 vzniklo ministerstvo bývania; realizovalo expanzívnu politiku bývania, ktorá mala viac podporovať jednotlivcov a stavebné firmy. Paralelne odštartovali program na podporu industrializácie stavebného procesu a práce s novými materiálmi. Jeho cieľom bolo uspokojiť potreby bývania a zlepšiť kvalitu bytových jednotiek.

#### Industrializácia a plánovanie

Vládna podpora industrializovaných experimentálnych budov počas päťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia umožnila výstavbu viac než stovky bytových jednotiek. Budovy projektovali známi dánski architekti a ich kvalita bola zvyčajne vysoká.

Na začiatku šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, keď výroba cementu začala zodpovedať veľkým projektom, zákony o komplexnej podpore výstavby boli zredukované. Výsledkom boli industrializované stavby vo veľkom meradle, kde architektonická kvalita ustúpila úspornej výstavbe a argumentom technickej produkcie. Na okrajoch mesta vznikali veľké zastavané oblasti s identickými betónovými budovami, a to rýchlou podobnou komplexnej výstavbe súkromných samostatných domov a neskôr štandardizovaného bývania. Potreba výstavby bytov v šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia sa postupne strácala.

V šesťdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia sa tieto monotónne betónové obytné bloky v predmestiach stali objektom kritiky. Na konci dekády to viedlo k vytvoreniu nových ucelene plánovaných mestských častí, ktoré zahŕňali všetky funkcie mesta. Tieto stavby boli postavené z nových materiálov a mali nové formy aj nové funkcie. Projekty navrhovali veľké kvalitné budovy, oddelenú premávku, dobre fungujúcu infraštruktúru, oddelené funkcie, rôznorodú škálu obchodov, centier a miest na stretnutie, maloobchod a verejné služby.

Od začiatku sedemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia boli tieto mestské časti ostro kritizované a stavitelia sa obrátili k novým, menším stavebným projektom. Veľké moderné stavebné projekty však pokračovali ešte desať rokov, kým na začiatku osemdesiatych rokov neboli ukončené.

Paralelne s industrializáciou výstavby v Dánsku rástla aj úroveň hmotného plánovania. Obidve línie vývoja boli výsledkom modernistických ideálov sociálnej organizácie v budúcnosti.

#### „Prstový plán“

Na začiatku šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia dosiahli techniky plánovania takú úroveň, že bolo možné navrhnuť úplne nové mestské štvrte zodpovedajúce rozmanitým aspektom života a obsahujúce všetky štrukturálne súvislosti. Najväčšie projekty vznikli pre okolie Kodane. Startovacím bodom bol takzvaný „prstový plán“ vytvorený v roku 1947 pre ďalší rozvoj Veľkej Kodane. Tento plán navrhoval sériu mestských „prstov“, pričom sa medzi nimi mali zachovať zelené plochy. Projekt zabezpečoval možnosť funkčného oddelenia obytných priestorov, priestorov na trávenie voľného času a priestorov na prácu. Na začiatku realizácie projektu bol najslabšie vyvinutý „palec“, a táto oblasť bola preto ideálnou plochou pre budúce moderné mestské budovy. V roku 1961 parlament prijal zákon vzťahujúci sa na rozvoj „prsta“. Bola to najväčšia realizácia misie regionálneho a mestského rozvoja v Dánsku v 20. storočí. V rámci nej vybudovali desať nových mestských častí, kde vzniklo približne 50 000 nových bytov.

Keď v sedemdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia vznikli tieto nové budovy, priemysel sa už dlhší čas nerozvíjal, a preto sa potreba bytov pre robotnícku triedu v Dánsku zredukovala; veľké moderné plány sa vtedy začali orientovať na bývanie pre nové skupiny emigrantov.

#### Nová perspektíva uceleného plánovania miest

V roku 2005 v rámci štátnej iniciatívy sa mestská rada Hvidovre začala zaoberať modernistickým kultúrnym dedičstvom ako strategickým zdrojom, pričom sa sústredila špeciálne na ucelený plán mestskej časti Avedoere Stationsby. Projekt

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bol zameraný na možnosti vývoja v situácii, keď mnohí občania mali pozitívny postoj ku koncepcii kultúrneho dedičstva. Rada Hvidovre chcela zistiť, ako sa kultúrne dedičstvo môže využiť na urýchlenie vývoja v oblasti. Predmestie Hvidovre sa vnímalo ako miesto bez kultúrneho dedičstva, a projekt „Kulturarv 2650“ mal túto perspektívu spochybníť. Projekt vychádzal z predpokladu, že sociálny štát a triedna spoločnosť sa stali minulosťou; jeho cieľom bolo vyhovieť rastúcemu záujmu o veľké povojnové štruktúry a použiť tento záujem ako východisko pre ďalší vývoj. Projekt „Kulturarv 2650“ bol plánom, ktorý sa sústreďoval na vypracovanie nových perspektív, metód a stratégií skôr než na vytvorenie konkrétnych hmotných projektov.

#### Nový terén a nová metóda

Kultúrne dedičstvo nepredstavuje len vzťah k minulosti, ale je inherentnou súčasťou prítomnosti. Na pochopenie minulosti nestačí pochopiť kultúrne dedičstvo – musíme pochopiť aj prítomnosť a preskúmať súvislosti, ktorých je kultúrne dedičstvo súčasťou. Takáto perspektíva kultúrneho dedičstva otvára dynamickejší prístup, pri ktorom môžeme nájsť argumenty na ochranu nových objektov, ale aj poukázať na budúce objekty záujmu v rámci ochrany. V prípade Hvidovre to okrem iného znamená aj to, že sa otvára možnosť práce so stigmatizovanými objektmi sprostredkovávajúcimi pôsobivý príbeh o sociálnom štáte.

#### Proces realizácie projektu „Kulturarv 2650“

Projekt „Kulturarv 2650“ vychádza z nemateriálnych dejín, nie zo samotných objektov – teda z koncepcií budov alebo štruktúry. Akákoľvek štruktúra zahŕňa reťaz príbehov. Východisko nemateriálneho prístupu umožňuje objaviť históriu objektu alebo nemateriálnej aktivity. Táto metóda sa vzťahuje aj na zachovanie objektu, aj na jeho vývoj. Predpokladá teda analýzu sociálnych problémov, charakteristických pre danú oblasť. Ako sa kultúrne dedičstvo vzťahuje k týmto problémom a ako môže dopomôcť k ich riešeniu?

