

Exploration of Marxist Humanism in 20th Century Global New Town Planning A Case Study of Vällingby in Sweden

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Abstract

Massive new town construction activities unfolded globally in the 20th century, demonstrating the desire to embody the idealistic and democratic spirit of a new world order. Amidst a world torn apart at the time, new town construction became a window of opportunity to explore, consolidate, and showcase ideologies. In the 1930s, influenced by Marxism, the Swedish Social Democratic Party emerged from the working class and came to power. Faced with insecurity caused by the Great Depression, the party proposed to bridge the gap between the opposing American free-market economy and the Soviet socialist system by attempting to combine socialist programs, democratic politics and capitalist enterprise, advocating for a relatively moderate middle path. As a result, rooted in Marxist humanism, the goal concept of People's Home emerged and was embodied in the country's new town development backed by spatial planning and public policies, with Vällingby being the most representative. The paper examines the innovative ABC-Town theoretical model derived from new town planning practices under the People's Home initiative. Using the planning of Vällingby as an example, the study summarizes five key aspects of the planning model, and proposes thoughts and insights for current new town planning.

Keywords

new town planning, Marxist Humanism, Vällingby, public housing, metropolitan area

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INTRODUCTION

The “short twentieth century” is marked by a succession of events that culminates in two world wars, interspersed with the disintegration of the New York Stock Exchange in 1929 and the Great Depression, the Cold War, and the consolidation of American hegemony and the welfare state¹. This makes all countries urgently need to find a path that suits them in a world torn apart by various extreme ideas. Various ideas have emerged, and new town planning has become a window for the display of national ideology. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, Escola Superior Artística do Porto(ESAP) hosted an international conference in 2014 titled “20th Century New Towns: Archetypes and Uncertainties.”² This conference served as a focal point for showcasing new town planning initiatives worldwide during the twentieth century. It also provided a platform for diverse countries and regions to reflect upon and respond to the tumultuous challenges of the past century.

Among all the national ideologies and international planning theories that have shaped new town planning, Marxist humanism, and its associated planning theories have emerged as significant influences. Sweden, particularly from the 1930s to the 1970s, exemplifies the influence. With the ascent of the Swedish Social Democratic Party(SAP) to power in 1930s, the concept of the People’s Home was introduced, shaping a coherent set of public policies and spatial planning systems in alignment with the national governance framework. The planning of Vällingby, a new suburban town in the Stockholm metropolitan area, grounded in the concept, emerged as a notable practical implementation. Examining the implementation of the People’s Home in the planning of Vällingby provides benefits for the realization of planning ideologies rooted in Marxist humanism and advocating for collaboration and social equity in twenty-first century urban planning.

THE INFLUENCE OF MARXIST HUMANISM ON NEW TOWN PLANNING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Marxist Humanism is one of the four philosophical forms of modern humanism, it is a particular type and approach of critical social theory that is informed by Karl Marx’s works³. Christian Fuchs defines Marxist Humanism as a philosophical tradition and worldview inspired by Marx that considers the human being as the central aspect of society; takes the human being as a starting point for the theoretical and practical analysis and critique of alienation,

capitalism and class society; puts an emphasis on human practices and class struggles; and sees democratic socialism as the good society that enables a good life for all humans⁴.

The twentieth century saw the emergence of numerous Marxist-influenced socialist urban planning practices in the form of “utopian socialism” and “socialist ideal cities”. On the one hand, some of them focused on the design of small-scale utopian communities, for example, Robert Owen advocated the building of utopian communities based on the paternalistic social principles he developed while supervising the textile mills he owned in New Lanark, where-

in the prototypical utopian town, organized as a parallelogram, housed the town's 1,200 citizens according to their age and marital status within residential buildings on all four sides⁵. Charles Fourier developed a plan for the City of Garantism, which envisioned a city consisting of three concentric bands: a commercial zone surrounded by an industrial zone, both enveloped by an agricultural zone⁶. Furthermore, there are many utopian communities worldwide, such as the Kibbutz in Israel⁷.

