

Levina Ahlgren

## Ready for crisis?

Food Production in Uppsala during the Second World War



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## Abstract

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Recently, various crises have occurred that have reminded Swedish authorities of the preparations needed to manage such phenomena. The recent crises are the war in Ukraine, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the man-made climate crisis. The aim of this study is to show how urban agriculture can be used to mitigate negative impacts from future crises. This thesis examines different methods used during the Second World War in Uppsala when its citizens turned to urban agriculture to sustain themselves, by studying the local newspaper, archival material, and photographs. While Sweden was neutral during the war, it still suffered the effects of the conflict, such as rations on food and decreased imports on fertilizers, which brought on the need for creating allotment gardens and land lots. This in turn changed the appearance of the cityscape of Uppsala. This thesis will trace the changes made in the urban environment through a lens of crisis studies. Thus, learning from history, a new solution to climate change and future crises are proposed.

Keywords: Second World War, Urban agriculture, Crisis, Cityscape, Uppsala

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# 1. Introduction – places change their looks

When I was a child, we celebrated Midsummer in a park called the Stiernhielm's park [Stiernhielmsparken]. It lays in the neighbourhood Svartbäcken where I grew up. Every year when the maypole was supposed to be risen the musician would yell "Are there any strong men here that can raise the pole?". The men who would raise the pole were mostly fathers of the small children that excitingly waited for the dance to start. The flowers which the pole had been decorated with were from people in the neighbourhood's gardens. After that people danced and did the classic dance the little frogs [små grodorna], had picnic and bought lottery tickets.

Later my maternal grandpa would ask us what we had done for Midsummer. We would tell him that we went to the Stiernhielm's park. My grandpa then told us that during the Second World War the whole park had been used to grow potatoes to ensure food during a time of crisis. For me as a child I could not relate to this story; that there had been something else in the park than the lawn. It was difficult for me to imagine that there had been other activities there rather than enjoying Midsummer, the playground and how this landscape was experienced during a time of crisis. When my mother and father were children, the park had a big pond where one could cool one's feet during summer, a use which was far away from the potato fields during the Second World War. Potatoes had also been important during the First World War<sup>1</sup> and throughout the thesis, potatoes will be the main crop discussed due to its importance. We have later talked about the park when I became older and how it changed during the years. In short, the cityscape had changed significantly between two generations. That a park's features changes from pond to playground may not be unusual but growing potatoes in the city is more far-fetched, at least for my generation, or at least it used to be before we once again became aware that our cities might be needed to sustain us. The idea made me curious, especially since we are now again worrying about how to feed city residents in times of crises. Right now, we have come out of the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine is happening next door which also have resulted in higher food prices. At the same time there is the climate crisis and one of the big emitters of carbon dioxide is the food sector. The emissions from transports of food would be decreased if we turned to urban agriculture. How to feed cities and to do it in a sustainable way was solved during the Second World War, due to disruptions in the food chain, and they prepared for a food crisis in the 1930's.

In Sweden during the 1930's, the self-sufficiency level on food was approximately 78% on the calorie intake.<sup>2</sup> Sweden was one of the countries with the biggest stock of various goods which would keep the production going for four years approximately during the Second World War.<sup>3</sup> Between 1937 and 1939 Swedish import increased. Before the Second World War trade became more restrictive because most countries wanted to be self-sufficient, both in consumption goods and capital goods.<sup>4</sup> With these numbers and facts in mind self-sufficiency can be

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<sup>1</sup> Wijk, 1992: 239.

<sup>2</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 131–132.

<sup>3</sup> Small booklet: 4. E I:1, CB, UCA.

<sup>4</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 435; Månsson, 1976: 113.

seen as something aspirational for the defence of the country. Yet, after the Cold War Sweden would downsize its self-sufficiency level on food. Eriksson writes that this change was due to three reasons, the end of the Cold War, demands on saving in the State budget and the entry in the EU which was said to lead to a safer foreign trade. The downsize in the total defence was connected to what was perceived as a safer world. The Cold War storages ceased to exist in the early 2000's. In 2015 the Swedish government decided that the total defence would have a new direction and once again food supplies were discussed due to a tense security policy situation.<sup>5</sup> Today, Sweden has a self-sufficiency level of 50% and is only self-sufficient on sugar, carrots, and grain.<sup>6</sup>

In 2014, one year before the new direction of the total defence was decided, the Russian Federation had attacked Ukraine. Later, we were again reminded of the need for storage and food with the large-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation in February 2022.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, food prices rose and remained high in 2023.<sup>8</sup> War, high food prices and climate change affect food security. If the prices are high the ability to buy food becomes lower. War disrupts the infrastructure of the system in which food is transported and climate change affects the crops.<sup>9</sup> Locally produced food could decrease these risks and become a general crisis response.

A second example of crisis in recent years is the Covid-19 pandemic. A national debate also arose about preparedness and self-sufficiency in case of war or other crises due to the Covid-19 outbreak. In contrast to Finland, Sweden did not have any extra medical supplies when Covid-19 struck.<sup>10</sup> An example of how Sweden was sensitive to disturbances due to the pandemic was that Sweden had to order products from abroad when the supplies at hand was not enough. Some were confiscated in France due to a new rule, stating that France could confiscate products for domestic use to fight the Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>11</sup> Sweden did not get the supplies. The Cold War storages would have been needed when France confiscated the medical material.

Thirdly, at the same time, the climate crisis was lurking in the background when the new crises were talked of. The climate crisis means that the climate is getting warmer, and this will have catastrophic and dangerous consequences for us.<sup>12</sup> One of the emitters of greenhouse gases are the food sector because it uses fossil fuels for transport, and the fertilizers used in the production contributes, too.<sup>13</sup> The word crisis was on people's lips in 2022 to the extent that one of the new words used in media were perma crisis [permakris] which is a mix of the words permanent and crisis.<sup>14</sup> It made me wonder if we for too long have believed that we are safe when in fact we are sensible and could we use the methods the people used during the Second World War to cultivate food to handle the different types of crises we are facing, expensive food and the climate crisis.

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<sup>5</sup> Eriksson, 2018: 6; Karkiainen et. al., Beredskapslager av livsmedel.

<sup>6</sup> Westergren, Självförsörjning av mat i Sverige.

<sup>7</sup> Nationalencyklopedin (NE), Ukrainakonflikten.

<sup>8</sup> WWF, Höjda matpriser.

<sup>9</sup> McMichael, 2013: 39; Christoplos & Pain, 2014: 2 & 41.

<sup>10</sup> Häkkinen, Hemliga finska beredskapslager öppnas.

<sup>11</sup> Haglund & Nummelin, Sverige överväger anmäla Frankrike för masker.

<sup>12</sup> European Parliament, EU responses to climate change.

<sup>13</sup> Eriksson, 2018: 20; Touliatos, 2011: 1.

<sup>14</sup> Westerberg, Epadunk, Barbiecore och Putinpris – här är årets alla nyord.

Many of these crises can be mitigated with urban agriculture, as Touliatos writes. Urban agriculture can improve food security, lessen impacts on the environment, have benefits in terms of mental health and more.<sup>15</sup> The importance between food and crises and conflicts can be seen in the concept of food security. Today around 800 million people are not food secure.<sup>16</sup> If these people could have the ability to urban agriculture, they would have a level of food security.

Examples of urban agriculture can be found in many places. In Malmö there are several places for urban agriculture and the municipality have a website for it.<sup>17</sup> In Stockholm it is impossible to get land for cultivation but raised beds work and are used to cultivate in a crossing, for example.<sup>18</sup> It is not only the impact of what we eat that is important, but also finding space for cultivation in our cities are getting harder to find and if a crisis was to come, urban agriculture as food security would be hard to achieve.

Even though food is a necessity and always has been, Folke Schimanski explains in his book *Mat en krigisk historia* [Food – a History of War] that food production in war time is under researched, while historiography often covers the strategies and politics of war. Schimanski writes that among the many horrors during the Second World War, the hunger and starvation of everyday citizens are rarely mentioned and usually those suffering most from the lack of food are city residents even though rural populations can be affected too.<sup>19</sup> Lizzie Collingham writes in her book *The Taste of War* that the people dying from starvation in the Second World War are largely forgotten.<sup>20</sup> Still Sweden was not as hard hit as other countries by the Second World War but the threats of war and blockades had an effect on ordinary people's lives in terms of food. Following the tradition of Schimanski and Collingham, I thus want to tell this largely forgotten history but from a local perspective of people cultivating in Uppsala during the Second World War. The people during the war had to change due to their circumstances, we should change because we need to do it before we are forced to change because of a crisis.

## 1.1. Aims and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to analyse how authorities and individuals strategized to provide food during the Second World War and how the then arising food crisis was discussed. I will explore how food security was accommodated in urban planning and how and whether these changes altered the Uppsala cityscape.

In the thesis I will address the following four research questions:

- 1 How did the cityscape of Uppsala change during the Second World War?
- 2 How did the state and municipal actors promote urban gardening and gardening in green spaces in the city?
- 3 How did people innovate and respond with urban gardening during the Second World War?

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<sup>15</sup> Touliatos, 2011: 6.

<sup>16</sup> Christoplos & Pain, 2014: 63.

<sup>17</sup> Malmö kommun, Stadsodling.

<sup>18</sup> SVT Nyheter, Stina ska odla mitt i en korsning i stan: 'Inget aprilskämt'.

<sup>19</sup> Schimanski, 2019: 7 & 11.

<sup>20</sup> Collingham, 2011: 1.

#### 4 What and how can we learn from these experiences when it comes to urban gardening today?

By looking at how people coped with local food production during the Second World War the aim is to find and discuss solutions for the crises which we are faced with today with climate crisis and higher food prices. The aim of the thesis is also to examine if the methods used then could be implemented today in our gardens and green areas in the city. Another aim of the study is to show how past responses to crises can be important lessons for us today and that there are important lessons to be learnt - that the wheel does not need to be reinvented every time there is a crisis. Johnny Wijk asks whether we would react in the same way to rations today as during the Second World War.<sup>21</sup> It is as he writes a speculative question but if we do no longer reduce the actions of people in history as isolated events, we can learn from these events. The project strives to show the use of our past, and that we may learn from hard times.

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<sup>21</sup> Wijk, 1992: 253.

## 2. Definitions, concepts, material, methods, and theory

Definitions and material used in the thesis will be presented together with important concepts, such as crisis and cityscape. Each of these concepts relate to broader research fields as will be explained below. The archival material will be presented below together with a description of the methodology.

### 2.1. Definitions and concepts

The focus area for the study is urban cultivation in allotment gardens, private gardens, and urban green spaces in response to the Second World War. The definition used for these spaces is inspired by van Leeuwen, Nijkamp and de Noronha Vaz from their article “The multifunctional use of urban greenspace”. Their definition of productive urban green space is that it must produce useful products such as “wood, fruits, compost, energy, etc.”.<sup>22</sup> The focus is on places that produce edible products and excludes recreational purposes and products such as leaf mulch, wood, and energy. Even though leaf mulch works as a fertilizer for cultivations it will not be explored. The focus will be specifically on potatoes as this was the most common crop grown and had been an important crop during the First World War, which will be discussed in Subchapter 3.1. Still, other crops and foodstuffs will be mentioned too.

Distinctions are made between the public and the private cityscapes in the city. As Hutchinson and Teixeira Lopes wrote, public space is not homogeneous across cultures though generally it could be a place in which strangers meet. In a private space, people who know and share beliefs, values, and history meet.<sup>23</sup> In this thesis, the definition of a public cityscape is that the land is owned by the city, in this case Uppsala Municipality. In the material the land where the potato cultivations take place are referred to as “the potato cultivations of the city” [stadens potatisodlingar].<sup>24</sup> The public land is rented from the city and the rent varies from 1 crown<sup>25</sup> to 2–4 crowns.<sup>26</sup> This public land where cultivation was carried out was called potato lots [potatislotter] or land lots [jordlotter]. In the thesis the term land lot will be used.

The definition of public land does not include allotment gardens [koloniträdgård] even though the city also owns the land allotment garden associations hold. Allotment gardens are usually leased by associations in contrast to land lots which are rented directly from the city. The difference between an allotment garden and a land lot is also that the allotment gardens are more permanent, often with small houses [lusthus] on the plots. Hence, allotments can be more private because the owner has constructed a building and there is often fencing and other constructions. Private gardens in connection to houses owned by private people are also included in the definition of the private cityscape. Another concept used in the thesis is kitchen

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<sup>22</sup> van Leeuwen et. al., 2010: 20.

<sup>23</sup> Teixeira Lopes & Hutchinson, 2016: 5 & 7.

<sup>24</sup> Protokoll hållet vid sammanträde med Uppsala stads Planteringsnämnd den 6 oktober 1943, A I:1: 172, PB, UCA.

<sup>25</sup> Uppsala Drätselkammare Ink. Den 29 JAN. 1940 D.nn 31411940, F I:72, MO, UCA.