Tento prístup vyžaduje analýzu dejín danej oblasti, po ktorej nasleduje skúmanie objektu. Vykoná sa analýza oblasti, sformulujú sa hlavné otázky a nastáva dialóg medzi obyvateľmi a ďalšími zainteresovanými stranami. Pri podobnej

analýze sa objavujú príbehy, objekty a súčasné problémy v danej oblasti. V procese vytvorenia tejto vízie sa oblasť integruje do celkového plánu regiónu, zatiaľ čo samotná práca je ukotvená v konkrétnej lokalite prostredníctvom dialógu. A napokon vízia vývoja sa pretvára do konania cez realizáciu ideí projektu.

#### Metóda použitá v Avedoere Stationsby

Táto metóda pozostáva z niekoľkých elementov. Príspevok ich ilustruje na príklade veľkého modernistického projektu Avedoere Stationsby, kde sa nachádza 2 500 domov.

Avedoere Stationsby reprezentuje realizáciu očakávaného vývoja „prstového plánu“ v „prste“ Koege Bugt. Potenciál príbehu staničného mesta je obrovský a vychádza z celkového plánovania Kodane, jej ideálov modernistického plánovania, dobre vyvinutých sociálnych inštitúcií a príbehu globalizácie podaného terajšími obyvateľmi. Súčasne je to zrozumiteľná a jasná štruktúra, ktorá jednoduchým spôsobom spĺňa svoju funkciu v krajine.

Hlavný príbeh: Avedoere Stationsby vypovedá príbeh veľkého plánu modernistickej stavby zo šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, ktorej cieľom bolo vyriešiť vtedajšie problémy s bývaním – a tento cieľ je splnený. Oblasť Avedoere Stationsby bola počiatočným bodom výstavby „prsta“; ak ju vnímame v spojení so susednou priemyselnou časťou Avedoere Holme a polohou blízko rekreačnej oblasti Avedoeresletten, vypovedá hlavný príbeh o dejinách robotníckej triedy a dánskeho sociálneho štátu.

Chránená hodnota: najdôležitejšou chránenou hodnotou je samotný prvok plánovania. Ilustruje vtedajšie plánovanie mesta, ktorého ideálom bolo susedstvo od kolísky do hrobu, a precízne plánovanie na všetkých úrovniach.

Súčasný problém: zo sociálneho hľadiska mesto funguje relatívne dobre, ale dlhodobý pozitívny vývoj tejto oblasti ohrozujú budúce recesie. Vývoj Avedoere Stationsby spomaľujú tri hlavné problémy: anonymita, jednostranné fungovanie a sociálna stigma.

Vízia: oživenie pozitívneho príbehu o Avedoere Stationsby, v ktorom vystupuje ako základný rámec pre dobrý život. Kultúrne dedičstvo má urobiť túto mestskú časť príťažlivejšou pre stredné

vrstvy. Okrem iného je potrebné kultivovať špecifikum miesta – plán a materiály. Stratégie ochrany a vývoja by mali byť dvojstranné. Na jednej strane, je potrebné sprostredkovať históriu mestskej časti, na druhej strane aktualizovať pôvodnú víziu. Sprostredkovanie príbehu musí zmeniť stigma mesta a aktualizácia má zmeniť jednostranné fungovanie.

Idea projektu: hlavnou ideou sprostredkovania príbehu je výstavba domov prezentujúca možnosti dobrého života v Avedoere Stationsby. Byt môže prezentovať typické dekorácie, príznačné pre prvé roky existencie staničného mesta – múzeum bytov. Iné byty môžu predstavovať výkladné skrine dobrého života v súčasnosti. Aktualizovanie pôvodnej vízie vyžaduje prielom v ideológii rovnosti a jednostranného fungovania. V postindustriálnej spoločnosti vízia dobrého mesta zahŕňa

domov, prácu a oddych. Táto zmena znamená prehodnotenie toho, čo by sa malo vziať do úvahy pri fyzickej ochrane hodnôt.

#### Záver

Veľké industrializované budovy s oddelenými funkciami, ktoré vznikli v povojnovom Dánsku, prezentujú výzvu pre novú koncepciu kultúrneho dedičstva. Sú pamiatkou modernistického projektu, ktorého cieľom bolo štandardizovať a industrializovať nielen budovy, ale celkový rámec života. Nové mestá, ktoré sa stali predmetom pohľadania, patria k veľkému kultúrnemu dedičstvu z tých istých dôvodov, ktoré vedú k ich kritike.

Práca na ochrane veľkých modernistických stavieb vyžaduje nové metódy, ktoré by zobrali do úvahy aj veľkosť, materiály, ale aj stigmatizáciu. Táto práca sa však len teraz začala.

#### Living and construction, a historical background for large-scale housing in Denmark

Between the wars, Copenhagen was strongly affected by the urbanisation that had begun with the industrialisation of the city in the middle of the 18th century. The city consisted of overcrowded areas with a mixture of buildings for accommodation and for businesses, both in the original medieval town and in the oldest suburbs that had been built on after 1852 when the old fortifications of the city were removed.

The building owners had used every available piece of land, and both main streets and side streets had houses in front, out back and to the sides. The flats were small – often less than 25 square metres – and had a kitchen with running water and drainage, but the toilet was in the shared garden. The development moving towards the First World War was more directed towards separate living and business areas, but they were still in close proximity to one another in comparison to later developments<sup>/1/</sup>.

In the 1920s, the structure of the city was redeveloped in the outlying areas with huge blocks of flats that secured light and air, but the basic structure of the city with a standard street grid was continued in the new quarters. Redevelopments

began in the 1930s, but were largely halted during the German occupation of Denmark 1940 – 1945. When the country was free once more, the framework for building in the city was left open.

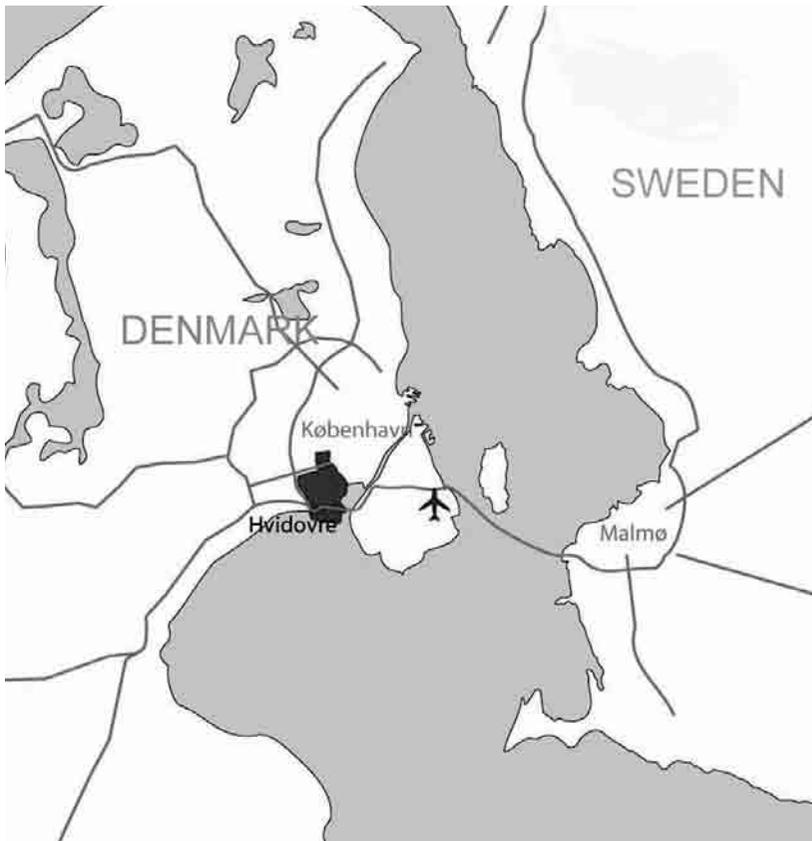
The Second World War left Danish buildings reasonably intact, but the war years had created a large need for housing because of the lack of new buildings and a continued migration from the countryside to the cities. On top of that there was a great need for redevelopment of older buildings. In all it was estimated that in 1945 there were 50,000 – 60,000 homes too few<sup>/2/</sup> in a country with just over four million citizens.