On the other hand, most importantly Ebenezer Howard, worked to restore the balance between urban centres and the countryside. He proposed the Garden City with utopian overtones which about 30,000 people zoned in such a way as to segregate different activities while at the same time ensuring that they were easily accessible⁸. According to Fishman, "the utopian socialists were largely forgotten by the time Howard, Although, the utopian socialists had little direct influence on Howard, it is likely that they had a strong indirect influence on him through such intermediaries as Edward Bellamy, Peter Kropotkin, Henry George, William Morris, and John Ruskin"⁹. The most important idea shared by these men was their shared approach to Marxist humanism¹⁰.

Although Marx and Engels were wary of utopian speculation for tactical and strategic reasons, they developed a utopian vision which they based on both dialectical humanism and on historicism. This utopia emphasizes the importance of both human development and egalitarian dialogue. Thus, it follows that Marxism would approve of urban forms that would facilitate these processes¹¹. It is centred on the urgent needs of the society as a whole, the pressing needs of the people, and the ideals of cooperation and social justice. This is why, when "garden cities" show signs of gentrification, some countries or governments intervene in them socially, and the new town of Vällingby in Sweden is one of them.

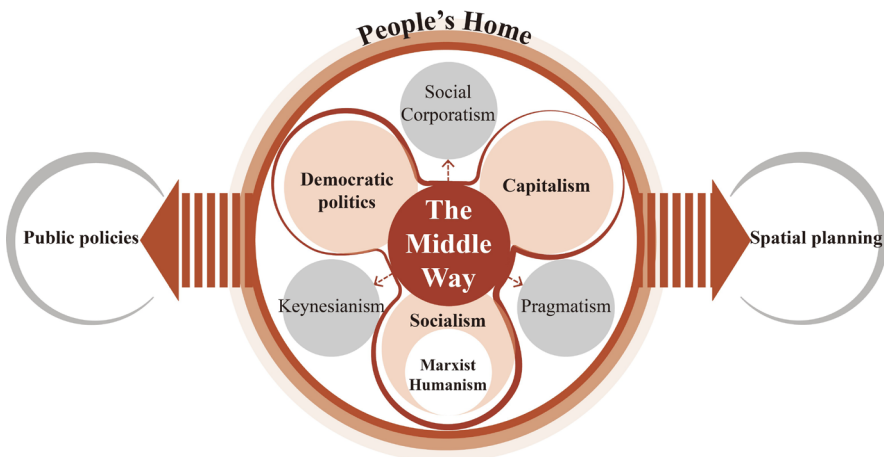


Fig. 1. The association between the Swedish concept of the People's Home and the Middle Way route, as well as the role of Marxist Humanism in this system of thought and action, Marxist Humanism is precisely the principal line of scientific socialism¹⁴.

THE MIDDLE WAY: THE THOUGHTS ROOT OF THE PEOPLE'S HOME IN SWEDEN

In 1932, the SAP came to power, in response to the insecurity caused by the Great Depression, they proposed a relatively moderate approach known as the “Middle Way” between the opposing economic systems of the United States’ free-market capitalism and the Soviet Union’s socialism¹². The strategy aimed to reconcile socialist programs, democratic politics, and capitalist enterprise by advocating for state intervention involving consumers and producers (Figure 1). The goal was to ensure that capital operated rationally, serving the greater interests of the entire nation¹³.

The formation of the “Middle Way” drew upon theoretical ideas from Keynesianism, social corporatism, and pragmatism. The publication of *Sweden: The Middle Way* in 1936 by Marquis W. Childs garnered global attention,

highlighting the success of this approach, which, as Childs summarised, relied on authorities’ willingness to adapt, compromise, and confront reality, moreover, they emphasized cautious, incremental formulation and implementation in the application of socialist planning, prioritizing the welfare of societal order over the ultimate goals of the plan¹⁵. Therefore, within this system of thought and action, the needs and well-being of the people are upheld as the highest goal. Facing the situation that Sweden had some of the worst housing conditions in Europe after the Second World War and had suffered mass unemployment due to the financial crash of 1929, the SAP aimed for everyone to have equal access to good housing regardless of social and economic status¹⁶. They insisted that housing accessibility should be linked to need, not income¹⁷, which clearly reflects the influence of Marxist Humanism. This approach boosted the Swedish concept of the People’s Home and extended the spatial planning system into new domains.

The concept of the People’s Home epitomizes Sweden’s the “Middle Way” approach, addressing the genuine needs of society. It serves as a tangible manifestation of the “Middle Way” philosophy, providing a blueprint that guides social and economic reforms, as well as material spatial planning development within the framework of the “Middle Way”. The concept has led to the development of a coherent set of public policies and spatial planning systems consistent with the national governance structure.