<sup>26</sup> Protokoll hållet vid sammanträde med Uppsala stads Planteringsnämnd den 8 oktober 1940, A I:1: 141, PB, UCA.

plants [köksväxter]. Kitchen plants are grown in gardens and are used in cooking, hence the name.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the thesis the concept of preparedness [beredskap] will be used. In Swedish it has been used as a way of describing the preparatory work in case of war or other types of crises.<sup>28</sup> The term was often used during the preparedness period which started in 1939.<sup>29</sup> In the material from Uppsala Municipality's Plantation Board and City Council, preparedness work is also referred to but not in the meaning of preparedness as used in the thesis, but rather in reference to prepare the land for the next stage in a work process.<sup>30</sup>

The concepts from the material all relate to food security, which is a term used today. Availability is one part of food security.<sup>31</sup> As discussed above, the Second World War created disruptions in the food chains and the availability of food decreased. This in turn meant that Sweden had a self-sufficiency level of 78%, and the remaining 22% needed to be filled elsewhere. Locally produced food cuts the distribution process of food which contributes to food security.<sup>32</sup> To locally produce food was therefore what they started to do.

## 2.2. Material and demarcations

The material used in the study are from Uppsala and the reason for choosing Uppsala is because Uppsala has been among the bigger cities in Sweden for a long time and as a local, I had a preunderstanding of the town. In the cases where my preunderstanding of place names was not enough, I consulted older relatives that lived in Uppsala at the time. I also had a prior knowledge to location of archives that came in handy for the study.

There are three types of material used in the study, archival material, the local newspaper Uppsala Nya Tidning (UNT) and photos. Firstly, the archival material is from Uppsala City Archive [Stadsarkivet] and they handle municipal documents, maps, photos, and other material related to Uppsala. The City Archive manages all the official documents from Uppsala Municipality from the 1800's to today.<sup>33</sup> The materials used from the City Archive are from the City Council [stadsfullmäktige], the Municipality Office [drätselkammare], the Crisis Board [kristidsnämnd], and the so-called Plantation Board [planteringsnämnden]. The material will shortly be described below.

The City Council consisted of elected politicians who took the decisions relating to the municipality.<sup>34</sup> One decision that the City Council had to make were appointing the Municipality Office and they were the ones who handled the city's finances and estates.<sup>35</sup> A third municipal organisation archive is the Crisis Board, and they handled the economic administration of a municipality during crisis. The presidents of the Crisis Boards in every municipality were appointed by a Crisis Committee [kristidsstyrelse] which functioned on a regional level.<sup>36</sup> The

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<sup>27</sup> NE, Köksväxtodling.

<sup>28</sup> NE, Beredskap.

<sup>29</sup> Arnberg & Glover Sundevall, 2021: 483; SAOL, Beredskap.

<sup>30</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala Stads Planteringar m.m. för år 1939: 5. No date 1, B II:1, PB, UCA; Drätselkammaren Protokoll 1944, A I:92: 52, MO, UCA.

<sup>31</sup> Christoplos & Pain, 2014: 5; Leitgeb et. al., 2016: 419.

<sup>32</sup> van Leeuwen et. al., 2014: 21.

<sup>33</sup> Uppsala kommun, Stadsarkivet.

<sup>34</sup> NE, Stadsfullmäktige.

<sup>35</sup> NE, Drätselkammare.

<sup>36</sup> NE, Kristidsnämnd.

Crisis Boards stopped existing in 1949.<sup>37</sup> A fourth municipal organisation is the Plantation Board who handled the green areas in the city. The material from these archives has no accompanying registry or annotation. There is a mix between handwritten notes, which is sometimes traceable to a particular decision, sometimes not. The archive also has plans and correspondence. The material without dates will be given numbers to keep them apart since they in some instances do not contain any official name. Not all volumes were used for the study, but descriptions of the material from all volumes can be found in Appendix 2.

The second type of archive material used is the local morning newspaper Upsala Nya Tidning (UNT). Analysing the newspaper is relevant because the mentioning of a certain theme in a newspaper tells us what was discussed then and to what extent and whether it is mentioned in a positive or negative way.<sup>38</sup> UNT was founded in 1890.<sup>39</sup> The material that has been searched for are articles that contain specific keywords. Those keywords are house need cultivation [husbehovsodling], land lot [jordlott], allotment garden [kolonilott] and garden cultivation [trädgårdsodling]. All the keywords which have been used as search terms are words relating to cultivation or management of food in private gardens, allotment gardens or on land lots. Articles containing information about cultivation in parks will also be included here. The reason for only having four keywords is because of this time-consuming method. The unsuccessful keywords and the used keywords from UNT, the use of the search engines and the time-consuming method will be described in Subchapter 2.3.1.

The third type of material used are photos and they are from the City Archive and DigitaltMuseum. The photos from the City Archive are aerial photos which can be found in boxes at the archive. DigitaltMuseum is a cooperation between museums where they post their collections online to make it more accessible.<sup>40</sup> I used specific keywords to find relevant material on DigitaltMuseum. The method of finding the pictures will be presented in Subchapter 2.3.2. but first it is important to explain the demarcations made in this project.

The chronological demarcations used are depending on the research questions, but the earliest documents are from 1930 from the Plantation Board. The last documents are from 1945 both from UNT and the archival material. The last picture was taken in 1954. The reason for having pictures taken after the end of the Second World War is because there were not always pictures that could show what the places in the archival material or UNT looked like from the time of the study. The reason for these temporal demarcations is to make sure to see if there were any changes made in the city of Uppsala before the war started. The end date for the study was made for the same reason to discern the post-war changes and to be able to follow up certain areas which had been opened for cultivations during the war. Another demarcation is that the study will focus on the city's land during the Second World War. In Uppsala, Uppsala University is the biggest landowner in the municipality, then and now through a donation made in the 1600's.<sup>41</sup> To limit the study, only the land that the city of Uppsala owned and not changes in land of other big landowners like Uppsala University were included. A third demarcation is to have the study only focusing on cultivation in the city and not to focus on animals that was used as a substitute for the decreased meat production. For example, in Sweden overall there was a campaign to increase rabbit breeding.<sup>42</sup> Schimanski writes in his book,

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<sup>37</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 73.

<sup>38</sup> Boréus & Bergström, 2013: 52–53.

<sup>39</sup> NE, Upsala Nya Tidning.

<sup>40</sup> DigitaltMuseum, About DigitaltMuseum.

<sup>41</sup> UNT, De äger mest mark i Uppsala.

<sup>42</sup> Wijk, 1992: 53.

that there were recipes for how to cook badgers during the Second World War.<sup>43</sup> Even though these resources were important, as also products from the sea and river, they will not be further discussed to demarcate the size of the study.

## 2.3. Methods

### 2.3.1. Archival material and UNT

I will use several types of materials to build an understanding of what strategies in terms of food production that was used in Uppsala during the Second World War. The overarching method is called the discourse-oriented strategy. This strategy means that several text materials are read and together those create a bigger picture of how the cityscape changed for the citizens of Uppsala in order for them to cultivate food to remain food secure in a time of crisis. In this case, as Boréus and Bergström write, the discursive patterns of the time from the different source material can come forward and show the reality at the time.<sup>44</sup> Boréus and Bergström does not include pictures in their methodology, though photos will be included in this study to create the bigger picture.

To gather relevant material for the study, I e-mailed the City Archive and an archivist recommended material from which I choose what to look at. The volumes with the material have no register and everything was processed by hand. In total there were 24 volumes of material. A total of 16 volumes with documents were processed by hand. The Municipality Office documents were divided in two parts, one volume where the decision was shortly described and one volume where the documents of the decision were. The remaining 8 volumes did not have a volume that referred to them but was freestanding, such were the volumes from the Crisis Board and the Plantation Board. The way the material is referred to in the footnotes are explained in Appendix 1.

When gathering articles from UNT their archive search engine was used. The search engine has an alternative called advanced search where one can choose between what dates the results can be gathered and it was used for the study. The demarcation of the dates was 1939-01-01 and 1945-12-31. The number of results is counted as how many times the word shows up, which means that sometimes in the same article or on the same page it may appear more than once, but the keywords have not appeared more than thrice on the same page. UNT's search engine finds the page with the result but the article is not marked, which make it a time-consuming process to find the right article containing the keyword. The used keywords are presented in Table 1. UNT's archive is available for subscribers. The articles are used to see what the zeitgeist was. Some keywords were not successful and will be described below in Table 2. Other words were more successful, and the results are included in the thesis. For the words from the literature, it is good to keep in mind that those are the words used by us today. For example, the word land lot. When reading the results there were a synonym for the word, 'täppor'. The word land lot was used in the headlines meanwhile the word 'täppor' could be used in the text therefore the choice of keeping the word land lot was more relevant for the study. One could have included the synonym in the study, but choosing not to is a demarcation for the study.

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<sup>43</sup> Schimanski, 2019: 322.

<sup>44</sup> Boréus & Bergström, 2013: 34.

## Used keywords

Keyword	House need cultivation [Husbehovsodling]	Land lot [Jordlott]	Allotment garden [Kolonilott]	Garden cultivation [Trädgårdsodling]
Number of results	11	32	76	41

Table 1. Number of results from each keyword in UNT between January 1<sup>st</sup> 1939 to December 31<sup>st</sup> 1945.

When choosing the keywords, a pilot study was performed. For example, from the literature cultivations of edible plants on the balconies at the time were mentioned. A search for the word balcony cultivation, [balkongodling], gave only one result, describing the cultivating of flowers. Keywords that did not work were enlightenment work [upplysningsarbete] which was used in a way to enlighten the people in various matters, in the literature it was used to describe to work done by authorities to enlighten the people in cultivation.<sup>45</sup> The word cultivation [odling] gave many results but sometimes the word could be used to describe the cultivation of good behaviour, which was not relevant for the study.

## Unused keywords

Keyword	Balcony cultivation [Balkongodling]	Enlightenment work [Upplysningsarbete]	Cultivation [Odling]
Number of results	1	25	273

Table 2. Number of results from each keyword in UNT between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939 to December 31<sup>st</sup> 1945.

### 2.3.2. Archival images

To further expand and understand how the cityscape changed images is a material well suited for seeing how it really was. Images entail information and that information can work as a complementary to the documents and articles. When analysing images, one can see what is in the picture, but the picture is also a part of something bigger. A picture is a reference both to space and time and contain double information in the sense of representation of an object and interpretation.<sup>46</sup> Skåréus suggest that in a picture there can be what she calls several indexes which means that one can see things in the picture that tells the viewer of things that are outside the original aim of the picture.<sup>47</sup>

The City Archive have boxes and drawers of photos and maps from the period of the study and as with the municipal documents an archivist gave me the tip of the photos and maps. As with the documents from the City Archive, to go through the material had to be made by hand. The two boxes that entailed the pictures were from the 1930's and 1950's. The drawers with maps were from the 1800's to today.

The images from DigitaltMuseum were searched for in a similar way as with the articles from UNT. As UNT, DigitaltMuseum have a search engine. The keywords used in DigitaltMuseum's service varies from the keywords used in UNT. This is because the words in UNT were the words used at the time and the DigitaltMuseum have made categorisations on the

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<sup>45</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 371.

<sup>46</sup> Skåréus, 2014: 5, 7 & 18.

<sup>47</sup> Skåréus, 2014: 24.

material. I used one of DigitaltMuseum's own categories as a keyword and two keywords of my own, see Table 3. The alternative advanced search was chosen in DigitaltMuseum and the results were demarcated between the years 1939–1945, photographs, and to the location of Uppsala. There is one photograph that was found without using a keyword in the aim of collecting photographs for the study, Fig. 6, and this is because I was looking for photographs of the house, I grew up in in DigitaltMuseum on my spare time. This proved to be very useful for the study because the image I found showed that the whole garden of the house was filled with potato cultivations. The keyword I used for that endeavour was Svartbäcken, it had 1676 results and I used the same method as I had done for the study.

### Used Keywords

Keyword	Potato cultivation [Potatisodling]	Garden [Trädgård]	OU 244 Vegetable and root crop cultivation [OU 244 Grönsaks- och rot-fruktsodling]
Number of results	6	129	73

Table 3. Results on keywords from DigitaltMuseum between 1939–1945.

In the search for land lots in the DigitaltMuseum the concept land lot were used but did not give any results.