The ruling social democratic party launched a new political agenda which put the welfare society on the agenda with inspiration from Sweden, and in 1947 a housing ministry was founded. The housing sector was a key area, and the parliament was in agreement when it began an expansive housing policy with increased housing support to both private people and housing associations. At the same time, programmes were started with support for industrialisation of building processes and work with new materials<sup>/3/</sup>.

For centuries, the preferred building material in the urbanised areas of Denmark had been tiles and bricks, but further construction with this material had several limitations, even though the

The southern and western suburbs of Copenhagen hold most of the large-scale housing around the capital, which corresponds closely with the general social geography, where social status falls constantly in a circle from the coast north of the city to the coast south of the city. The suburb of Hvidovre is a neighboring municipality to Copenhagen and contains the innermost planned town.

V južnom a západnom predmestí Kodane sa nachádza najviac veľkých obytných súborov v okolí hlavného mesta. Tento fakt zodpovedá všeobecnej sociálnej geografii, kde sociálny status sa točí v kruhu od pobrežia na sever od mesta k južnému pobrežiu. Predmestie Hvidovre je mestská časť susediaca s Kodaňou. Obsahuje vnútornú naplánovanú mestskú časť.



Source Zdroj: Municipality of Hvidovre

production of bricks had been industrialised during the 1800s and Denmark began industrial cement production in the last part of the century. Until then, concrete had been used in Denmark as a building material introduced to reinforce buildings in the 1880s, and during the time between the world wars it had primarily been used for business buildings and for a very small number of modernistic residential buildings designed by avant-garde architects. However, the building process itself remained unchanged in terms of craftsmanship through the first half of the 20th century. At the end of the First World War the state had attempted, without much luck, to further the serial production of wooden housing<sup>14/</sup>, but after the Second World War, the material of concrete and the method of industrial production were intended to solve these problems.

Moreover, the restricted number of trained bricklayers and carpenters available limited the productivity of construction, since they made up about 60 per cent of the building cost<sup>15/</sup>. That conclusion forced the Danish state, in accordance with the welfare thinking that was now prominent, to engage itself in the housing market both financially and as the initiator of experimental building practises with non-traditional materials and methods of production<sup>16/</sup>. The goal was to gain a sufficient quantity of newly built housing to eliminate the housing shortage and heighten the quality of the extant housing, in order to secure the optimal standing for the lives of the inhabitants.

Concurrently with the first experiments with industrialised building, large social housing complexes with up to 2,000 housing units were built, such as Kaj Fisker's 'Broendbyparken'. The large-scale buildings were shaped, in accordance with the ideals of the time, primarily as modern building blocks, which changed the shape of the city conclusively. The blocks were oriented towards the sun so that the balconies were facing southwest, to allow the residents to enjoy the evening sun after work; similarly, the lawns that stretched out between the blocks secured light and air gave the many children good opportunities for physical development. During this period, many of the best Danish architects worked on the shaping of housing for the population at large, and overall the quality was high<sup>17/</sup>.



Source Zdroj: Forstadsmuseet

The modern housing blocks of the 1950s lifted the quality of the Danish housing in a decisive way. All of a sudden, the working class gained access to housing where there was not only hot water in the kitchen and a toilet, but also individual baths. It was also an innovation for the greater part of society that there was room for the children's bedrooms, so that the modern family with only two children could have a room for each child. This change fitted well into the cultural development where at the same time the youth acquired its own identity and its own means of cultural expression.

The new green cityscape filled all the criteria imaginable for a good life in a good home. Here, every measurable living condition was thought of: square metres, available light, the height of the ceiling, working conditions in the kitchen, children's bedrooms, bathrooms, balconies, rub-

"Bredalsparken" is a classic 1950s high-quality housing project with 1,500 apartments. Dating from before the start of industrial construction, it contains more than a hundred different apartment plans. The project marks the beginning of the industrialization of Danish building, as this was the first project to work with a national standard for the height of building floors. At the same time, the balcony parapets and stairs were prefabricated.

„Bredalsparken“ je klasický kvalitný bytový projekt z päťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia zahŕňajúci 1 500 bytov. Keďže predchádzal industrializácii, tvorí ho viac než sto rôznych bytových projektov. Predstavuje začiatok industrializácie dánskeho stavebníctva, lebo bol prvým projektom, ktorý pracoval s národným štandardom svetlej výšky poschodí. Jeho súčasťou sú aj prefabrikované parapety balkónov a schody.

bish chutes, basement laundries, outside areas, shopping possibilities, traffic connections etc. If the streets, which were the classic life blood and meeting place of the city, were in that same development turned into lifeless traffic arteries for commuters, this development was not believed to be meaningful at the time.

#### Industrialisation and planning

During the 1950s, the state support for industrialised experimental building led to the possibility, by the middle of the decade, of being able to raise collected housing blocks of more than a hundred housing units in industrially produced concrete blocks and without the use of a trained workforce<sup>/8/</sup>.

The highly comprehensive construction support law was gradually reduced and finally terminated by the end of the 1950s, just as the concrete industry began to gear up for large-scale projects. From this point on, the speed and scale of the building projects grew in a co-operation between the state, the building industry and particularly the social housing associations<sup>/9/</sup>. The result was industrial construction on a large scale, where the architectural quality gave way to building economics and technical production reasoning. Great built – up landscapes with uniform blocks in concrete, often with coloured façades in new materials, shot up on the outskirts of the cities at a speed which – together with the extensive building of private detached houses and traditional apartment blocks - ended the housing shortage during the 1960s and 1970s<sup>/10/</sup>.