THE BLUEPRINT OF THE PEOPLE'S HOME IN SWEDEN

In a renowned speech delivered on January 18, 1928, Per Albin Hansson, the Prime Minister of Sweden and a proponent of social corporatism, articulated a vision of society as follows: “A beautiful home without privilege or misfortune, without favouritism or exclusion, where no one looks down upon another, where no one exploits another for personal gain, where the strong do not prey upon the weak, where there is a home of equality, kindness, cooperation, and willingness to help one another”¹⁸. This is Per Albin Hansson’s vision of the People’s

Home, reflecting its ideals and connection to Marxist Humanism. At its core, it emphasizes equality for all, achieved through building relationships between individuals and the collective. As stated in the Communist Manifesto, it envisions uniting people as “an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all”¹⁹. The People’s Home embodies the aspiration to become such an association, with its spatial demand and supply reflected at multiple levels and for different groups (Figure 2).

At the first level, Hansson’s values are the classless, equal and democratic society, where there are no prioritized citizens. All citizens live in equal harmony and share prosperity, social burdens and rights. Democracy covers all parts of society, both social and economic democracy. Hansson’s instructions for action are his constant demands for the implementation of social reforms and the need for economic equality and democracy²⁰.

At the second level, Hansson believed that the realization of the People’s Home required the establishment of three fundamental pillars. Firstly, the state, local authorities, and the large common community serve as the foundation of the People’s Home²¹. Secondly, ensuring home education, school education, and individual education are essential elements to safeguard within the People’s Home²². Thirdly, the integration of workers and farmers constitutes the cornerstone of the People’s Home²³, reflecting contemporary issues such as the rural-urban divide and urbanization.

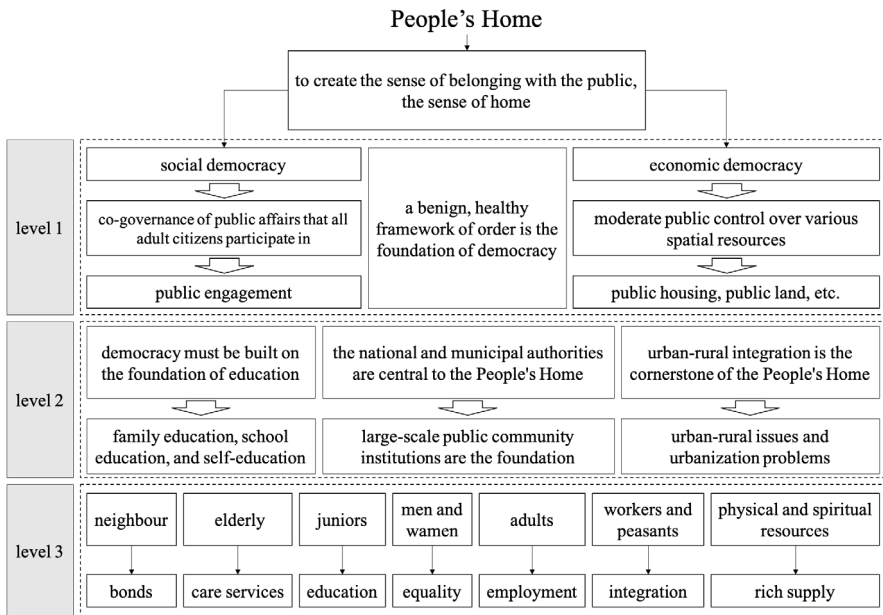


Fig. 2. Based on Marxist humanism, the People’s Home conducts multi-level identification of the needs of the people at that time. The diagram also illustrates some connections between the needs of people at that time and current urban issues, such as the urban-rural integration reflecting the contemporary issue of urbanization.

At the third level, the People's Home anchors all citizens and emphasizes the creation of a society and physical space conducive to fostering neighbourly bonds. Beyond ensuring care for the elderly, education for the young, and gender equality, it aims to provide ample employment opportunities for adults, foster an environment and conditions conducive to rural-urban integration, what's more, offer rich provisions both of physical and spiritual resources²⁴. These objectives directly inform the specific directions of spatial planning systems and public policies.