## 2.4. Theoretical approaches

### 2.4.1. Crisis

This thesis relates to crisis literature and associated studies discussing preparedness to crises especially in terms of food security. Crises can occur in many ways. Natural disasters, economic crisis, food crisis, political crisis, life crisis, climate crisis and more. To start with, how is crisis defined in academia? Reinhart Koselleck wrote an article about the concept of crisis in the 1970's. Koselleck meant that crisis is a 'schlagwort' or catchword in English, which means that it is a concept that has become a part of the everyday language.<sup>48</sup> Further Koselleck write that crisis have manifold meanings and through history there have therefore not been a single academic field that can claim sole right to a definition of a crisis.<sup>49</sup>

A crisis does not come out of thin air. Political crisis starts with tensions and has trigger points which eventually lead to a crisis, as Jenny Andersson said in her lecture on the course History of Crisis.<sup>50</sup> Natural disasters on the other hand may seem to come out of thin air but responses can be quick to mitigate such events. After the earthquake of San Francisco in 1906 people started soup kitchens and helped each other.<sup>51</sup> Spaces change and after an earthquake in Messina, an Italian city in Sicily, tents were put up as a temporary solution to housing. This earthquake created a shanty town, and the temporary solution became permanent in its failure to restore housing.<sup>52</sup> The examples with the earthquakes connect to how fast changes are made. There is a setting, and that setting, socially, politically and the physical environment changes

<sup>48</sup> Koselleck, 2006: 358.

<sup>49</sup> Koselleck, 2006: 367.

<sup>50</sup> Andersson, lecture, 2022-11-17.

<sup>51</sup> Solnit, 2010: 14.

<sup>52</sup> Farinella & Saitta, 2016: 350–351.

rapidly in a direction that changes the vapor point for the people. This in turn can create temporary settings.

Crisis may be hard to foresee in some instances but may lead to improvisation. In Greece after the welfare states collapse and the economic recession the first allotment gardens appeared in 2012 as a municipal response to the recession. In other Mediterranean countries urban gardening increased too and was a way to maintain social cohesion.<sup>53</sup> Also on Cuba after the fall of the Iron curtain in 1989 and after the 2008 economic crisis, urban agriculture has been used to provide people with food.<sup>54</sup> Because of this Havana is an example of how one can rethink urban landscapes into having a productive capacity and it is sponsored by the Cuban Government.<sup>55</sup> In this case, economic crisis is a crisis that does not influence the physical surrounding like an earthquake, but the negotiations and bargaining can resolve in changes in the physical environment if need be. Depending on what crisis the local citizens are experiencing, crisis change the physical environment, the local cityscape. Chwierothe means that negotiation and bargaining in relation to one another are mechanisms of change when discussing economic crisis and how that lead to change. Chwierothe also writes that in crisis people tend to listen to authorities and for them to draw on arguments on how to remedy the situation which implies change. Chwierothe also means that there are conditions under which new ideas are likely to be selected.<sup>56</sup>

War, create disruptions that in turn lead to different types of crises where the people need to improvise. War is an exogenous shock and the new situation it creates is what the agents in it makes out of it. That they interpret the new situation as necessitating change. Widimaier Wesley, Blyth and Seebrooke means that wars and economic crisis are socially constructed openings for change where strategies of persuasion can be used to create new settings.<sup>57</sup> For Sweden the exogenous shock meant that changes were necessary even though itself was not involved in the Second World War.

Still, the word crisis is not only used by us today in various ways but was also used during the Second World War. The circumstances on which their lives were built changed, both physically and socially. A war, in this case the Second World War, changes the situation for the people, quite fast and dramatically just as earthquakes do. According to scientists we are today living in a climate crisis. This crisis is changing the life circumstances for some people, for example rising sea levels will change where people can live in urban areas.<sup>58</sup> Climate change makes it necessary to change the way we produce food.<sup>59</sup> In comparison with the earthquakes, what global warming is a rather slow crisis.

Today we live in a changing world, in a climate crisis, where we would need to select new ways of living to manage to keep the global warming under two Celsius degrees and decrease biodiversity loss. Compared to the above-mentioned crises, the climate crisis is a slow crisis, it is not happening overnight. But already changes are being made in the ecosystems we are a part of, and they are threatened by mass extinction and has been for a long time. This situation was named a crisis in the 1980's.<sup>60</sup> Still, meeting this crisis will require a rethinking of our

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<sup>53</sup> Keshavarz & Bell, 2016: 26–28.

<sup>54</sup> Leitgeb et. al., 2015: 415–417.

<sup>55</sup> Clouse, Cuba's urban farming revolution: How to create self-sufficient cities.

<sup>56</sup> Chwierothe, 2010: 497, 501 & 523.

<sup>57</sup> Widimaier Wesley et. al., 2007: 747–748, 756.

<sup>58</sup> Holt, 2012: XIII.

<sup>59</sup> Eriksson, 2018: 24.

<sup>60</sup> Smithsonian Institute, National teleconference on Biodiversity.

urban spaces to be able to accommodate food production within our cityscapes as has been discussed by many researchers and city planners alike.

Climate change is happening here, and now and urban agriculture can be one of the solutions to be more sustainable, but that demands longevity.<sup>61</sup> The other crises mentioned above have had urgent, improvisational solutions because the crises they have faced have occurred within seconds. As will be shown, the plans for urban agriculture during the Second World War was a longer process than the improvisations carried out after sudden disasters such as earthquakes, but urban agriculture can be a general crisis response that can solve different types of crises.

#### 2.4.2. Cityscape

New developments of cities will require new imaginations and initiatives in urban planning. However, there can be a resistance to such initiatives among urban dwellers, who might be more favourable to green areas than urban agriculture. Therefore, this study is of interest to urban planners because the conversion of public spaces into cultivation areas and how it was discussed and met by the Uppsala citizens will be discussed. The material used in the thesis will be concerning the land owned by the city and how the use changed. The first theory on land use was von Thünen's theory on how expensive production happens closer to the city (because those companies can pay the high prices of being close to the centre), further from town the land is cheaper and there are more expensive transportation costs. The land closest to the city was used intensively because of the high price.<sup>62</sup> von Thünen's model was later applied to the city by Alonso, the closer to the city centre, the more expensive the land will become, and the transportation costs for enterprises there will be lower. This means that enterprises with high economic value will be placed close to the city centre and further from the centre the economic value of housing and enterprises will fall.<sup>63</sup>

The cityscape can have multiple uses and those can become more with time. As Johnson wrote "But towns founded in the past do not disappear—they continue to function in the present landscape."<sup>64</sup> This implies that there had been lessons learnt as a town evolved, a town is in some sense an adaptation. During the time of the Second World War, once again, there was a need to grow more food in the country because of a war and the area used was land in the city. This means that land use changed due to the war, in response to the crisis. Johnsons writes that the edges of a city are the areas that are changing because of increasing populations and expanding economies.<sup>65</sup> In the case with Johnson's claim, that edges of a city are sensible to change, they should also be sensible to other types of change.

Humans do respond to change and as Crumley wrote this happen on a global scale in the environmental, economics and on a social level. Crumley further writes that all landscapes are in cognitive flux,<sup>66</sup> here I also include cityscapes. Flux is a movement, a change in the landscape. Zaleckis on the other hand means that the change and the permanence in relation with socio-cultural changes of the cityscape is what creates meaning.<sup>67</sup> The flux is creating meaning in the cityscape because of both outer and inner impact. In this thesis the focus will be on outer

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<sup>61</sup> Choudhury, Collective knowledge can turn urban farming into a sustainable way to grow food and forge communities.

<sup>62</sup> Getis et al, 2017: 265, 277.

<sup>63</sup> Jaffe & Bussa, 1977: 7–8.

<sup>64</sup> Johnson, 1976: 105.

<sup>65</sup> Johnson, 1976: 149.

<sup>66</sup> Crumley, 2007: 16–17.

<sup>67</sup> Zaleckis, 2010: 144.

impact in the form of crisis caused by the Second World War and whether that caused a flux in the cityscape.

Humans can affect the landscape and organizational flexibility, which mean economic, social, and political settings and that societies can adapt to changed circumstances.<sup>68</sup> Johnson suggest that a variety of urban forms are produced not only through time but because of technology, culture, and social factors produce changes in urban areas.<sup>69</sup> The cityscape becomes a mirror of phenomena from outside of the city and of urban processes.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, the changes in a cityscape can mirror crisis and the use of the city's lands can be used as a crisis response. In this case, asking how did or to what degree did the new technologies and practices related to urban gardening change the character of the cityscape, or if it did. The cityscape is in this thesis used as a concept to describe the physical environment in a city that can be both changing and be permanent in the responses to crisis.

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<sup>68</sup> Crumley, 2007: 24.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson, 1976: 182.

<sup>70</sup> Zaleckis, 2010: 142.

### 3. To set the scene

The First World War had preceded the Second World War 21 years before. People living during the Second World War still carried memories of the First World War and they remembered the starvation and lack of food. Therefore, one cannot understand the response to the food crisis during the Second World War without understanding the First World War. The part of the Second World War fought between the Soviet Union against Germany and Finland is even called the Continuation War [Fortsättningskriget].<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the importance of the First World War in relation to food security and preparedness will be presented. It is important to remember that in between the two world wars fell the Depression with economic decline and decline in production which affected the degree of preparedness during the Second World War. There is also a presentation of allotment gardens since its long history is relevant also to responses relating to food security during the war. Lastly, the demographics of Sweden and Uppsala at the time of the study will be presented as a contextual background.

#### 3.1. The First World War and lessons for a second conflict

When the Second World War started people in general and governments had developed strategies and learnt from the First World War. The Crisis Board in Uppsala write that there is much to learn from the last war, and they were specifically referring to the food situation. Much had changed between the world wars; one example is that the production capacity increased significantly.<sup>72</sup> Schimanski cites an interview made with a woman who at the time of the Second World War was a 10-year-old girl. She said that her father dreaded a lack of potatoes as had been the case during the First World War. The women also said that the rationing systems of both world wars were compared.<sup>73</sup> During the First World War many peasants joined the armies which lead to decreased food production. For example, three million French farmers and eight million Russian farmers joined the armies of their nations during the First World War. The decrease in production needed to be compensated somewhere, otherwise people would starve. The new preconditions created what would later be known as war gardens and most countries relied on them. Food could be produced in private gardens in cities, parks, outskirts of cities and other urban spaces to compensate for the loss in food production.<sup>74</sup>

When the First World War came the Swedish state did not have any preparations or departments that were specialized in handling crisis.<sup>75</sup> The investigator Karl Åmark wrote a report in 1952 assessing how the Swedish state had done during the Second World War. According

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<sup>71</sup> Schimanski, 2019: 146; Maltz, 2015: 396.

<sup>72</sup> Small booklet, no date: 1. E I:1, CB, UCA.

<sup>73</sup> Schimanski, 2019: 258.

<sup>74</sup> Keshavarz & Bell, 2016: 17–19.

<sup>75</sup> Wijk, 1992: 234.

to Åmark, when the clouds of worry started to come in the late 1930's, there were some preparations made, for example preparedness storages.<sup>76</sup> In the late 1930's when the security situation and foreign policy conflicts were degenerating, the Swedish state started to build a crisis organization. The responsible department was the Ministry of Supply department [Folkhushållningsdepartementet]. In the beginning of the Second World War there was a rapid economic inflation. The actors on the market wanted products to prepare when prices went up and for when there would be a lack of products.<sup>77</sup> In 1939 the Ministry of supply was created to ensure supplies. The new ministry was created to have responsibility over the food supply, energy supply, and raw products as well as the rationing system and it was later dismantled in 1950 when it no longer had a function.<sup>78</sup> The Ministry of Supply in turn was a way for the shopkeepers, producers, and the state to prepare for a potential crisis. It was a tool to keep control over the situation that occurred with the Second World War. There were five commissions under them, one of them was responsible for food, the Food Commission [Livsmedelskommissionen].<sup>79</sup> In addition, there were the Crisis Boards at municipal levels. A Crisis Board was a local board in a municipality and part of a Crisis Committee, a cooperation sometimes between several municipalities.<sup>80</sup> The Crisis Board handled food supplies, among other things. The local municipalities were according to a law made in 1939 made to do tasks that were created by the war and in general the laws that were made because of the First World War were improved in June 1939.<sup>81</sup>

During the 1930's the Swedish government had also launched an agricultural policy that intended to strengthen the Swedish state to be self-sufficient and to disengage from the international food markets and imports. Therefore, the Swedish state was more prepared when the Second World War started than before the previous war. Since it had been assumed that the First World War would be brief there had been no preparations made for a potential food crisis.<sup>82</sup> When the Second World War started people had better knowledge and understanding of the challenges. In Sweden there had been several demonstrations for more food during the First World War, while no similar demonstrations occurred during the Second World War. Wijk suggest that the more stable political setting in the country might explain that there were no demonstrations for food.<sup>83</sup> This means that to some degree a know-how in how to handle a war and disruptions in the normal food production had been developed from the First World War.

During the First World War in Sweden there was decisive problems obtaining goods. In 1917 the people's supply of goods [försörjningsläge], from here on referred to as the people's supply, had been decreased. Britain had intensified the blockade towards Germany, and they responded with unrestricted U-boat war which meant that almost all imports of food to Sweden were stopped.<sup>84</sup> During the Second World War there were blockades too. When Nazi Germany took Denmark and Norway on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1940, they quickly created the Skagerrak latch [Skagerrakspärren]. This meant that Swedish boats had a difficulty getting through the German minefields in the Skagerrak Sea. Even though Swedish ships were supposed to be avoided by

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<sup>76</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 26 & 148.