During the 1960s, criticism first began to be voiced heard of the new monotone housing blocks in the suburbs, which only secured housing but did not offer any other contribution to the function of the city. Towards the end of the decade, these critiques led to the development of new and larger totally planned townscapes that related themselves to the full range of functions of a city.

Here, all the modern rationales and tools were utilised: new materials, new shapes and new functions. The plans that were developed ensured good housing, traffic separation, a well-functioning infrastructure, the separation of functions so that the planned industrial workplaces would not be a burden on the residential areas, a wide range of shops, rooms for social activities and clubs,

retail trade and not least a wealth of public service institutions from childcare and education through culture and sports up to healthcare and police.

These large city projects, often between 2,000 and 3,000 housing units in extent, had hardly been initiated, however, before they were criticised by both architects and representatives for the youth culture developing right after 1968<sup>/11/</sup>. From the beginning of the 1970s, the criticism was massive, and there was a focus on new and often smaller building projects. Nonetheless, the large-scale modernistic city construction projects needed another 10 years before the last of them were finished around 1980.

Parallel with the progress in building methods and living standards, the discipline of physical planning went through a development where it grew more and more expansive in relation to the size of the object, of the plan deliberation and the degree of detail concerning its spread to even further areas of life in the welfare society that continued to grow.

The expanding role of the planners corresponded to the developing opinions of the authorities for the organisation of society in a broader sense. Public regulation of almost every aspect of life for the citizens became one of the strongest characteristics of Denmark in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the shortage regulations during the First World War as an accelerator, a rare political consensus emerged to let the authorities or publically subsidised organisations take care of the largest number of problem areas possible.

#### The 'Finger Plan' as an answer to the development in Copenhagen

In 1947 the well-known "Finger Plan" was presented. With its Anglo-Saxon inspiration, it represented a thoroughly planned development of Greater Copenhagen<sup>/12/</sup>.

With its starting point in the Finger Plan from 1947 for the future development of Greater Copenhagen, the planners on the state, regional and council levels began working on the future of the capital supported by new laws issued by parliament.

The Finger Plan had a pragmatic approach to the existing structure of Greater Copenhagen and the plans that since the 1920s had been laid out

for future infrastructural investments. The plan prescribed the implementation of several city development 'fingers' with their roots in the original city as the palm and between the fingers the green areas, which should be kept free of further urbanisation. This organisation would ensure easy access to recreational areas and ideal commuting to the city centre, which was still imagined as a centre for the movement patterns of the citizens. The plan fully insured the possibilities for the separation between living area, free time and work. Strangely enough, the finger plan was never formally agreed upon but still created the basis for the city's development for many decades to come, and at the time of writing it is still the basis for current urban planning.

The thumb of the plan pointing southwest was, at the time of the creation of the plan, the 'finger' that had the weakest city development, so here was the ideal landscape for building the city of the future according to modernist ideals. Here, existing structures would only dampen the visions of the planners to a limited extent. Along the shallow bay was a strip of primarily leisure-house holdings with their roots in the 1800s, while the area inland was still in use as agriculture and gardening production which, amongst other things, provided for the expanding city<sup>13</sup>.

In the beginning of the 1960s, planning expertise had reached a level where it was possible to plan entire new cities where all facets of life and structural connections were incorporated. As in other European countries this situation was manifested on a national level, but the biggest plans were, naturally enough, developed around the capital, Copenhagen.

The social geography of Copenhagen in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had already been established in the earliest period of industrialisation. It created a pattern where a circle around Copenhagen from south to north was formed by rings of suburbs with falling incomes, education, health etc., so that those higher on the social scale were situated north of the city and the working class were west and south of the city. This given situation meant that the Koege Bugt-finger was laid out as an extension of older working class quarters and that the newer cities imagined along the Koege Bugt would be working class cities<sup>14</sup>.



Source Zdroj: Municipality of Hvidovre

The "Fingerplan" for the future development of Greater Copenhagen was introduced in 1947 and though never formally adopted, it has ruled the growth of the city ever since

„Prstový plán“ pre budúci vývoj Kodane bol predložený v roku 1947; hoci nikdy nebol formálne realizovaný, odvtedy určuje rast mesta



Photo Foto: Forstadsmuseet

Looking southwest along the "thumb" of the Fingerplan with the innermost planned town, Avedoere Stationsby, in the foreground, the next section is high-rise buildings in Broendby Strand and faintly visible on the horizon are the two next planned towns

Pohľad juhozápadným smerom pozdĺž „palca“ „prstového plánu“; v popredí za vysokými budovami na Broendby Strand je vnútorná naplánovaná mestská časť Avedoere Stationsby. Na horizonte vidieť dve ďalšie plánované predmestia

The modernist planning tools that were implemented on the towns of the Koege Bugt Finger were comprehensive and detailed, comprising anything from planning the number of kindergartens to churches and a thorough planned hierarchy of shopping centers on local and regional level. The traffic plans were equally detailed and organized in a proper hierarchy with four levels of roads for motorized vehicles. On top of that, of course, were the paths created solely for pedestrians and cyclists.

Modernistické nástroje plánovania, ktoré sa použili v „prstových“ predmestiach Koege Bugt, boli komplexné a detailne vypracované. Zahŕňali všetko, od plánovania počtu materských škôl po kostoly, a obsahovali dôkladne naplánovanú hierarchiu nákupných stredísk na lokálnej a regionálnej úrovni. Aj plány premávky boli detailné a organizované do vhodnej hierarchie, so štyrmi úrovňami ciest pre motorové vozidlá. Na vrchole hierarchie sa nachádzala úroveň, ktorá bola vyhradená pre chodcov a cyklistov.

In 1961, the parliament passed the Koege Bugt Law, which was meant to secure the overall planning around what was to be the largest realised regional and urban planning assignment in Denmark in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1968 the plan was ready in which 10 new cities along the bay of Koege Bugt was to create 50,000 new housing units for up to 150,000 inhabitants<sup>15/</sup>. The numbers were based on a projection of the growth experienced in the 1960s. The inhabitants were expected to be a mixture between migrators from the agricultural sector and Copenhageners leaving their flats that were under redevelopment.

When the housing units were ready to use in the 1970s, the growth of industry in Copenhagen had long since stopped, and traditional industrial production was being phased out. Consequently, the demand for this type of housing was limited amongst the anticipated inhabitants. On the other hand immigrants, for the first time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, had become a part of society, and these extensive modern plans became the framework for their lives.

The cities were designed like pearls on a string along the coast, behind an existing country road

Tilslutningsvej

Fordelingsvej

Stamvej

Adgangsvej

connecting directly to a projected railway line with a projected motorway in close proximity, so the plans for an overall infrastructure were in place. The town planning was undertaken in a comprehensive plan matrix that took into consideration all the aspects that could be seen in the modernistic planning of the time.