Around 1950s, the concept of People's Home began to manifest on the physical spatial level, with improving housing quality emerging as a core goal²⁵. For instance, in Stockholm, one new town was produced annually during the era of rapid growth from the 1950s to the 1970s²⁶. Satellite new towns served as commuter, community, and employment centres²⁷. On the one hand, this effectively alleviated the expansion pressure on the old city centres. On the other hand, every family received an adequate housing supply, regardless of social or economic status.

ABC-TOWN: A SPATIAL PLANNING PARADIGM BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF PEOPLE'S HOME

ABC-Town is a spatial paradigm formed by integrating and refining various theories within the framework of the People's Home (Table 1), with the interrelated development depicted in Figure 3.

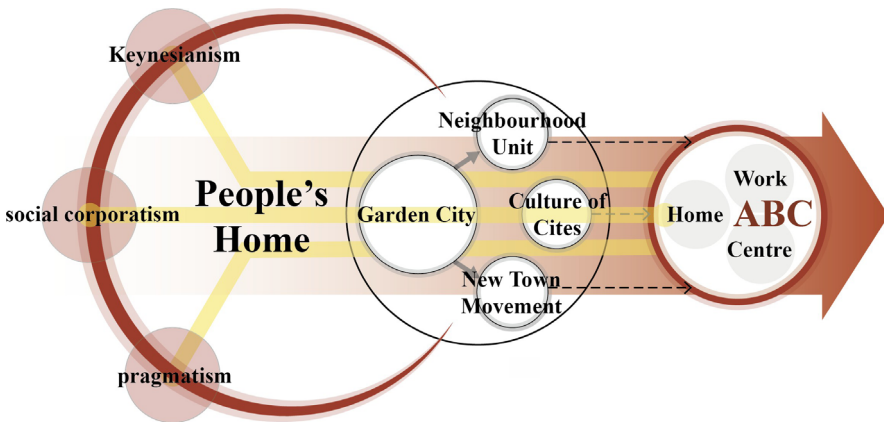


Fig. 3. The illustration of how People's Home transforms into ABC-Town, supported by three main ideas and involving many planning theories.

Theories	Year	Representative figure	Application and adoption in Vällingby
Garden Cities	late 19th century	Ebenezer Howard	Garden Cities propose A rational diagram for a decentralized, hierarchical garden city. The early Swedish experiments with garden cities evolved into white-collar communities, the government initiated self-built housing programs. By 1939, 3500 cottages accommodated 12500 self-builders; 60 percent of the inhabitants were manual labourers and factory workers, 20 percent service workers, and 20 percent white-collar ²⁸ .
Neighbourhood Unit	Early 20th Century	Clarence Perry	Neighbourhood Unit is A comprehensive spatial planning tool aimed at fostering community-centred lifestyles. Suburban areas around Stockholm were during the 1930s and 1940s dominated by three-story lamellar houses and groups of single-family detached houses. These areas soon received criticism for being singlepurpose housing areas with no access to jobs or social and commercial services. Influenced by the concept of Neighborhood Units, new town planners are trying to reconstruct community spaces ²⁹ .
New Town Movement	Early 20th Century	New Towns Act 1946	New Town Movement aims to construct new towns that are both livable and workable, balanced, and self-sufficient. According to this principle, Stockholm clarified that the construction of new towns should be based on decentralized employment ³⁰ . It proposed the ABC-Town paradigm, with "work" as a significant driving force for new town development ³¹ .
Culture of Cities	Published 1938	Lewis Mumford	Inspired by Culture of Cites, Sweden integrated the implementation of welfare systems with new town construction, promoting the formation of centralized, comprehensive urban centres and public service institutions within the new towns ³² .
Greater London Plan	1944	Patrick Abercrombie	Greater London Plan revolves around five key themes: population growth, housing, employment and industry, recreation, and transportation. The planning of Vällingby, combining functionalism and pragmatism, explored planning paradigms and methods for these five key themes.

Table 2. Planning theories guiding the maturation of ABC-Town and how these work in Vällingby.

“ABC” represents the initials in Swedish, where “A” stands for “Arbete” (Work), “B” stands for “Bostad” (Home), and “C” stands for “Centrum” (Centre)³³. The purpose was to construct satellite towns of an independent character that nevertheless had a strong connection to their mother cities, at least half of the residents should be employed within the new town³⁴. Under the theoretical framework, two planning paradigms were initially conceived (Figure 4).