<sup>77</sup> Wijk, 1992: 31.

<sup>78</sup> NE, Folkhushållningsdepartementet.

<sup>79</sup> Wijk, 1992: 22.

<sup>80</sup> NE, Kristidsnämnd.

<sup>81</sup> SOU 1941:18: 20; Åmark, 1952A: 26.

<sup>82</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 132 & 133.

<sup>83</sup> Wijk, 1992: 239.

<sup>84</sup> Riksarkivet Landsarkivet i Göteborg, 2018: 7.

both the British and the German forces it still meant that Swedish ships too an elevated risk navigated that stretch. The boats that came through went over the Atlantic and the provisions were important for the national supply. Lennart Lundberg wrote a book about the Swedish ships that crossed the Atlantic and he stresses that the importance of the coffee imports through the safe conduct traffic, strengthened the morale of the Swedes.<sup>85</sup>

As there was a lack of food the Swedish people's eating habits had to change, resulting in a rearrangement of consumption, from meat and pork to bread, potatoes, root crops and herring.<sup>86</sup> In the root crop group examples are carrots, beet root, Swedish turnip, parsnip and many more.<sup>87</sup> For example, in Stockholm in 1918 house gardens [villa trädgård] and allotment gardens produced 1/6 of the potato need [potatisbehovet].<sup>88</sup> In rural areas land to cultivate on were made available by the counties during both wars.<sup>89</sup> In the Swedish towns the Municipality Office was responsible for land and during the Second World War they would grant land lots to the people, as had been done during the First World War. In Stockholm during the First World War the cobble stones were removed to give place to potato cultivations<sup>90</sup> and in parks vegetables would be grown.<sup>91</sup>

### 3.2. Wartime food situation – short outlook in the world

Food is central in conflicts. Both civilians and soldiers need food. For example, Napoleon who was not shy of war is attributed to have said, "Soldiers march on their stomachs".<sup>92</sup> We do not need to go a long way back in Swedish history to see the effects of war on civilians in terms of food crises, even though Sweden has been at peace since 1815. Both the First and the Second World War decreased the availability on food as discussed above. Sweden stood outside of alliances during times of peace and during the world wars stayed neutral.

Sweden had learnt a lesson from the First World War and in the late 1930's, the Swedish state disengaged the Swedish agriculture from the international food markets. The self-sufficiency level of the calorie intake in Sweden was counted to be 92%. The self-sufficiency level was built on imports of products used in the agricultural industry and without those in the 1930's the self-sufficiency level was estimated to be 78%.<sup>93</sup> The self-sufficiency level on non-animal products reached the lowest levels of 83% in 1940–1941. The average level on self-sufficiency on non-animal products from 1939–1945 was 93% and before the war the average was 91%. The level was basically the same before and during the war. The difference is though that the demand for food was halted because of the supply of rations during the Second World War.<sup>94</sup> Important to add is also that the harvests of 1940 and 1941 was poor, though how many calories the Swedish populace ate have not been found in the work of this study.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Lundberg, 1999: 8–9, 20 & 24.

<sup>86</sup> Wijk, 1992: 239.

<sup>87</sup> NE, Rotfrukter.

<sup>88</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 49.

<sup>89</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 51.

<sup>90</sup> Janson, 2003: 228.

<sup>91</sup> Stockholmskällan, Grönsaksodling i Vasaparken.

<sup>92</sup> DigitaltMuseum, En armé marscherar på sin mage.

<sup>93</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 131–132.

<sup>94</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 134.

<sup>95</sup> SOU 1945:17: 23.

The food shortages were in general not as hard in Europe during the Second World War as it had been during the First World War<sup>96</sup> but food was rationed in most countries, as will be described further down. Sweden was one of the countries that had a rationing system even though it was not itself involved in the conflict. This was because all countries were affected by the Second World War, Sweden got isolated and as mentioned above, the ships that went over the Atlantic for foodstuffs went through the German minefields. The world around did therefore affect the amount of food in Sweden. Swedish civilians were introduced to rationing on March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1940. The last rationing restriction would be lifted in 1951. For the consumer, about 70% of all everyday products were put under restrictions and a coupon system.<sup>97</sup>

Rationing had severe consequences. Mouré writes that the French rationing system “was more stringent than that of any other Occupied country in Western Europe during the Second World War”.<sup>98</sup> In France between 1941–1944 the average amount of calories per day per person was 1180 calories. In comparison in Belgium, a neighbouring country also under Nazi occupation, during the same period the average was 1400 calories. The reason for the low-calorie intake in France was because of the German interventions in the French rationing system and the war caused disruptions in the agricultural production. Many important crops decreased in production because of this, and the potato production decreased with 50%. Some regions in France were especially struck by malnutrition, and tuberculosis, diphtheria and infant mortality increased. Children and adolescents’ growth were affected negatively as well.<sup>99</sup> In Greece infant mortality was at 50% and in total 14% of Greece’s population were lost during the occupation.<sup>100</sup> In Athens 1942, an estimate of 2000 people per day died of malnutrition and later they had 458 calories a day which would be lowered to 183 calories.<sup>101</sup> A literary portrayal of how the Greeks suffered from lack of food is the famous novel *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin* by Louis de Bernières. In the book, one chapter is called Snails. Since there was a lack of food on the island of Cephalonia where the book takes place, the main characters start collecting snails to eat.<sup>102</sup> Even though the novel is not an actual example of how it was in Greece under the Italian occupation it is a good example of how the situation with food for civilians far from the front during the Second World War is brought up to light.

Even though the Swedish situation was not as severe one can still imagine the worry and concern among the Swedish citizens relating to food supply and supply of other needed goods. This concern was shared with other countries. Not only did the imports of food decrease in Sweden but also the imports of raw products that were used in agriculture decreased too. The total volume of import decreased by more than half during 1941–1945.<sup>103</sup> One product that was imported to Europe and decreased in production in Great Britain and on the continent was wheat. It was much cheaper to import it than to produce it locally.<sup>104</sup> Britain was an empire and had the Women’s Land Army, and the total amount of food increased in Britain during the Second World War.<sup>105</sup> Cultivation in this sense was seen as an act of patriotism.

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<sup>96</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 51.

<sup>97</sup> Wijk, 1992: 1 & 108.

<sup>98</sup> Mouré, 2010: 262.

<sup>99</sup> Mouré, 2010: 272 & 263.

<sup>100</sup> Maltz, 2015: 398.

<sup>101</sup> Collingham, 2011: 166.

<sup>102</sup> de Bernières, 1994: 246–250.

<sup>103</sup> Wijk, 1992: 18.

<sup>104</sup> Schimanski, 2019: 28.

<sup>105</sup> Gowdy-Wygant, 2013: 61.

Moving outside of Britain, out into its vast empire the situation was another in terms of food. On the island of Mauritius, the dominant cash-crop was sugar but with the war there was no longer a market for it, and no money was coming in to buy other food. The British government recommended the Mauritians to aim for self-sufficiency by switching to food-crops, and they tried but weeds beat the crop and the Mauritians starved.<sup>106</sup> The jewel of the British empire, India contributed with soldiers that were stationed in Egypt and the cotton plantations were therefore turned into rice plantations.<sup>107</sup> In the province of Bengal in India there was a great famine in 1943. While Indian soldiers were fighting for Britain the population in the region Bengal and its capital Calcutta, which was called the second city of the Empire, was starving.<sup>108</sup> When Burma was lost to the Japanese in April 1942 the British used the strategy of the scorched land to prevent the Japanese from invading India to prevent losing more parts of the Empire.<sup>109</sup> The scorched earth campaign led to the Indian agriculturalists to be without a livelihood. At the same time the British were extracting resources from India to fight the war and disturbances created by the Second World War caused the great famine where 1,5 million people died of starvation and weakened by malnutrition 1,5 million more died of diseases.<sup>110</sup>

With Burma lost, the biggest rice producer in the world fell under Japanese control in 1942.<sup>111</sup> There was therefore no longer exports from Burma to the British colonies as had previously been the case, resulting in a declining food market which also affected global markets. The administration of the British was not only responsible for the famine in Bengal but in Tanganyika, which in large is Tanzania today, the British ordered sisal to be planted with forced conscripted work force consisting of men. The families of the men were left behind and at the same time the African farmers were persuaded to plant maize by the British instead of millet which they usually planted. There was not enough in the work force and little rain and the harvest of 1942 failed. Usually, the failed harvest could be compensated with rice imports from Burma.<sup>112</sup> Losing a part of the empire was critical for the British. A theoretical example would be if Skåne were to disappear from Sweden and the rest of the country were to manage on its own, the crops farmed in proximity to Uppsala are grain, and grass for animals and would be what the people in Uppland would have to do with.<sup>113</sup> Sweden did export food to both Finland and Norway during the war. The imports to Sweden decreased but still Sweden exported both wheat and rye to Finland and Norway, particularly in 1944 when Sweden had a good harvest on wheat and rye and those supplies were said not to affect the Swedish food supply.<sup>114</sup> Sweden was not at war and did have food, even if it was rationed. In Denmark food was exported to Germany and 15–20% of all food imports in Germany were Danish.<sup>115</sup>

So far, this background has been dedicated to the neutral and Nazi occupied countries. But what about the food situation in Germany? Civilians in Germany, struggled to have enough food too. During the First World War the German civilians had about 1200 calories a day per citizen but food scarcity became more severe in the Second World War.<sup>116</sup> The goal of the German Nazi government was that no German would go hungry. The German scarcity of food

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<sup>106</sup> Collingham, 2011: 124–125.

<sup>107</sup> Collingham, 2011: 129.

<sup>108</sup> Simonow, 2020: 176.

<sup>109</sup> Warren, 2011: 220.

<sup>110</sup> Collingham, 2011: 142; Simonow, 2020: 171 & 176.

<sup>111</sup> Warren, 2011: 5.

<sup>112</sup> Collingham, 2011: 135–136.

<sup>113</sup> Jordbruket i siffror, Jordbruket i Sverige: Basfakta om Uppsala län.

<sup>114</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 215; SCB, 1961: 37; Wijk, 1992: 81.

<sup>115</sup> Wijk, 1992: 245.

<sup>116</sup> Maltz, 2015: 394–395.

would make Germany attack the Soviet Union.<sup>117</sup> Mouré writes that the situation became especially dire when Germany failed to win against the Soviet Union in 1941. Because of the loss in the Soviet Union, Ukraine and France would be even harder exploited in spring 1942 to solve German food shortages.<sup>118</sup> Germany exported its hunger, meaning that Germany exploited occupied countries to feed its own population. Germany also imported labour power from the East to work on its own domestic farms.<sup>119</sup> In contrast to the re-established Women's Land Army movement in Britain three months before the Second World War, Germany used other countries labour power.<sup>120</sup>

Overall, during the Second World War, European countries produced an estimated 40% less food than they would have done during times of peace.<sup>121</sup> In Sweden though resources were scarce, on the other hand, in 1940 the potato harvest peaked with 2 294 000 tons an all-time high.<sup>122</sup> Even though it was an all-time high tonnage wise, the amount of land farmed was not. The amount of land was less than in previous decades since the Swedish agriculture had become more effective.<sup>123</sup>

### 3.3. Allotment gardens

In various forms urban gardens have existed in towns, as far back as the first cities. Allotment gardens were created for people to relax in after the monotonous work they did and to grow extra food in for poor families during the Middle Ages.<sup>124</sup> The term allotment was coined during the reign of Elizabeth I because of the enclosure acts that privatized common land, and the process of enclosures were completed in the nineteenth century. The communal land had been used by landless rural poor to obtain food, fuel and grazing for their livestock. When these communal lands were privatized to wealthy landholders, smaller land was allotted to the people to prevent social unrest.<sup>125</sup> The allotments today, however, came in the footsteps of urbanization in the late nineteenth century. Back then they were called Schrebergärten after the German founder. Allotment gardens were then in the size to feed an average sized 19<sup>th</sup> century family.<sup>126</sup> Today, the criteria of an allotment area are that it lies within or next to a city. It should also be run by an organization or a community. The initiatives behind allotment gardens varies but it was seen as a mix between the city and the countryside.<sup>127</sup>

In Stockholm in the beginning of the 1900's many people moved into the city and at the same time there were an increase in allotment gardens. Allotment gardens were seen to bring many good things together, for example, people could grow fruits, berries, and vegetables. Workers that had a regular pay were the ones who could have an allotment garden, something that was not to be taken for granted in the early 1900's.<sup>128</sup> It was meant to give the working class a

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<sup>117</sup> Collingham, 2011: 156 & 164.

<sup>118</sup> Mouré, 2010: 272.

<sup>119</sup> Collingham, 2011: 159–160.

<sup>120</sup> Gowdy-Wygant, 2013: 6.

<sup>121</sup> Maltz, 2015: 399.