The realised towns faced a future with other inhabitants than originally planned, a future that praised small-scale units and a future that saw non-profit housing in a different light than when the ground was first broken. Nonetheless, 50 years after the planning it is rewarding to look at the buildings with different eyes.

#### A new perspective on the totally planned cities

It is common to look at modern building complexes with a critical or indifferent eye. In 2006, the Danish Kulturarvsstyrelsen (cultural heritage agency) and the Realdania fund selected four cultural heritage regions to work with cultural heritage as a strategic resource. Amongst them was the Hvidovre Region. As a suburb of Copenhagen, the region contained everything from small, family-oriented self-built homes, 'bricklayers' houses

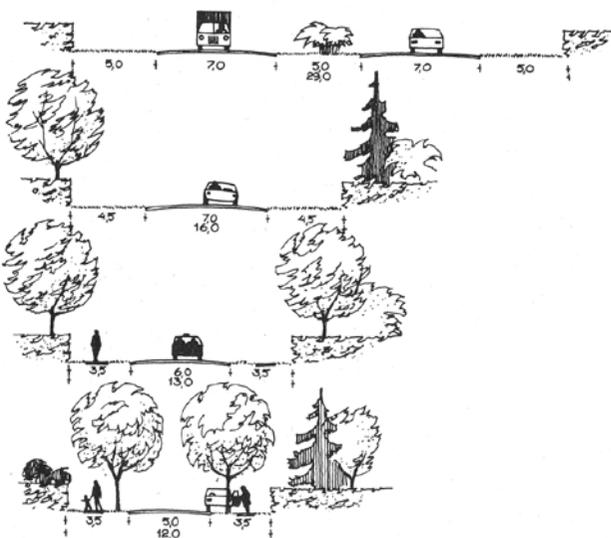


Photo Foto: Taken from Disposition plan for the Koege Bugt area



Photo Foto: Forstads museet

and bungalows to large, post-war business and residential areas such as Avedoere Stationsby.

The background for this was a survey showing that the majority of Danes felt that it was important to preserve and develop cultural heritage. Cultural heritage creates a local identity, which would make Danes more willing to move to areas with an exciting history instead of areas seemingly without a historical background<sup>16/</sup>.

The idea behind the project was to research the development potential in these areas as many people actively seek cultural heritage. Having been selected, Hvidovre was committed to examining how cultural heritage could be used as a catalyst for development in the region. The goal was simultaneously to strengthen satisfaction amongst the inhabitants and businesses already in the region, and also to attract new residents as well as more, and different, businesses and more tourists.

The naming of Hvidovre as a cultural heritage region was surprising in a world where cultural heritage is mostly associated with rural or bourgeois culture. As a classical modern suburb Hvidovre is perceived by many to be as a place without a cultural heritage – a place where original history had disappeared with the hasty expansion in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The idea behind "Kulturarv 2650" – the local name for cultural heritage region Hvidovre – was to challenge the thought that modern suburbs are lacking in history<sup>17/</sup>.

The main idea behind Kulturarv 2650 was that the welfare state and class society were about to become history. The 20<sup>th</sup> century is now past, and

"On track of the suburban welfare dreams" was the title of the publication published after the Project 2650

„Na ceste k splneniu predmestských sociálnych snov“ – titul publikácie, ktorá vyšla po vypracovaní projektu 2650



Photo Foto: Forstads museet

The detached houses in the municipality of Hvidovre shows that needs in square meters change over time. Many houses have extensions from different decades

Samostatné domy v mestskej štvrti Hvidovre ukazujú, že potreba štvorcových metrov sa v priebehu času menila.

Viacero budov majú prístavby z rôznych dekád

it seems incomprehensible that non-profit residential areas like Avedøere Stationsby were built when seen from the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the same time, curiosity is aroused in the presence of something not understood. The project's aim was to rouse this curiosity, spread it around and recount the history of Hvidovre and utilise this attention as a development resource.

Kulturarv 2650 was precisely the type of development project to focus on the development of new perspectives, methods and strategies rather than carrying out actual physical projects.

#### A new object field and a new method

Cultural heritage is relative. Different time periods and different groups regard different aspects of the past as important for preservation. In the 1800s, emphasis was first put on prehistoric times and then pre-industrial farming societies. Later, historical preservation focused chiefly on civilian society. In recent years, industry has come forward and undergone a change from unwanted to worth preserving.

Cultural heritage must be regarded as a force with greater influence than was previously believed. Cultural heritage is not simply a relationship to the past, but as an inseparable part of society. It isn't enough to say that an understanding of the past is an understanding of cultural heritage – we must also understand our own time and see the connections of which different forms of cultural heritage are a part.

This understanding of cultural heritage opens up a way of seeing the concept as more than nostalgia and fear of the future. By accepting that there are a variety of differing cultural heritages, it makes it possible to assume a more dynamic



approach, where it could be argued that the preservation of a house, for example, depends on the future interest there might be in preserving it. In Hvidovre, this relativist and dynamic approach to cultural heritage means that there is no need to accept the traditional claim that the region contains no cultural heritage of any worth. Hvidovre's percentage of traditional cultural heritage is highly limited, but if you change the way of conceiving of cultural heritage it becomes clear that the region contains a fascinating story of the expansion of the Danish welfare state during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Kulturarv 2650, the intention was to grab hold of this story so that it could become a concrete part

of cultural heritage, and that the buildings and surroundings tell the story of modern suburbs.

The traditional objective for cultural heritage recognition is unique buildings more than 50 years old (according to the Building Protection laws) built by renowned architects and protected intact. That is not the case when it comes to Hvidovre, where the buildings rarely meet these criteria. The buildings were built primarily after the Second World War with industrialisation, standardisation and democratization as priorities, and have frequently been refurbished since. This meant that a new evaluation method was needed in connection with Kulturarv 2650.

The process when cultural heritage is involved as a part of the plan <sup>/18/</sup>

As a consequence, the fundamental element of the method developed in Kulturarv 2650 is to take as a starting point immaterial history, instead of the object itself – a building or an area. The method must be adjusted to the object, not the other way round. Any region contains numerous stories. Who will find these stories and work with them in the future? Then, it will be possible to point out a historically relevant material object (a house or a realised local development plan) or an immaterial activity (a tradition of building in a particular way). Another fundamental element of the method is to combine preservation and development into a whole, for which it is, in turn, necessary to analyse the societal problems of today that are particular to the region. How does the cultural heritage relate to these problems? Can cultural heritage be a part of the solution, or should there be a balance between opposing preservation and development needs?