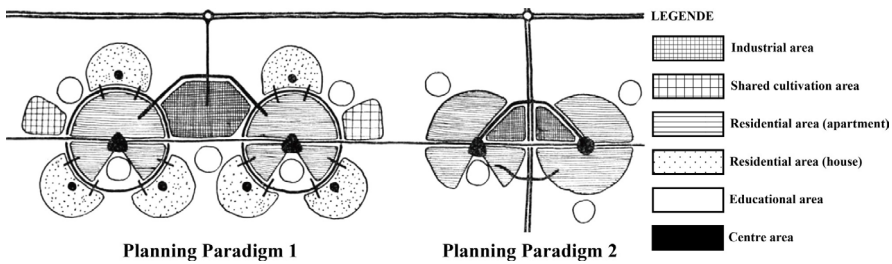


Fig. 4. Two ABC-Town planning paradigms.

Planning Paradigm 1 envisions two fully developed urban districts with a common industrial area and grouped around a radial suburban track. No connection to ring road. Stations are approximately 1800 meters apart, with commercial and service cores clustering around the stations, typically extending outward no more than 500 meters. Residential areas of various kinds are located within 900 meters of the stations and centre. This radial distance roughly determines the maximum scale of the new towns³⁵. The initial conception envisioned approximately 33,000 inhabitants working and living here³⁶.

Planning Paradigm 2 envisions two city districts trained only with apartment buildings and based partly on location around the radial suburban railway, and partly on location next to ring road with bus traffic. The stations are approximately 1100 meters apart, and about 24,000 inhabitants were initially envisioned to work and live here³⁷.

Through planning practice verification, it was determined that the first paradigm was more successful. In Planning Paradigm 1, the layout and scale of various land uses are as shown in Figure 5.

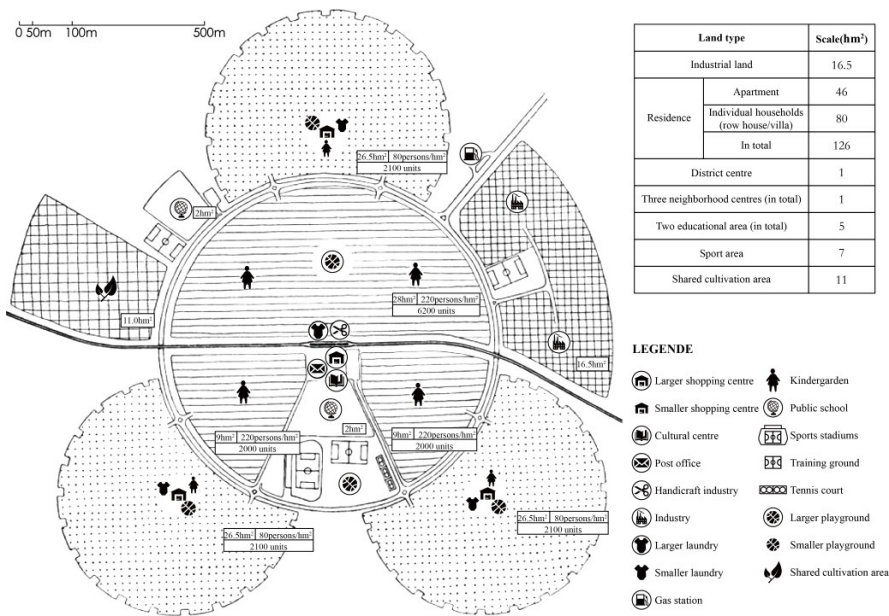


Fig. 5. ABC-Town planning paradigm 1.

THE APPLICATION OF ABC-TOWN TO THE NEW TOWN PLANNING OF VÄLLINGBY

Planning Paradigm 1 was implemented in the new town planning of Vällingby, which embraced the three key elements of “work”, “home”, and “centre” as proposed by ABC-Town. The planning of Vällingby exhibited five distinct layout patterns (figure 6), each characterized by its unique structural features.