<sup>122</sup> SCB, När höstlovet var för skördarbete.

<sup>123</sup> Osvald, 1965: 98 & 153.

<sup>124</sup> Crouch, 2016: XX; Bell, 2016: 1.

<sup>125</sup> Keshavarz & Bell, 2016: 12–13.

<sup>126</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 11; Bell, 2016: 2; Keshavarz & Bell, 2016: 8.

<sup>127</sup> Bergquist, 2003: 87 & 98–99.

<sup>128</sup> Bergquist, 2003: 107; Nolin, 2003: 9 & 15.

healthier lifestyle as well as giving them the opportunity to grow their own food.<sup>129</sup> Touliatos writes that the potato became a proletarian crop with the urbanization since it on a small lot of land can feed a family and it was also looked down upon by upper classes.<sup>130</sup> The idea was that the allotment gardens would make the people more resilient to diseases and eat better.<sup>131</sup> By 1916 there were 37 Swedish towns with allotments. When a community wanted to promote allotments and gain land for this activity, they would argue that the effective use of the land in an allotment garden would contribute to the people's food supply.<sup>132</sup> Two prominent advocates for allotments in Sweden were Anna Lindhagen and Anna Åbergsson.<sup>133</sup> Lindhagen founded the allotment garden association in 1906 and Åbergsson was its cashier.<sup>134</sup> During this time the focus of allotment gardens was on utility plants.<sup>135</sup> From 1915 to 1920, the number of allotment communities increased dramatically, a direct consequence of the First World War.<sup>136</sup> When the war was over the number of allotment gardens decreased to some extent, especially since there were no longer a lack of potatoes.<sup>137</sup> In an allotment area in Stockholm called Tantolunden, they had guards for the crops due to the lack of food in 1918.<sup>138</sup> Also, the potato seeds needed to be guarded since some were stolen before being planted.<sup>139</sup>

During the Second World War people were encouraged to have allotments to grow potatoes in to help the people's supply.<sup>140</sup> As Åmark writes, because of the sparse supply from abroad, Sweden needed to rely on domestic cultivation and plan to make the best out of the country's own resources.<sup>141</sup> After the Second World War it is said that the character of allotment gardens in Europe were transformed more into ornamental gardens where people could relax rather than as the kitchen gardens during the war.<sup>142</sup> In Europe and Asia post-war food shortages were devastating but in Sweden plans for the post-war era were made, especially to be independent for the post-war era on fossil fuels.<sup>143</sup> This was a type of preparedness too, but for a post-war era.

### 3.4. Sweden and Uppsala – a history of demographics

In Sweden today there are 10,5 million people and in 2021 Uppsala Municipality held a population of 238 000 people.<sup>144</sup> It is the fourth biggest city in the country. By the start of the Second World War, the population of Sweden counted 6 341 000 people.<sup>145</sup> In Uppsala there

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<sup>129</sup> Nordh et. al., 2016: 854.

<sup>130</sup> Touliatos, 2011: 10.

<sup>131</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 11.

<sup>132</sup> Thorin, 2003: 227.

<sup>133</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 21.

<sup>134</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 24 & 27.

<sup>135</sup> Englund & Hallgren, 1974: 91.

<sup>136</sup> Nolin, 2003: 30.

<sup>137</sup> Nolin, 2003: 38.

<sup>138</sup> Moberg, 2003: 44–46.

<sup>139</sup> Moberg, 2003: 61.

<sup>140</sup> Laufors, 1987: 15.

<sup>141</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 131.

<sup>142</sup> van Leeuwen et. al., 2014: 22.

<sup>143</sup> Maltz, 2015: 399; Heed, 2018: 9.

<sup>144</sup> SCB, Befolkningsstatistik; Uppsala kommun, Befolkningsstatistik.

<sup>145</sup> SCB, 1969: 47.

were over 37 000 thousand people in 1939 and 20 years earlier there were 28 000 inhabitants.<sup>146</sup> This fast growth was part of the urbanization that happened during the 1930's in Sweden and in Uppsala the industries grew. From 1920 to the 1930's the number of citizens working in the industry increased from 30% to 40 %.<sup>147</sup> Important to add when talking about the growth of Uppsala Municipality is that it had not only grown population wise but also in area. Uppsala Municipality during the Second World War was the town of Uppsala. Around it there were several smaller municipalities among them for example Gamla Uppsala Municipality which today is an integrated district of the town of Uppsala.<sup>148</sup> At the time of the Second World War there were 2523 municipalities in Sweden and 88 of them in the Region of Uppsala.<sup>149</sup> The map below, Fig. 1, show what Uppsala Municipality looked like in 1943. The white areas are not built yet, the orange areas are built. The green areas are parks. Some names on the map will be mentioned later in the thesis and are there to help the reader locate and it is also the map used later in the thesis to show the changes in the cityscape.

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<sup>146</sup> Bergold, 1989: 127.

<sup>147</sup> Agius, 2003: 85.

<sup>148</sup> Crisis Board from Gamla Uppsala Municipality: Gamla Uppsala kommun. Kommunalnämnden, trycksaker för kännedom från informationsstyrelsen folkberedskapen, 1940–1951, E1:5, UCA.

<sup>149</sup> SOU 1941:18: 47–48.



Figure 1. Map of Uppsala Municipality 1943, Uppsala City Archive.

With time the municipalities have become fewer but larger. From 1952–1974 the number of municipalities decreased from 1037 to 278. Today there are 290 municipalities.<sup>150</sup> The municipalities did not only change before and after the war. During the Second World War and the five following years the population of Uppsala increased from 38 357 in 1940 to 63 001 in 1950.<sup>151</sup> Still today Uppsala is a growing municipality and is expected to grow even more with the four-track deal which entails two new railway tracks between Uppsala and Stockholm.<sup>152</sup>

At the time around the Second World War the area around Uppsala was densely cultivated with about 2/3 of the land under cultivation.<sup>153</sup> Around Uppsala wheat, rye and potatoes were grown as well as root crops, but most prominent were other types of grain.<sup>154</sup> In Sweden during the 1800's and early 1900's potato cultivations increased quantitatively, and it also increased in importance. In the 1800's the potato was replacing turnips as the staple food. Especially during the First World War did the potato become even more important when paving stones were broken up to make room for potato cultivations in Stockholm.<sup>155</sup> Potatoes was later during the Second World War therefore seen as an important crop, it was called a preparedness crop [beredskapsväxt] and was seen to have a great value. Throughout Europe it had with time become an important staple food.<sup>156</sup>

Potatoes was an important crop and a famous quote about their importance is “potatoes, peace and vaccine” which is said to have been the combination that increased the Swedish population according to Historian Esaias Tegnér.<sup>157</sup> As the population increased urbanization was also occurring. In Sweden around 1930 half of the population would live in cities and half lived in the countryside.<sup>158</sup> When the Second World War started more people were consumers than producers.<sup>159</sup> This meant that people were using markets more and more rather than producing food themselves. Sweden was a country that had industrialized relatively late, and it led to problems with the expansion of the cities.<sup>160</sup> This meant that if supply chains to the cities were disturbed, 50% of the population would be affected. This in turn led to people in the cities turning to the black market when the rations were not enough or if one did not have relatives in the countryside, that one could turn to for extra food. The youngsters were engaged in the food production too. During the summer 1940, after the invasion of Denmark and Norway 9<sup>th</sup> April 1940, both girls and boys were engaged in the military defence. The girls practiced medical care and swimming, while the boys trained shooting and grenade throwing. When 1941 started that was still the plan but as the foreign politics became calmer during the year, Richardsson means that the focus shifted from military defence to the food supply which in turn were getting harder and more worrying.<sup>161</sup>

At the time of the Second World War many were interested in cultivation in Uppsala. For example, the Tuna allotment garden association was built by in 1941, and was built in two

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<sup>150</sup> NE, Kommunindelingsreform.

<sup>151</sup> SCB, 1969: 62.

<sup>152</sup> Uppsala kommun, Fyra spår Uppsala; Uppsala kommun Uppsala växer.

<sup>153</sup> Enequist & Hartin, 1958: 8.

<sup>154</sup> SCB, 1959: 42.

<sup>155</sup> Svensson, 1996: 17–22; Janson, 2003: 228.

<sup>156</sup> Svensson, 1996: 28 & 13.

<sup>157</sup> Region Gävleborg, Befolkningsökningen.

<sup>158</sup> SCB, Urbanisering - från land till stad.

<sup>159</sup> Wijk, 1992: 19.

<sup>160</sup> Bergquist, 2003: 97.

<sup>161</sup> Richardsson, 2003: 112–113 & 118.

rounds, by the river Fyrisån, and it was part of the preparedness during the 1940's.<sup>162</sup> Between 1940–1945 there were over 10 000 land lots in Uppsala.<sup>163</sup>

To summarize this Chapter, food was precious in Sweden as in other parts of Europe throughout the Second World War and Sweden had storages that could compensate for bad harvests.<sup>164</sup> Even though Sweden was not itself involved in the conflict, Uppsala is a good place to analyse to show that no place on Earth is independent of the others. Sweden had a self-sufficiency level approximately at 78% and that would mean that there was a gap of 20% that had to be filled with imports from other places on Earth when the war started. The imports went by ship through German minefields during the war and were meant to increase the food supply in the country, which was a tough enterprise. Urban agriculture is therefore a way of managing these 20% of food that is missing, especially for cities which are sensible since they are not self-sufficient on food. In Uppsala there were 37 000 inhabitants which would experience the changes in the cityscape where over 10 000 land lots would take place during the Second World War. Not to forget is also the allotment gardens that already existed and were used and an integrated part of the city and would increase in importance during the war. A new allotment garden was also created during this time. Around the city there were densely cultivated land and at the time Uppsala was rapidly growing. In Chapter 4 the focus will be on how the citizens in Uppsala cultivated their own food as a way of getting by the Second World War and how the cityscape changed. Most importantly when moving on to Chapter 4 is that food is a weapon in war, the one that has it will survive, that is true both for soldiers and civilians.

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<sup>162</sup> Laufors, 1987: 114; Drätselkammaren protokoll 1945. A IV b:3: 33. MO, UCA.

<sup>163</sup> Laufors, 1987: 114.

<sup>164</sup> SCB, 1961: 59–60.

## 4. A changing cityscape

Subchapter 4.1. addresses the question how did the cityscape of Uppsala change during the Second World War? This question will be broken down into four themes. The time frame for this part of the study is 1930–1946 to see if there were any mentions of preparations for a potential war and to see what changed when the Second World War started and after it. Subchapter 4.2. is about what local authorities and UNT promoted people to do on urban green areas and Subchapter 4.3. are about how people cultivated their own food. The time frame is 1939 to 1945 with exceptions for some photos after the period of the study.

### 4.1. Cultivation in a changing cityscape

Many changes were taking place in Uppsala's urban layout and planning in the mid-20th century, and not all changes in the cityscape are related solely to the Second World War. This first part is mapping the overall changes in the cityscape prior to and after the Second World War. Choosing to present results even though they are not related to the Second World War is a way of putting the results in the context of broader urban planning. The map below, Fig. 2, shows the changes made in the cityscape during the Second World War. The red areas are land lots created due to the war between 1940–1945, which could be rented from the municipality. The blue area are the allotment gardens that were added during the war. Not all names in the documents could be found on the map, therefore I consulted older relatives that had an understanding of the old place names in Uppsala which I do not have. Those places were Luthagstorg, Kungsgårdets sports field, Hovstallängslotterna, Luthagen's exercise fields, and Almtuna sports field.