Store Hus in Avedoere Stationsby was erected in four stages. It has been called the only true Danish Corbusier-inspired high-rise block, as it is the only one with incorporated day nursery, linen service, restaurant and technical service

Budovu Store Hus vo štvrti Avedoere Stationsby postavili v štyroch fázach. Považovali ju za jedinú výškovú budovu skutočne inšpirovanú Le Corbusierom, lebo ako jediná obsahovala denné jasle, služby výmeny poštnej bielizne, reštauráciu a technické služby



Photo Foto: Forstads museet

To weigh up these problems, what must be created is a vision that works with the specific cultural heritage formulated into a responsible, communal strategic discussion. This vision will be the starting point for both the solidifying of the preservation and development strategies, and for ideas for specific projects that will realise that vision.

Work starts with researching the history of the place, along with a survey in the specific region. Then follows a period where the region is analysed, the vision is developed and a discussion with the local residents and other stakeholders takes place. Analysis will lead to the history, objects and the problems in the region, while the working out of a vision integrates the area into the region's overall plan and involves the locals with discussion.

Analysis, vision and discussion do not necessarily need to be separate, but can be part of the

same procedure. It is a process-based approach in which the original vision and analysis can be challenged by the discussions with the citizens and be developed further afterwards.

Finally, the developed vision is put into action by making concrete a series of project ideas and plans.

#### Elements in the method

The work procedure consists of a series of elements which are continually developed.

Principal stories: which stories can be found in the relevant area? Which stories are local, which are an expression of larger regional, national or global stories? Which of the stories should be prioritised and made the basis for the preservation work? Depending on the strategy, one can choose to focus on one or more primary and secondary stories.



Store Hus anno 2012.  
The house has been updated with enclosed balconies on each side, solar power and penthouse apartments on top  
Budova Store Hus v roku 2012. Bola aktualizovaná zatvorenými balkónmi na každej strane, solárnymi batériami a podkrovnými apartmánmi



Avedoere Holme was laid out as Scandinavia's largest industrial area. It covers 250 hectares and was one of the places where the future inhabitants in the new cities along Koege Bugt were meant to work. But after the area's completion, most of the industry moved to the other end of the country and later on to the other side of the world

Avedoere Holme je najväčšou škandinávskou priemyselnou oblasťou. Pokrýva 250 hektárov; bola to jedna z oblastí, kde mali pracovať budúci obyvatelia nových štvrtí pozdĺž Koege Bugt. Keď však bola postavená, priemysel sa premiestnil na druhý koniec krajiny a neskôr na iný koniec sveta

**Preservation values:** based on the chosen story or stories, the physical objects are pointed out and/or the activity or process that can convey the stories.

**Current problems:** which general societal problems does the region face? For instance unemployment, out-of-date buildings, bad public spaces, crime etc.

**Vision:** how can the preservation value and the current problems be combined into a strategic vision that will highlight a long-term development course for the area?

**Preservation and development strategy:** which strategies should be followed to realise the vision?

**Project ideas:** which concrete ideas can help realise the vision? This procedure can be the working out of formal communal strategies and plans and it can involve ideas for concrete projects of a physical or communicative nature.

**General experiences:** which general experiences can be achieved from the case? Are they experiences which can be used in similar areas, or in preservation discussions generally?

#### The method used in Hvidovre Kommune

Kulturav 2650 worked with five areas which were combined to represent the development of the region in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first area, the Risbjerg quarter, represented the self-expanding quarter of detached houses, where the resident-owned, self-built home and a variety of individual dreams were the central focus. The next area, Bredals Park, represented with its thoroughly organised park buildings, is quite major shift of scale from the detached houses of the Risbjerg quarter. Here, the focus is the 1950s dream of developing good social housing as a healthy, attractive alternative to the residential blocks in the unhealthy, overcrowded inner city. Three areas were seen as one as an expression of the post-war use of zone planning where city functions were separated as living, working and recreation and these were tied together in a large infrastructure. The three areas were Avedoere Stationsby (living), Avedoere Holme (work), and Avedoeresletten (recreation).

Together, these five areas represent the side of development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century grounded in



ideology where the wish was to create an optimal framework around the inhabitant of the future through architecture and planning.

Avedoere Stationsby also bears witness to a time where it was thought that a good city could be planned from a desk, if only all good will and professionalism were conjoined together. The result is a very thought through and planned out 'cradle to grave' city with all the previously mentioned institutions and organisations.

Seen in connection with nearby industrial area Avedoere Holme, the close proximity to the recreational landscape Avedoeresletten and being rooted in the finger plan, Avedoere Stationsby holds a significant story about the societal planning of the Danish welfare state. Furthermore, the three-part landscape physically mirrors the old working-class dream of a three part day with eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of spare time.

Preservation value: the most obvious preservation value is in the plan for Avedoere Stationsby itself, where the larger strokes are the division into three main areas: the city wall that circles the city, the Great House as the Corbusierian metropolitan dream and the compact, low-rise residential area with gardens by the buildings in the heart of the city. Then there was the belt of public institutions and the separation of traffic. Together, they illustrate the city planning of the time where the ideal was neighbourliness, cradle-to-grave and minute planning at the regional level to the smallest details in the lives of the inhabitants.

On a smaller scale, the preservation values are in the idiom, particularly the coloured concrete.

It is the overall lines that are important to hold onto. Physically, it is the division of the four areas (the city wall, the Great House, the compact, low-rise residential and the institution belt). Functionally, it is the experience of a city where everything has been planned in minute detail, including the traffic, the proximity to public transport, welfare institutions, work places and green areas.

Present problems: after a large-scale social support project, which ended in 2002, Avedoere Stationsby has become more and more functional. In the long term, however, the positive development of the area is threatened by future recession,

Anonymity is one of the threats when living in a modernistic town. One way of dealing with it could be to implement larger architectural variation, which would also make it easier to find your way in the area

Anonymita ohrozuje bývanie v modernistickom predmestí. Jedným zo spôsobov, ako si s ňou poradiť, je uplatniť viac architektonických variácií, ktoré by uľahčili orientáciu v tejto oblasti.