Firstly, focus on “work”, the planning demonstrates an intercity layout pattern of “work-centre-work” along the metro line. “Work” as an integral component driving the development of new towns within the ABC-Town, exhibits characteristics of extensive aggregation and radiating influence on both sides. Independent rail stations are set up in the working areas, forming an intercity linear layout along the metro line from the urban centre to the work areas and then to another urban centre. This layout preserves the independence and accessibility of industrial spaces while facilitating nearby employment for residents on both sides of the radiation. Each side of Vällingby is allocated an industrial area of approximately 30 hectares, connected by independent metro stations and located about 1 km from the metro station at the centre of Vällingby.

Secondly, focus on “home”, the planning demonstrates a residential layout pattern of “rental apartments- individual households” around the centre. According to the planning paradigm, there are 10,200 units of rental apartment housing, accounting for 62% of the total housing stock, located in the central part of the new town, encircling the district centre and laid out on both sides of the rail lines. The population density is 220 people per hectare. Peripheral areas, considering terrain and environmental factors, are designated for family-oriented residences such as row houses and small villas, totaling 6,300 units, comprising 38% of the total housing stock. These are distributed in three locations outside the apartment areas, each covering approximately 26.5 hectares and providing 2,100 units, with a population density of 80 people per hectare. In Vällingby’s apartment residential areas, kindergartens, playgrounds, and other children’s facilities are evenly distributed, while schools, sports stadiums, training grounds, tennis courts, and other sports facilities are concentrated in areas connected to the district centre.

Thirdly, focus on “centre”, the planning demonstrates a two-tiered central system consisting of the “district centre-neighborhood centre”. The planning paradigm presents a two-tiered central system comprising one district centre and three neighborhood centres. The district centre, also named as Vällingby Centrum, is built around the metro station, while the neighborhood centres are distributed among three surrounding single-household

residential units. The distance from the Vällingby Centrum to the neighborhood centre is approximately 600 meters. Vällingby Centrum includes a core commercial centre, post office, cultural centre, artisan workshops, large-scale laundromats, etc. Neighborhood centres include amenities such as kindergartens, playgrounds, and self-service laundromats for residents’ convenience.

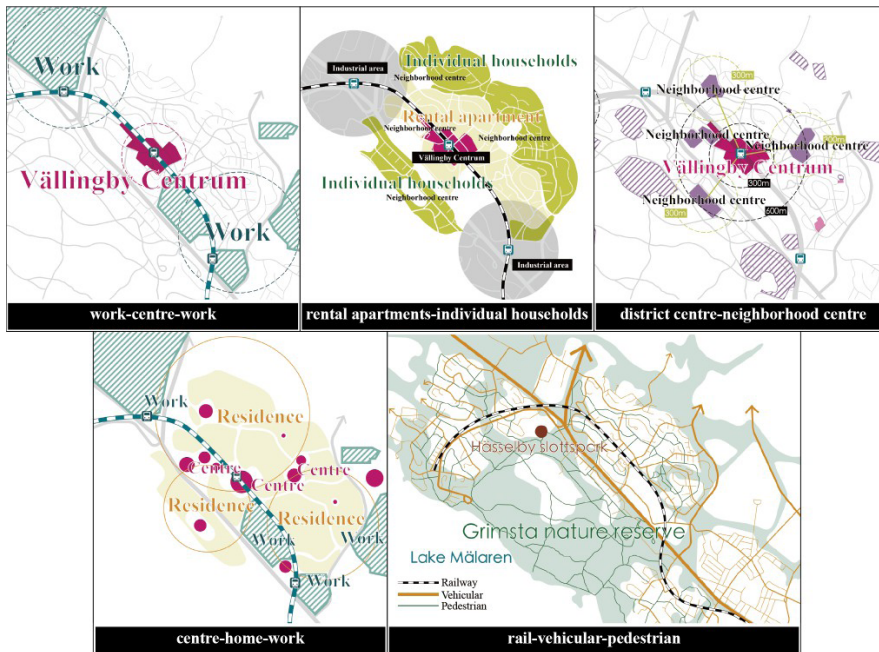


Fig. 6. Five distinct layout patterns in Vällingby, guided by ABC-Town, influenced by People's Home.