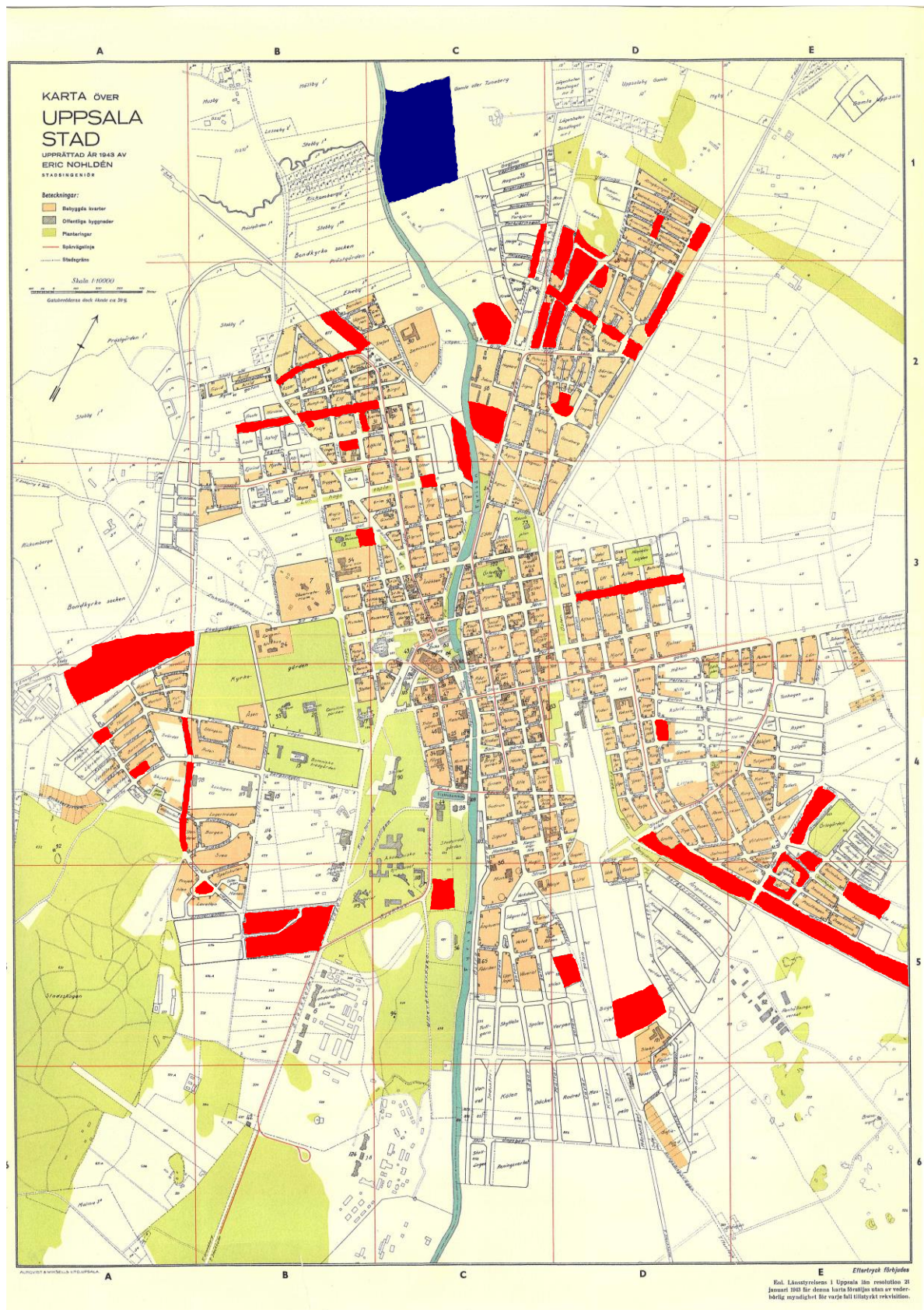


Figure 2. Map of Uppsala Municipality 1943, Uppsala City Archive.

On the map, the blue area is the Tuna allotment garden association which are added during the war. The red areas are the land lot areas that were put up for the citizens use throughout

the war.<sup>165</sup> The citizens of Uppsala is also said to have cultivated on Lagmansgatan which was not meant to be used according to the Municipality Office and they wrote that the use of Lagmansgatan was unnecessary because there were empty land lots that were meant to be cultivated instead.<sup>166</sup> A area that has not been found in the municipal documents are the Stiernhielm's park. My grandpa was the one that told the story about it and likely the case is the same as with Lagmansgatan, people could probably use other land than the municipal organisations had intended. This was probably because those lands were closer to the homes of the cultivators than the allotted land lots. On the map one can see that it is the outskirts of the city that changes, as Johnson wrote, these areas are sensible to change which can be seen on the map.

#### 4.1.1. Outbreak of the Second World War – Decisions to change Uppsala's cityscape

On January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1940, the Municipality Office [Drätselkammaren] signs a document with the name "P.M. concerning areas suitable to be used as potato- and vegetable lots the summer 1940" [P.M. ang. Områden lämpliga att brukas såsom potatis- och grönsaksplotter sommaren 1940]. In this document there are suggestions of where to put land lots in the city. The suggested areas are Svartbäcken, and Kungsängen and at the time those areas were at the periphery of the city.<sup>167</sup> More areas were added on February 23, 1940.<sup>168</sup> The land areas suggested for land lots were all owned by the town of Uppsala and was scheduled to be planted with trees and grass. These official documents do not say if this planting was done in practice or if and how the land was put up as land lots. Still, it is the first steps for the town in making public land available for cultivation and with that creating a temporary agricultural cityscape (or at least semi-urban agricultural one) due to the Second World War. The land lots are an important change in the cityscape at the time. Since the Municipality Office handled the estate of the town the change is an official reform. Before there were none edible plants planted but the land lots purpose is to provide food. With this change the temporary cityscape also becomes a temporary edible cityscape.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1940 the finalized decision to allocate the first land lots was taken by the City Council. The records do not say how land was distributed and who could rent the land lots. The land lots were designated to grow potatoes and vegetables on according to the final protocol.<sup>169</sup> The City Council made the final decision of granting land to the people of the city on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, which was about a month after the invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1940. The decision to grant the land might have to do with the changed possibilities of getting food and other imported goods from the Transoceanic trade but most likely the decision was only a final official decision, since there were talk of the decision in January 1940.

By comparison, the same process of using the land for other purposes than before can be observed in other parts of Europe. One important example is Great Britain which was self-sufficient solely on dairy products in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the British restructured the agricultural system in the rural areas to improve self-sufficiency in other foodstuffs during the Second World War. Instead, Britain promoted cultivation specifically of potatoes and grain

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<sup>165</sup> Kv. Ingegärd. No date 2. E Ib:1, UCA; Utdrag av Uppsala stads drätselkammare protokoll den 1 november 1940. E Ib:1, PB UCA; "Till Drätselkammaren i Uppsala.", 1945-11-04. E Ib:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>166</sup> Stadsträdgårdsmästaren Uppsala, No date 3. F I:105, MO, UCA.

<sup>167</sup> Uppsala Drätselkammare Ink. Den 29 JAN. 1940 D.nn 31411940. F I:72, MO, UCA.

<sup>168</sup> Till Drätselkammarens andra avdelning., 1940-02-23. E Ib:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>169</sup> Drätselkammaren protokoll 1940: 94. A I:84, MO, UCA.

in the same land where the dairy production had taken place. The reason for the change was that the dairy production that fed 12 people could feed 400 people if there were potatoes and grain cultivated instead on the same amount of land.<sup>170</sup> Potatoes is also a crop that can grow in many different types of environments and soils.<sup>171</sup>

The growing of potatoes and root crops added another level of use of the town's lands. Before the Second World War, the town had been a place where people travelled from place A to place B and the green areas in the city were for recreational purposes. In addition to those activities in the cityscape there was an addition of a temporary cityscape created due to crisis. Instead, when the land in the city becomes land lots, the cityscape changes from a mere transport distance to and from places into nodes of places where people engage in their livelihoods within the cityscape. One can imagine that the conversion of green areas and parks into land lots would attract some complaints from the public – but in fact no such mentions have been found. Perhaps the link between self-sufficiency and preparedness for war made such voices silent in official documents.

In 1941 the City Council decided to grant land to the Tuna allotment garden association by the river. This community wanted to extend their area in 1944 and in September 1945 they were granted an extension of the area by the river where the already existing allotment gardens were. In a letter from the City Gardener Pehr Boierth, he explains how during the last years more new places have been designated for tree plantations. Though lately those places have been used by potato cultivators, it is said in the same letter from the City Gardener Boierth. The places that had not been suited for cultivation had been left fallow.<sup>172</sup> This also suggests that the temporary change of the cityscape that turned public land into land lots mean that even if the land was found not suitable for cultivation it could still have been planted in the ordinary way, but planting trees in such areas seems to have stopped. The crisis with food seems to have stopped the ordinary planting activities done by the City Gardener and his colleagues.

As the war continues more land were made into land lots. The plans for 1943 is that the areas that were supposed to be planted with ordinary plantations are to be prepared to be land lots for potato cultivation. Blocks mentioned are Vitsippan and Bergsbrunna and the author of the plan also mentions that more areas will be added. Handwritten beside Vitsippan and Bergsbrunna are the names of other places and some of the areas mentioned in the plan are crossed out on the official document. The other areas are Sköldungagatan, and the new part of Luthagesplanaden to the east of Sturegatan and Idrottsgatan. It is stated in the same plan that the areas already occupied with potato cultivations will continue to be used in that manner.<sup>173</sup>

In Uppsala the lands that have been granted as land lots is found in the protocol of the City Council 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1945 which is a commentary on the designation of land lots which had been suggested by the City Gardener.<sup>174</sup> In this protocol, where the City Gardener suggest land for cultivation, it is said that all the suggestions of the City Gardener, except a sports field [träningsplan] in Kungsgärdet would be granted for cultivation. There are appendixes referred to in the protocol where there is supposed to be more detailed information but none of these appendixes have been found. There were changes made in the cityscape, but this shows that

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<sup>170</sup> Maltz, 2015: 396.

<sup>171</sup> NE, Potatis.

<sup>172</sup> Till Stadsfullmäktige., 1945-09-10, F I:68, CC, UCA; Stadsfullmäktige Uppsala: 82. I:83, CC, UCA.

<sup>173</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala stads Planteringar m. m. för år 1943., no date 4. B II:2, PB, UCA.

<sup>174</sup> Drätselkammarens protokoll 1945: 37. A IV b:3, MO, UCA.

not all land was needed for the town's livelihood according to the Municipality Office. The sports field had been part of the previous lands during the war though.<sup>175</sup> Why the sports field was not cultivated may be because it would have had a greater purpose as it was than for cultivation, and that the city could afford not to cultivate it. As Chwierothe said, transformations are bargained and negotiated when changes are being made in the city. At this point in history, the Germans were losing and the belief that there would soon be an end to the war might contribute to that the sports field was not needed.

The conversion of the sports field into land lots was seen as unnecessary and can be further strengthened by a proposition made by the Swedish parliament in 1942. The proposition is found in a pamphlet in the City Council's archive. In the pamphlet it said that in case that the supply of food would decrease further there would be people's kitchens [folkköksverksamhet] to support the citizens.<sup>176</sup> The people's kitchen was meant to provide food at a cheaper price so that everyone could afford it if food got scarcer. The people's kitchen was never instated but shows that there were measures in place to make sure that there would be food on people's tables. Not everything that was planned or prepared for in worst case scenarios was needed or seen to be needed in the end.

Closer to the end of the war, the interest in urban cultivation decreased in Uppsala. A notice from 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1945 in the paper *Morgontidningen* said that at the time the town had 6000 land lots but only 2500 of these were rented and the majority from people who already had land lots before.<sup>177</sup> This notice was found among the documents of the Municipality Office. The public spaces in the eyes of the municipality were meant to be made useful and was therefore granted for the citizens use, but the interest was as the headline said, of short duration [kortvarigt]. In an article two weeks later UNT wrote that there is an increase in the want and need for land lots because when the war is over people in Sweden, the article state, should produce food to assist the war-torn European continent and cultivation in cities should therefore continue.<sup>178</sup> From the length of this piece in UNT the available land lots seem to have been a small matter. If one compares with the space the Tuna allotment garden association got on the front page including three images in 1942,<sup>179</sup> one can tell that the scope in terms of the efforts made to produce food were not that big or interesting anymore.

Decisions made both by the municipality and by people leaned towards not using the land lots for cultivation of food in general is perhaps related to that the war was soon to an end. The interest in cultivating one's own food were decreasing in the temporary part of the cityscape. The land lots had been allotted on land that had been meant for other purposes. As such they were temporary and when they seem to no longer be needed the idea was to restore the land to its old purposes' parks, gardens, or public land. The land lots would eventually be planted with trees, grass, and bushes when the potato cultivation in the coming year would stop.<sup>180</sup> Some of the areas where there had been cultivations would regain their original purpose of being planted with inedible plants.<sup>181</sup> At this point recreational purposes takes over as the reason for giving land to people to cultivate on. The time of crisis seem to be over or at least decreasing. At the same time as the interest of the municipality for providing land lots was

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<sup>175</sup> Till Drätselkammarens andra avdelning., 1940-02-23. E Ib:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>176</sup> Svenska stadsförbundets tidsskrift, June 1943: 248–249. F II b:6, MO, UCA.

<sup>177</sup> Morgon-Tidningen, Odlarintresset blev kortvarigt, 1945-04-14. F II b:6, MO, UCA.

<sup>178</sup> UNT, Potatisodlingen på stadens jordar., 1945-04-28: 6.

<sup>179</sup> UNT, Odlarmöda vid Tunaberg ger kolonister lön., 1942-07-31: 1.

<sup>180</sup> Till stadsfullmäktige. 1945-09-10. F I:68, CC, UCA.

<sup>181</sup> Till Drätselkammaren. 1945-08-11: 1. E Ib:1, PB, UCA.

waning, the public demand for allotment gardens were increasing. The public's interest in cultivation moves on from the temporary land lots to the more permanent allotment gardens. In the archive there is a document signed by Tycho Hedén, a local politician where the heading said, "To the City Council". The document was a request to expand allotment garden areas and the allotment gardens were written off as having a "undoubtedly large social meaning" [otvivelaktigt stora sociala betydelse].<sup>182</sup> The cultivation for recreational purposes have so far not been discussed in this thesis but in this case, it is worth mentioning. Hedén in his request to the City Council suggest that the social and recreational reason for having an allotment garden is an added benefit and why the allotment garden areas should be extended in the cityscape.