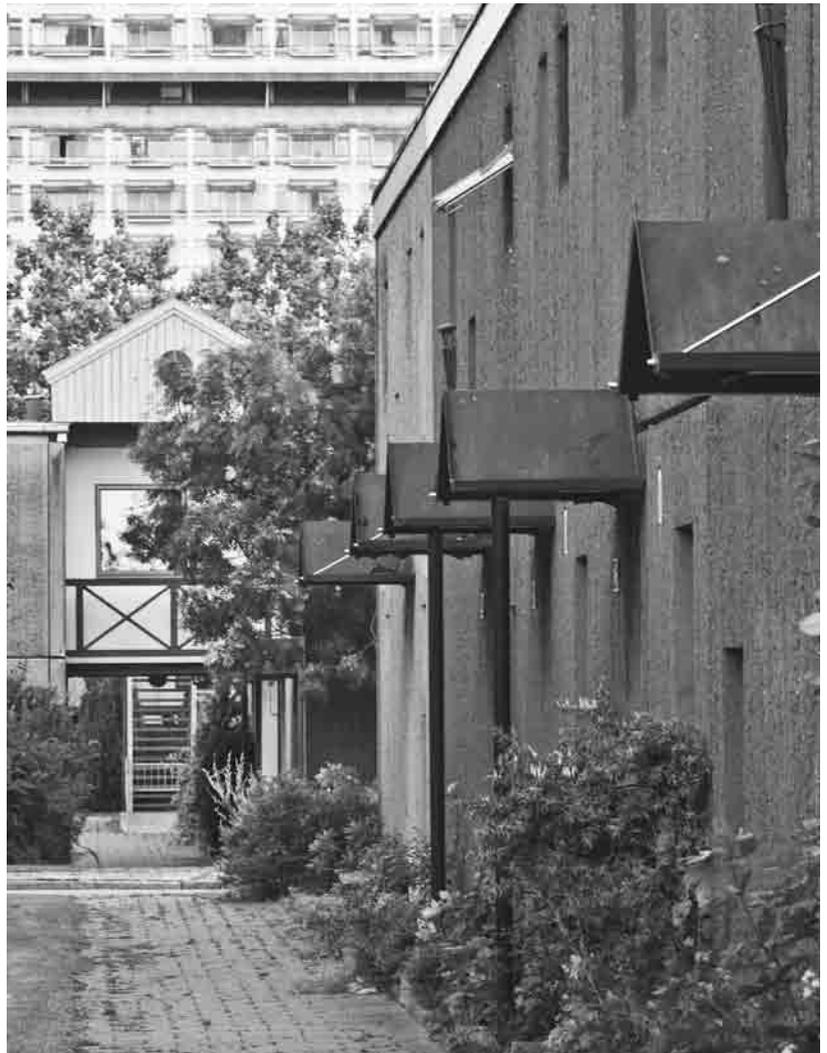


Photo Foto: Forstads museet

which will drag the area down if it is not made more resilient. According to the analysis in the project, the three primary problems that restrict the development of Avedoere Stationsby are:

**Anonymity:** it is difficult to express your individuality in an area that has uniformity as a principal value. There is a need to find ways of developing individual expression.

**Mono-functionality:** many of the inhabitants spend most of their time in the city which was originally conceived as a dormitory suburb. Furthermore, the present ideal for city areas is for them to contain a mix of housing, businesses, private/public services and recreation. Because of the methods of ownership, it is hard to insert new functions into the social residences.

**Stigmatisation:** despite good development, Avedoere Stationsby is still perceived as an area burdened by difficult social problems. The stigmatisation primarily comes from those living outside the city, while the inhabitants themselves are very happy living there. It is important to change the external view of the place to attract new residents.

**Vision:** the vision is to create a positive story that can create an appeal in living in the block and a greater external acknowledgement that Avedoere Stationsby is a good place to live. However, to do so would require an upgrade of the dream of the well-functioning city, which in its communication of the ideal of equality finds it hard to match the individualisation of the present. Furthermore, the city should be developed to become multifunctional so it becomes a frame around not just the home but also spare time and working life. The goal is to use the cultural heritage to lift the character of the area so that it becomes an attractive place to settle down for teachers, nurses and police officers, for example. The path towards this end is to cultivate that which is special, which can only be found in Avedoere Stationsby, primarily the unique planning, the coloured concrete and even the concrete itself.

**Preservation and development strategies:** the strategy is double in that it builds on an idea that on one hand one must convey Avedoere Stationsby's history and on the other one must update the original dream of Stationsby as the framework for a good life. The process of conveying the historical qualities of the place must challenge the

stigmatisation of the place, while updating must counteract the mono-functionality and the experience of anonymity.

**Project ideas:** the recommendations for projects and initiatives that could be started are grouped as an extension of the preservation strategies of having two approaches regarding the area – partly an upgrading of the original dream, partly the conveying of the present potential of the city.

When it comes to the question of communication, the central idea is an exhibition of homes where a series of flats are decorated to show the possibilities of living a good life in Avedoere Stationsby. A flat can mirror the way the flats were typically decorated in the early years of Stationsby: a kind of museum flat that would tell the story of the original dream and the inhabitants who moved into Stationsby who shared this dream. The other flats could be decorated by furniture companies and/or design students. These flats should show how to live a good life in Avedoere Stationsby today at prices matching a wide economical scale from the unskilled worker to the academic professional, to keep the key work force close to the big city.

Furthermore, city walks could be developed where Avedoere Stationsby is tied together with solutions typical for their time to housing challenges at other times.

When it comes to the upgrading of the original dream, the two most central problems are the ideology of equality and the mono-functionality of the plan. A break with mono-functionality is necessary because a large part of the inhabitants in the Stationsby do not live according to the original division of the zone planning the landscape of their day into eight hours of work, eight hours of recreation and eight hours of rest. In particular, old age pensioners, the unemployed and others supported by the state spend most of their time in the confines of Stationsby, which is why the city must be updated to meet their needs. Mono-functionality also needs to be tackled because the present ideal of a city is the multifunctional city. The dream of the good city, in the post-industrial society, is a city mixing home, work and recreation so that it is possible to move directly from one sphere to the other or be in several at the same time. A plan

should be made for how this can be done without erasing the key stories of the history of Stationsby. Amongst other things, such a plan demands an analysis of which kinds of businesses can be centralised in Stationsby and where there is space for them. The same sort of analysis should be carried out for recreation and experiences, both public and private as well as indoors and outdoors. It is also necessary to ponder how there can be made room for greater variation in lifestyle. It is hard to influence the exterior look of the concrete city blocks and it will also weaken the value of the cultural stories of the building blocks markedly, but these challenges must be solved<sup>19/</sup>.

#### In general

Avedoere Stationsby is a central subject of attention because it is an example of the type of modernistic and often socially vulnerable post-war buildings that can be found all over the world. Often, it is the physical form itself that has been severely criticised – an aspect that makes it interesting to go in and work with the form and architecture itself. In many places there has been an attempt to change the overall image for this type of estate - for instance, to create a distance from the original vision by adding new facades in brick. The idea in Kulturarv 2650, on the other hand, is to take a starting point in the original vision and keep the parts that still work and use them as a jumping-off point for future development.

It is also interesting, however, because Stationsby is an example of a type of area accused of being developed with no sense of the spirit of the place. Now, with decades of modernistic history, the area has achieved its own spirit or history to take as a starting point.