Fourthly, the planning integrates the spatial organization logic of “centre-home-work”, merging three elements to construct a new urban form that embodies the integration of industry and city. In the planning paradigm, residents living in any location can access the centre within a maximum distance of 300 meters and work within 600 meters, forming a “centre-home-work” spatial pattern where residents can conveniently work and access public services nearby, thus achieving an integrated city-industrial spatial state. Specifically, starting from the district centre, the maximum distance to apartment housing is 450 meters, to single-household residences is 900 meters, and to industrial areas or cultivated land is 600 meters. Neighborhood centres primarily serve single-household residences within a radius of 300 meters. In Vällingby, each large residential area is evenly covered by public service centres and workspaces, where public welfare and job opportunities are integrated into the neighborhood as a whole, ensuring that residents enjoy equal access to public services and employment opportunities.

Fifthly, the planning establishes a transportation system with independent layers for “rail-vehicular-pedestrian” traffic. The transportation system in Vällingby exhibits three fundamental characteristics: firstly, vehicular traffic and pedestrian traffic systems operate independently without interference; secondly, the pedestrian system is closely integrated with rail transit stations, forming a cohesive pedestrian network; thirdly, the transportation system features a diverse hierarchy of roads: expressways primarily cater to through traffic, main roads encircle the town, secondary roads facilitate cross-town travel, and local roads mainly serve as access

points. The independent transportation system enables the pedestrian network to seamlessly connect natural landscapes, such as forests and lakes, and cultural landmarks, such as castles and heritages, ensuring high-quality pedestrian access.

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF ABC-TOWN'S APPLICATION IN VÄLLINGBY

The three pivotal elements proposed by ABC-Town—namely “work”, “home”, and “centre”—hold significant sway over the ongoing development of Vällingby. Each of these components embodies the fundamental thoughts of People's Home. Moreover, Marxist Humanism serves as the underlying ideology guiding these elements, exerting influence not only locally but also on a global scale.

Regarding “work”, the practice in Vällingby reveals that job security is the cornerstone of the new town's prosperity, and two approaches have been proposed to ensure job supply. One is through significant measures, led by the government, which relocates state-owned enterprises to Vällingby to stimulate the enthusiasm of various enterprises to settle there, thereby ensuring an adequate supply of job opportunities. For instance, the Stockholm City Council relocated the headquarters of Sweden's largest real estate company, Svenska bostäder, and the major power company, Vattenfall, to Vällingby. Under state leadership, a growing number of companies, including IBM, Volvo, among others, have established themselves in Vällingby³⁸. By the mid-1960s, there were approximately 14,000 job vacancies listed on the Vällingby website³⁹, which exceeded the expectations, with more than half of the eligible working population finding employment opportunities, and these companies are still operating in Vällingby today. The other approach involves fundamental measures, SAP successfully promoted the signing of the “Saltsjöbaden Agreement” in 1938, whereby the government introduced tax breaks and subsidies, leading to a compromise between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF)⁴⁰, thereby increasing job opportunities across society at their roots.

Regarding “home”, fair supply, improvement of conditions, and environmental enhancement have been the cornerstones of Sweden's implementation of the People's Home and the development of the welfare state from the 1930s to the 1970s. The practice in Vällingby reveals that to achieve the goal of implementing the People's Home, new town construction should focus on three key issues in housing: ensuring an adequate supply, fair distribution, and equitable use. Firstly, to address the housing shortage comprehensively and ensure an ample supply of housing, the Swedish parliament decided to construct one million new houses between 1965 and 1974, known as the Million Homes Programme⁴¹. Vällingby became a prototype residential area during this plan, and this decade was also referred to as the “record years” of Swedish urban development⁴². During this period, Sweden's housing stock increased by one-third⁴³. Secondly, the state formulated a set of policies known as “Corporatist Implementation”, specifically targeting the entire rental housing industry in Sweden⁴⁴. This includes rent control policies and housing democracy policies, ensuring tenants have decision-making rights in

various aspects such as daily life and housing renewal, thus achieving fair distribution and equitable use of housing. The approach ensured that both urban residents and rural migrants had equal opportunities to access affordable, high- standard modern housing.

Regarding “centre”, the blueprint of the People’s Home emphasizes that the state and municipal authorities are the main actors of the People’s Home. On the one hand, this refers to the power held by the state and government to organize public services. On the other hand, it indicates that large public community institutions will serve as the centre and core of the new town. Vällingby Centrum as the centre of the town, setting the precedent for subsequent global new town centre planning. Here, an innovative unified structure combining service centres and railway stations was pioneered. Vällingby Centrum serves as a comprehensive service hub, meeting the holistic service needs of all residents. It is equipped with retail businesses, cinemas, libraries, hospitals, churches, and a proportion of apartments⁴⁵. At the same time, it functions as a transportation hub, pioneering the innovative pedestrian- friendly system of separating pedestrians from vehicular traffic, becoming one of the pioneers of pedestrian- friendly spaces globally⁴⁶. The central development model laid the groundwork for the TOD approach seen today.