#### 4.1.2. Changes in the private cityscape of Uppsala

From 1920–1939 there are no individual documents in the archive of the Plantation Board on what should be planted in people's gardens but in 1939 the Plantation Board starts to intervene in giving recommendations of what should be planted in people's gardens. In February 1939 there is a property that is to be planted with trees but to get permission for the plantation of the trees it is specified they must be fruit trees.<sup>183</sup> When looking further at the Plantation Board's material it is clear that the location on the property is decisive when it comes to what tree should be planted where.<sup>184</sup> The other decisive thing when planting in the garden is the size of the trees. In one note from the Plantation Board records it said that conifers are too big and that fruit trees are more suitable.<sup>185</sup> The changed policy with regards to the degree of interference from the Plantation Board in private gardens as traced in the archival material here does not seem to have to do with the Second World War or the need for more food. Rather, it is not specified when one should plant fruit trees more than that they are smaller. The priority is in these documents that the neighbours do not get disturbed by the largess of the trees planted by the subject in the document and for traffic safety. If this is connected to the outbreak of the war or other concerns which occurs in parallel with the activities is hard to tell.

What was connected to the effort of obtaining food during the Second World War were allotment gardens. Allotment gardens became popular during the First World War because people could cultivate in them and get food during times of crisis and had been created for workers to obtain food in the years prior to the First World War as discussed in Subchapter 3.3. The Tuna allotment garden association was created in 1941.<sup>186</sup> In October people could sign up for allotments in the Tuna allotment garden association.<sup>187</sup> However in March 27<sup>th</sup> 1945, the application for more land made by the Tuna allotment garden association was postponed [bordlagd] by the Municipality Office.<sup>188</sup> The extension of the allotment garden area is later brought up again in September 1945 when the extension is finally granted.<sup>189</sup> That the extension of more allotment gardens is granted only after the war is over may be because there is now a need for permanent cultivation opportunities and that the more permanent allotments

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<sup>182</sup> Till stadsfullmäktige., 1945-09-10. F I:68, CC, UCA.

<sup>183</sup> Till Byggnadsnämnden, Uppsala., 1939-02-23. B I:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>184</sup> Till Byggnadsnämnden, Uppsala., 1939-06-14. B I:1, PB, Ca; Till Byggnadsnämnden, Uppsala., 1939-06-29. B I:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>185</sup> Till Byggnadsnämnden, Uppsala., 1939-09-02. B I:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>186</sup> Drätselkammaren protokoll 1945: 33. A IV b:3, MO, UCA.

<sup>187</sup> UNT, Kolonien vid Tunaberg., 1941-10-04: 2.

<sup>188</sup> Drätselkammaren protokoll 1945: 33. A IV b:3, MO, UCA.

<sup>189</sup> Stadsfullmäktige Uppsala: 82. I:83, CC, UCA.

may be more attractive than the temporary land lots rented from the town of Uppsala. As discussed above, earlier in 1945 it had been noted that the temporary land lots were not so popular as less than half had been rented in April 1945. The more permanent solutions of allotments seem to be more attractive than the land lots. Laufors writes that the extension of the allotment community Tuna was part of the preparedness for war.<sup>190</sup> Preparedness is here used in the sense of post-war preparedness. In this case, the allotments can be seen as making a combination of both a social reason for extending and a preparedness aspect of keeping and extending the Tuna allotment garden association's grounds. Adding another aspect to this is that just because the war ended in August 1945 does not mean that all problems of supply of goods were automatically solved. An example how the war would still affect people even though it was over was the last rations on coffee that were lifted in 1951.<sup>191</sup> In a journal called *Swedish Towns Covenant* there is a paragraph about post-war preparedness [efterkrigsberedskap].<sup>192</sup> The article is from 1943 in June and talks of how to prepare for the time after the war, both socially and when it comes to production. In this way, the extension of the Tuna allotment garden association can be seen as post-war preparedness. This is another temporal aspect of the cityscape, that there is a phase of in betweenness after the war. Going back to how it was is not possible due to the consequences of the war, instead there is a post-war era where some land lots are still actively used by people for food, and some are taken back to the pre-war use immediately and gets planted with inedible plants.

In the same Municipality Office protocol where the extension of land for the Tuna allotment garden association is discussed, there is a letter [skrivelse] from the Crisis Board about cultivation of potatoes and kitchen plants.<sup>193</sup> The handwritten document is a protocol of a meeting where they discuss that it is hard for the cultivators to get hold of plant potatoes [sättpotatis] and the letter request that the city provide it.<sup>194</sup> A request for the city to intervene and supply plant potatoes show that a change in the view of private and public cityscape since the city was providing resources blending the two spheres. The note does not say if the people get help with getting hold of plant potatoes, or not but it shows that this was a time where the city was viewed to be able to help and should help in the private cityscape too.

#### 4.1.3. Changes in the public cityscape of Uppsala

When summarizing the changes in incomes and expenditures between 1941–1942 the Plantation Board write that there has been expenditures and incomes due to the land lots where potatoes are grown. A new expenditure of 1500 crowns are registered for land lot costs. The income from these land lots is estimated at 4000 crowns.<sup>195</sup> This mean that the municipality earns money from leasing the land to the people of the city. The cityscape were not only physically changing when urban green spaces got a new function, it also obtained a direct monetary value. The monetary value implies that there are multiple trajectories of change happening in the city when responding to crisis. The following year, 1942–1943 the incomes from leasing out the land lots for potato cultivation are 5000 crowns and the expenditures 3500.<sup>196</sup> As the war continues there are more areas cultivated in the city. This can be seen as

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<sup>190</sup> Laufors, 1987: 114.

<sup>191</sup> Wijk, 1992: 1.

<sup>192</sup> Svenska Stadsförbundets tidskrift 1945-06-05: 249. F II b:6, MO, UCA.

<sup>193</sup> Föredragningslista vid drätselkammarens II:a avdelnings sammanträde, 1945-03-27. F II b:6, MO, UCA.

<sup>194</sup> Handwritten protocol, 1945-03-27. F II b:6, MO, UCA.

<sup>195</sup> Motsvarande belopp i bokslutet för år 1941. No date: 3. B II:2, PB, UCA.

<sup>196</sup> Motsvarande belopp i bokslutet för år 1942. No date: 4. B II:2, PB, UCA.

a response to the bad harvests from earlier years. This in turn corresponds with increased expenditures on preparing land for land lots as is written of in the document summarizing changes in incomes and expenditures between 1943–1944. In contrast to 1941–1942 the preparations of the land lots cost 3500 which may be because more land is now used for the purpose of cultivation, but the incomes have decreased from 4000 crowns to 3000 crowns.<sup>197</sup>

In another document signed by the local politician Tycho Hedén on behalf of the Municipality Office to the City Council, he mentions land meant for tree plantations instead during the last years they have been used by potato cultivators.<sup>198</sup> That the land had been used by potato cultivators imply that a temporary cityscape was created by the potato cultivators. The temporary expansion of farmland puts a temporal aspect on the land use in the city, it could have continued as a practice but was short lived, as discussed in Subchapter 4.1.1. A comparison that is close at hand when it comes to temporary changes linked to the war is women's salary. During the war women worked and their salaries increased but after the war, it went back to pre-war levels.<sup>199</sup> The change in the cityscape was only there for as long as it was needed. A change in a cityscape can therefore be temporary in the sense that it has something to go back to. If there were to be further developments, there is continuous change and not a temporary change as in these cases.

In the document from the City Council September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1945, just eight days after the end of the war, it was stated that land that has not been suitable for cultivation of potatoes has been left fallow. Since the war was over, there would be no potato cultivations any longer on public lands but other facilities [parkanläggningar] and those would be made when the potato cultivation would be over in the years to come, both on the land left fallow and the land that had been used as land lots.<sup>200</sup> The fact that there had been no plantations made on these lands even though they have been available shows that not all land was needed or the interest in cultivation had declined.

#### 4.1.4. Continuity in Uppsala's cityscape

When summarizing the changes in the cityscape it is easy to forget that some things did not change. Continuity is also essential when discussing change. As Johnson wrote, cities continue to function in the present landscape which implies that some matters change and some stay the same, functioning as it did before. This subchapter therefore focuses on the matters in the cityscape that indicate that some things in the cityscape did not change.

Since the Second World War started on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, the study started with records from 1930 and onwards to make sure to observe any changes made before the outbreak of the war. In short, there were no major changes in the activities that the Plantation Board did except that they did prepare the land for the potato cultivators, which they later rented out as has been written of above. Preparedness as a concept was discussed in Subchapter 2.1. and the word means that something is prepared to be used, often in a military context. The word is first used in the documents by the Plantation Board in a letter to the Municipality Office on 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1936. It says that there will be an increase in preparedness work with 873

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<sup>197</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala stads Planteringar m. m. för år 1943., no date 4. B II:2, PB, UCA.

<sup>198</sup> Till Stadsfullmäktige., 1945-09-10. F I:68, CC, UCA.

<sup>199</sup> Gowdy-Wygant, 2013: 100.

<sup>200</sup> Till stadsfullmäktige., 1945-09-10. F I:68, CC, UCA.

crowns.<sup>201</sup> This means that the Plantation Board have carried out work that was meant to prepare the ground for something. In the plans made for the Plantation Board for 1938 it says that the bridges and roads in the City Park will be maintained as before with preparedness work.<sup>202</sup>

The documents were still in the 1940's revolving about planting grass, small-leaved limes, and birches among other inedible plants, activities very similar to pre-war years. The handling of the crises caused by the war was the task of the Crisis Board and the City Council decided on the decision on what property should be used for land lots as discussed above.

This part of the analysis ends with what was planned for 1946. The planning for 1946 probably took place in the end of 1945 when the war was over. In the 1946 planning document it was stated that land meant for cultivation would be placed where it would not be inconvenient. This can be seen in a context that cultivation on grasslands and parks were not wanted by the public. There is no article about the citizens of Uppsala not wanting it but the people of Borås were against green areas in the city being cultivated.<sup>203</sup> In the document describing the plans, it was stated that the land lots that have been used as potato cultivations would be restored. The potatoes are then described and named in terms of their character as a crisis response or as it said in the document "potato cultivations are mainly of a crisis character" [potatisodling huvudsakligast av krisbetonad karaktär].<sup>204</sup> When the war was over the cityscape was supposed to go back to how it had been during 'normal times'. This strengthens that there was a temporary cityscape because when they see the chance to relocate land lots to places that are more permanent, they do so.

During the Second World War the demands on food did change the cityscape as discussed above. Still the Plantation Board continued with their ordinary enterprises such as making and arranging parks in Uppsala. In 1944 the City Council decided to go through with the City Gardener's plan of planting the old theatre site.<sup>205</sup> In the map of the old theatre site one can see what they are planting. It was flowers, a pitch, hedges and they arranged parking lots for cars.<sup>206</sup> There is emphasis on having parking lots and the plan is also mentioned as provisional in a document from 1940 but the plans seem to go through in practice in 1944.<sup>207</sup> In the documents on what should be planted in the old theatre site there are no edible suggestions.<sup>208</sup> The cityscape changes in both a normal way, so to speak, and in a new way with the cultivation in town. Areas in town are both cultivated and arranged for recreation, a mix not seen since the First World War.

Not all land available in the city are good for cultivations though. In 1944 in the document specifying the plans for the subsequent year it is said that the lands that are not suitable for cultivation will be left fallow.<sup>209</sup> This means that the purpose of the land is important and that

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<sup>201</sup> Till Drätselkammaren., 1936-11-27. B II:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>202</sup> 7.B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala Stads Planteringar m.m. för år 1938., no date 5. B II:1, PB, UCA.

<sup>203</sup> UNT, Trädgårdsodlarnas arbetskraft., 1942-04-22: 9.

<sup>204</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala stads Planteringar m. m. för år 1946., no date 6. B II:2, PB, UCA.

<sup>205</sup> Drätselkammaren protokoll 1944: 52. A I:92, MO, UCA.

<sup>206</sup> Förslag till ändring av gamla teatertomten, no date: 6. F II b:3, MO, UCA.

<sup>207</sup> Uppsala stads Drätselkammare Ink. den 17 maj 1944. F II b:3, MO, UCA.

<sup>208</sup> Kostnadsberäkning, 1944-05-17. F II b:3, MO, UCA.

<sup>209</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Uppsala stads Planteringar m. m. för år 1944., no date 7. B II:2, PB, UCA.

one is not under pressure in means of the need to cultivate all available land. One can choose to leave land fallow and aim for quality instead of quantity in the land one chooses to cultivate.