Last but not least, it is interesting how much it is possible to change the stigmatisation of an area by working with the cultural heritage of the place. In some ways, it is the same development that in recent years has taken place in worn-out industrial areas, but with the marked difference that Avedoere Stationsby still contains its original function: housing.

#### Conclusion

As a reaction against the uncontrolled and market based city growth from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>

century that had created large, unstructured and unorganized quarters lacking in identity, the new city growth was to secure basic qualities in the functions of the city and city life.

The execution of the Koege Bugt plan turned out to be the culmination of the self-aware, modernistic planning of the modern project in Denmark. When the planning process began, the project represented the most visionary, forward-thinking effort that Danish planning professionals could show. When most of the plan was carried out and thousands of the homes had been built, the ideals had changed, the discourse was new, society fundamentally changed and the role of the new cities was redefined.

The new cities, the thoughts and technology behind them, as well as their inhabitants are now, 30 to 50 years later, a monument to a societal ideal, which in a modernistic project attempted to standardise and industrialise not just construction but, in a broader sense, the physical framework around life. It was an overwhelming belief that theory-based systematic thinking in industrial technology anchored in a fixed planning paradigm could solve the challenges of the time, and create a life-enhancing and attractive framework around human lives.

In the decades after, criticism has been strongly directed towards the new cities. With the change in public and architectural ideals, criticism has been aimed at the scale, the monotony, the social mono-functionality, the cost of construction and maintenance, the materials, the division of functions, the view of human nature and so on. None of these objections change the fact that the new cities represent a great cultural heritage value because of the very elements for which they are criticised.

The rationale behind the new cities was freed from the traditions that had supported the building of Danish cities through the centuries. They were spurred forward by an approach to the idea of 'the good life' and the framework to support it was notably sensible. The fascination of the planning as a tool pointed towards consistent use of the mechanical approaches to the necessary problem-solving, particularly obvious in the estimates of what the new cities needed in terms of child care, schools and trade.

The freeing from tradition and regional constraints, together with the industrial approach of solving social problems, allowed for the creation of a series of cities with hitherto unseen facilities for the inhabitants. The flats were bigger than ever, the number of club facilities was overwhelming, the child care and schools were situated in more ideal spots, and the traffic planning focused on poor conditions for the motorist. The cities were, after the opening of the railway connections, ideal

in relation to commuting between the outskirts and the centre, and the inhabitants were very close to recreational areas.

In today's housing and urban-planning debate, it has largely been forgotten that the massive modernistic gamble on industrialised housing solutions actually fulfilled a series of socially agreed-upon goals, and that the heritage from these solutions is necessary to adopt in future preservation work



Photo Foto: Forstadsmuseet

Avedøre Holme is a perfect location for institutions not wanted near living areas but still wanted in relative proximity. Illustration brought in "On track of the suburban welfare dreams" to show an example of how to rethink the use of an industrial area

Avedøre Holme je skvelou lokalitou pre inštitúcie, ktoré nie sú žiaduce v susedstve obytných štvrtí, ale mali by byť relatívne blízko. Ilustrácia v publikácii „Na ceste k splneniu predmestských sociálnych snov“, ktorá ukazuje príklad prehodnotenia využitia priemyselnej oblasti

## NOTES POZNÁMKY

<sup>1</sup> BRO, Henning: Fra hovedstad til hovedstadsmetropol – tiden før 1945. In: BRO, Henning (ed.): Hovedstadsmetropolen efter 1945. Hovedstadsområdets Kulturhistoriske Arkiver, 2011, pp. 9 – 42.

<sup>2</sup> LARSEN, Morten L. – LARSEN, Troels R.: I medgang og modgang – dansk byggeri og den danske velfærdsstat 1945 – 2007. 2007, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> SKJÆRT-PETERSEN, Lise: Offentlig strøtte til nybyggeri 1934. In: Bro, Henning (ed.) Hovedstadsmetropolen efter 1945. Hovedstadsområdets Kulturhistoriske Arkiver 2011, pp. 361 – 364.

<sup>4</sup> Hvidovre Kommuneatlas. Skov- og Naturstyrelsen 2000, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> LARSEN, Morten L. – LARSEN, Troels R.: I medgang og modgang – dansk byggeri og den danske velfærdsstat 1945 – 2007. 2007, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> E. g. Nordmarkhave in the municipality of Vallensbæk which is one of the other municipalities along Koege Bugt. It was built by A/S Muret Forsøgsbyggeri in accordance with the housing ministry to test working methods in the newly industrialized building industry.

<sup>7</sup> BENDSEN, J. Rosenberg red.: Danmarks almene boliger. Dansk Arkitektur Center, 2012, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> HERMANN, Elisabeth: 50'er-boligen – en eksempelsamling. Kunstakademiets Arkitektskole, 2000, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> In 1920, when the Danish Social Democratic Party gave up its demand that housing should be a state matter, it gave the go-ahead for the predominant form of organisation for social housing to become social housing associations owned by the members but where individual ownership is not an option. The associations have for periods of time been a strong and political player in the shaping of Danish housing politics. Housing owned

by the council is one of the exceptions on the Danish housing market.

<sup>10</sup> The general outlines of the history of Danish building industry in the postwar decades are treated. In: LARSEN, Morten L. – LARSEN, Troels R.: I medgang og modgang – dansk byggeri og den danske velfærdsstat 1945 – 2007. Byggecentrum 2007.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. the cartoon book from 1978 “Leif i forstaden” by Ole Pihl shows the alienation and boredom these new towns offered the youth.

<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed reading on The Finger Plan see: VEJRE, Henrik et al.: The Copenhagen Finger Plan. In: PEDROLI, B. – VAN DOORN, A. – DE BLUST, G. – PARACCHINI, M. L. – WASCHER, D. – BUNCE, F.: Europe’s living landscapes. Essays on exploring out identity in the countryside. KNNV, pp. 311 – 328.

<sup>13</sup> IILLERIS, Sven: Regional udvikling 2010. Bogværket, p. 100 – 101.

<sup>14</sup> The general history of the suburban development along the Koege Bugt can be found. In: SKRIVER, P. E.: Byerne langs Koege Bugt, Byplanlaboratoriet 1984.

<sup>15</sup> Disposition plan for the Koege Bugt area, 1970, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> The survey was published. In: Kulturarv – en værdifuld resource. Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Application, cultural heritage region Hvidovre, 2005. The application focuses on the story and cultural heritage values in the built-up everyday landscape.

<sup>18</sup> The cultural heritage method has been reported to the Danish Cultural Heritage Fund. In: På sporet af forstadens velfærdsdrømme. Hvidovre 2008.

<sup>19</sup> The immediate experiences from the method development of the project are examined. In: Kulturarven – et aktiv. Kulturarvsstyrelsen, 2007.