CONCLUSION

The ideology of Marxist humanism emphasizes responding to the urgent needs of the people, and the concept of People’s Home originates from the ideology, aiming for “people’s well-being” and meeting “the needs of the people.” In the extension from the concept to physical spaces, the theoretical framework of ABC-Town and further planning paradigms, especially the spatial organization logic of the three elements, “work”, “centre”, and “home”, along with the assurance of its implementation methods and policies, all demonstrate the influence of Marxist humanism on urban development and even national development at various levels.

Today, China is also rooted in the ideology of Marxist humanism and has proposed the conceptual goal of constructing People’s City based on the path of Chinese socialism. Currently, it is at the stage of extending from concept to physical spatial planning. From a technical standpoint, Swedish models have informed contemporary Chinese thinking in four aspects:

Firstly, by drawing on the planning paradigm of ABC-Town, the spatial structure of cities in China should be optimised. According to the concept of People’s Home, the space planning method centred on the ABC-Town is significant as it accurately identifies the three key elements of people’s needs at the time: work, home, and centre. While planning needs are time-specific, the method of translating and applying the concept can be referenced. In response to people’s needs, China currently has developing Life Circle, Complete Community, etc. However, these are still limited to certain areas. It is necessary to go beyond technical standards, approaching the comprehensive optimisation of urban resources from the dimensions of functional integrity, balance, and dynamic governance of the city’s overall functions.

Secondly, drawing on the public policy of equally distributed spatial resources in Vällingby, China should establish a housing security system from a comprehensive planning perspective. In Swedish practice, the public policy ensuring the fair distribution of housing is an integral part of the planning and construction process in Vällingby. This includes the full lifecycle of new town development, starting from land supply, through construction financing and standards, to the low-threshold allocation principles after completion. All these aspects are coordinated with the new town's entire lifecycle planning and construction. These insights suggest that China should combine the establishment of a housing security system with the transformation of Territorial Spatial Planning. In this way, it can ensure not only the equal supply of housing but also environmental and social resources.

Thirdly, the new town planning of Vällingby, in fact, a paradigm for Swedish exploration of translating the People's Home conceptual system into physical space. Similarly, the current concept of the People's City in China requires a spatial paradigm to support it, to illustrate the "Chinese model" of urban planning, and to showcase the ideal city under the goal of "Chinese-style modernization".

In addition, the significant meaning of studying Swedish People's Home concept and its practical application, also lies in to expand the thought foundation of People's City in China from the perspective of the global influence and dissemination of Marxism. Despite growing in different soils and developing through different paths, both Sweden's People's Home and China's People's City originate from the same Marxist seed of people-centric philosophy, aiming to seek "people's well-being" and meet "people's needs." This demonstrates that the proposal of People's City makes Marxist humanism bloom again in contemporary times, the enduring Marxist humanism thought system also will support the concept of People's City in China will be promising.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

I was awarded my master's degree in Architectural Design and History from Politecnico di Milano, Italy, in 2018. Then, I worked as an urban planner at the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design for four years before starting my PhD training in Urban and Rural Planning at Harbin Institute of Technology, China, in 2022.

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IMAGE SOURCES

Figure 1 Drew by the author.

Figure 2 Drew by the author, according to the bibliography of 'Folket Och Hemmet-En Idéanalytisk Studie Av Per Albin Hanssons Och Jimmie Åkessons Användning Av Begreppet Folkhemmet'.

Figure 3 Drew by the author.

Figure 4 Redrew by the author according to the bibliography of 'Vällingby, Sweden Too Good to Be True or Too Bad to Be Credible – a Tale of Two Towns, the Sequel'. In *New Towns on the Cold War Frontier*.

Figure 5 Redrew by the author according to the bibliography of 'Vällingby, Sweden Too Good to Be True or Too Bad to Be Credible – a Tale of Two Towns, the Sequel'. In *New Towns on the Cold War Frontier*.

Figure 6 Drew by the author.