## 4.2. Local authorities and UNT promoting what to do

Throughout the Second World War there were so called enlightenment work.<sup>210</sup> This was meant to make the citizens efforts better and one part of it was to make the cultivation more efficient. The materials discussed are both archival material and articles from UNT.

### 4.2.1. What to grow?

During the Second World War there were specific designated potato cultivations on land lots in Uppsala. Attached to the above-mentioned Municipality Office document granting permission of use [upplåtelse] for land lots, there is a small handwritten note. It says "Permission for the summer of 1940 on the towns land for land lots for potato cultivation possibly other root crops and similar cultivations."<sup>211</sup> Potatoes was the main intended crop and purpose for these land lots and root crops are mentioned too. Both potatoes and root crops were part of the rearrangement of the consumption during the First World War to keep the population food secure as discussed in Subchapter 3.2.<sup>212</sup> Potatoes are nutritious, cheap, and easy to grow.<sup>213</sup> The rearrangement of the consumption went from meat and pork to cheaper products such as root crops and potatoes<sup>214</sup> can be explained by the ease in which one can grow such crops. The emphasis on potatoes and the addition of root crops as shown on the small handwritten note in the Municipality Office's records, does not include any motivations of why one should cultivate potatoes, root crops or similar crops.

On the small handwritten note the words potato cultivation [potatisodling] and land lot are underlined. This means that potatoes were the primary product intended by those who wrote the small handwritten note. It is also mentioned before the two other options, vegetables, and root crops. The cultivation intended for these land lots was also named potato cultivation. Root crops and other similar cultivations are not underlined which imply that potatoes are the main crop suggested and agreed upon by the Municipality Office.

The planting of potatoes, vegetables, and root crops in these land lots constituted substantial change in the Uppsala cityscape due to the war. The change also portrays new eating habits inflicted on the citizens due to outer circumstances. In short, since the municipality clearly directs what was to be grown and it shows what was seen as valuable to cultivate from the Municipality Office's and the City Council's perspectives. It also shows the attitude of authorities as to what and how it was possible to cultivate in the urban areas in Sweden at the time. This was also shown in the previous war as discussed in Subchapter 3.4 with the example of the paving stones in Stockholm that were lifted to plant potatoes. This shows the importance of potatoes for the livelihood of the people at the time.

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<sup>210</sup> Åmark, 1952A: 150.

<sup>211</sup> Uppsala Drätselkammare Ink. Den 29 JAN. 1940 D.nn 31411940. F I:72, MO, UCA. Original quote "Upplåtande under sommaren 1940 å stadens mark av jordlotter för potatisodlingar ev andra rotfrukts- och liknande odlingar."

<sup>212</sup> Wijk, 1992: 239.

<sup>213</sup> Osvald, 1965: 149; NE, Potatis.

<sup>214</sup> Wijk, 1992: 239.

What the citizens should do to be more efficient and what to grow in their gardens was something UNT reported on frequently. In an article about a fruit fair in Uppsala a garden consultant recommends planting black currant bushes because they entail more nutrients than oranges and cloudbberries.<sup>215</sup> The household consultants aim was to show citizens how to do tasks more efficiently. The consultants were hired by the household associations[hushållningssällskap] and every region had one.<sup>216</sup> This article was published in UNT a short while after the war broke out. In the article one can tell that there was an ideal of making sure to make use of the things one had, because there are tips for how housewives should take care of the apples they have. Another consultant had a lecture of what apple sorts that were suitable for cultivation in Uppland. There was also focus on the economic and health values that fruit has, which are reasons for cultivating fruit. In this article the war is not mentioned specifically but in other articles from the same time it is.

One article where the war was mentioned directly in relation to food, was an article where the Swedish Pomology Association states that Swedish fruit production has been given a golden chance of proving itself due to the blockade caused by the war. It is discussed how the cultivation in private gardens need to be rationalized and to do that the cultivator should send the earth for analysis to make sure to use the right fertilizer and they should also inoculate new species in the trees they already have.<sup>217</sup> The same article continues to discuss what one should grow which was also based on how much space there were in the garden. A small garden was not suitable for root crops which also needs much space for storage. What sorts of potatoes that one can and should cultivate is dependent on what soil there is where one plan to cultivate. Fertilizers is promoted as well as tilling the soil in an article about the intensification of cultivation in gardens.<sup>218</sup> The writer of this article suggest potato varieties *Early Rose* and *King Edward VII*, which works just as good by lake Mälaren and in Svartbäcken. The author suggests these sorts because not everyone may know of them, but if one has a potato sort that works one can continue with that and try a new sort to a smaller extent to make sure one gets most out of one's land. That the author of the article mentions potato sorts that not many have heard of implies that there was a know-how in potato sorts during this time. Sorts of potato that were said to have been common in Uppland according to Osvald, who wrote a book on potatoes, are the *Evergood*, *Marius* and *Ella*.<sup>219</sup>

Similarly in an article about housewives and children cultivating in Tensta there were suggestions on cabbage, carrots, beetroot, beans, spinach, peas, cucumber, tomatoes, salad and more, but no specific varieties are named.<sup>220</sup> If one compares it with the mentioning of the potato sorts just planting something of these vegetables seems to be enough knowledge. Potatoes on the other hand are treated with specificity and it can be related to it being an important staple food for Sweden and large parts of Europe. The paper states how it is important to get as much out of this crop as possible. Having a certain focus on potato sorts means in this time that it was a way of producing safety. The garden and the land are used as a safety net, to produce food and especially potatoes. This additional land use and the focus on letting people know the best sorts of potatoes the city is promoting changes that will make the citizens food secure by using the cityscape for urban agriculture in a new systematic way where the city lends the

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<sup>215</sup> UNT, Låt svensk frukt bli vardagsvara, 1939-10-07: 1 & 11.

<sup>216</sup> Rydén, 2006: 11–12.

<sup>217</sup> UNT, Svensk frukt har enastående tillfälle. Men det gäller att bevara marknaden., 1941-03-17: 5.

<sup>218</sup> UNT, 'Intensifiering av trädgårdsodlingen!', 1942-03-07: 9.

<sup>219</sup> Osvald, 1965: 142.

<sup>220</sup> UNT, Husmödrarna odla grönsaker i sommar., 1940-04-27: 8.

land to its citizens. In this way, the cityscape is turned into a safescape. Food security now have a strong impact on the city's physical appearance.

In course of the war, there had been rations in Sweden as discussed earlier but in an article from April 1945 about the potatoes that were to be planted for the season, there is not only talk of planting for one's own sake. The Second World War ends in Europe in May 1945 and in the world in August the same year. At this time, the cultivator of potatoes can choose from planting early potatoes to get fresh potatoes [färsk potatis], the one sort popularly eaten at Midsummer today, or one can plant a potato that matures later, which can be exported as an auxiliary delivery.<sup>221</sup> It does not say to which countries such auxiliary delivery is to be transported but likely to the war victims of Europe. In Britain during the war hunger was exported from Britain to the empire. Hard hit were the small islands and Mauritius, as discussed in Subchapter 3.2.<sup>222</sup> Since Britain had a food hierarchy that put the British in the centre, it could mean that Sweden had a food hierarchy too, putting its own country at the centre. The auxiliary deliveries can therefore have been meant for Europe since it is in the proximity of Sweden.

Strengthening this claim is an advertisement in UNT from April 1945, it said that people should put their shovels in the ground and cultivate for the North [Norden] and there is a picture of the people's supply minister Axel Gjöres,<sup>223</sup> which probably is to put emphasis on the message and its importance. Earlier Sweden had sent food to both Norway and Finland when there was an excess on grain. The excess grain asked for in the advertisement is therefore likely meant for Finland and Norway. In the beginning of the war cultivation was only for the sake of oneself and to help one's country. In the end of the war there was a prompt to cultivate for other people too, for example Gjöres said in the advertisement that "We need to produce much, if we are to manage ourselves and at the same time help the neighbours." [Vi måste producera mycket, om vi skola klara oss själva och samtidigt hjälpa grannarna.]. What is interesting is also that there is no mentioning of the Swedish people's supply which everyone contributed to by cultivating. Now the cultivator is to cultivate for itself and for other people in need, the local cityscape is to produce for its urban population and others somewhere else. This creates a new meaning in the cityscape. This advertisement is rather short of words, but the image of the Minister gives it emphasis to the small quantity of text and seems only to have the purpose of making people cultivate for others rather than themselves.

Focus is again put on the Swedish people's supply in short notices. More focus was put on potatoes once again in a short notice called the green front [Gröna fronten]. The green front was meant to fight for food resources. In this fight one should not jeopardize the potato cultivation in the country but start cultivating potatoes right away.<sup>224</sup> In another similar notice, in May 1945, it said that people should sign up for an allotment garden or piece of land for the sake of the country.<sup>225</sup> This shows that towards the end of the war the message was still about providing for one's own sake primarily but in addition also for people in need.

Contributing to the people's supply was seen as very important. In UNT it was said that one can leave the city and cultivate land outside of it, and that those who do that for the people's supply are welcome back to the city when the storm is over. It is also mentioned how in Stockholm in May 1940 there were an exhibition of how to cultivate land lots. The exhibition was

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<sup>221</sup> UNT, Potatisutsädet., 1945-04-25: 14.

<sup>222</sup> Collingham, 2011: 124–125.

<sup>223</sup> UNT, Sätt spaden i jorden - odla för Norden, 1945-04-16: 6.

<sup>224</sup> UNT, Gröna fronten kallar., 1945-04-05: 8.

<sup>225</sup> UNT, Landet behöver Din insats, 1945-05-14: 3.

wanted to be a touring exhibition and it is said to make propaganda for cultivation.<sup>226</sup> The gardener Curt Jeppson who worked at Uppsala Town's plantations was interviewed and asked to give advice to those who had preparedness cultivations [beredskapsodlingar] in 1942.<sup>227</sup> The so-called preparedness cultivations did not only change the cityscape but were also meant to be efficient. In this sense one can argue that the cityscape went from being a pleasant experience to a space where necessities take over. How one is to grow food could be presented in UNT with examples and the people did have the opportunity to read about it in the newspaper and could surely be inspired. There were no objections to the change found in UNT.

Land lots was something UNT reported on as it was happening in many places both in Sweden and in Europe.<sup>228</sup> As UNT wrote in 1943, it may be hard to pick what sort of plants to cultivate. One sort that has been forgotten is an old type of bean. This bean is called broad bean and has a high rate of protein. The sort was said to work well in southern Sweden and can be sown with the potatoes.<sup>229</sup> To spare time and energy broad bean was a good choice when it came to what the cultivators can grow in the lands since it can grow together with the potatoes. This shows that during crisis the lands and the work hours should be as efficient as possible.

An article in UNT also promoted that the sowing and harvesting must happen at the right time, because if everyone thinks that it was not important to pick up their crops at the right time the total harvest of everyone's big Swedish garden [allas vår stora svenska trädgård] will not be as good a harvest.<sup>230</sup> A recommendation from doctor Fredrik Nilsson was that half the allotment garden was to be planted with potatoes and the rest with kitchen plants. If the allotment garden is in a north direction one can plant peas and Swedish turnip. Some space should also be spared for parsley, salad, and dill. When cultivating in an allotment garden one should not plant the same plants on the same spot as the previous year and one should preferably use natural fertilizers. Another tip was to turn the soil and if you were not familiar with the different types of fertilizers you could use a mixed fertilizer according to the Food Commission. One should also think of not planting crops too early because of the night frost.<sup>231</sup> Efficiency in cultivation was promoted and important to secure the people's supply.

#### 4.2.2. Young people's preparedness

It was not only the adults that were to contribute to the people's food supply, but also the youth. This talk of youths being needed in the people's supply increased when the foreign politics became calmer. In 1941–1942, as Richardsson writes, teenagers were working some days for the people's supply.<sup>232</sup> The headline of an advertisement in UNT was "Cultivation enterprise among youngsters." [Odlingsverksamhet bland ungdom.].<sup>233</sup> The advertisement was about the opportunity of having a consultant assisting youngsters and teachers who wanted to join the project of cultivation among youngsters. The authority behind the advertisement is the Crisis Committee of Uppsala County. In the advertisement it says that the youngsters also need to contribute to the total supply of the nation. In this way children were

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<sup>226</sup> UNT, Jordlott bra att ha i hård tid., 1940-05-07: 4.

<sup>227</sup> No title, 1943-06-16. K I:1, CB, UCA.

<sup>228</sup> UNT, Oerhörd efterfrågan på jordlotter i Stockholm., 1942-04-14: 5; UNT, Hemvärn och hemskydd., 1942-04-16, 10; UNT, Dekret om jordreform i Polen., 1944-09-13: 6.

<sup>229</sup> UNT, Bondböner i potatislandet., 1943-05-18: 9.

<sup>230</sup> UNT, Skörda i rätt tid i trädgårdarna., 1943-07-24: 7.

<sup>231</sup> UNT, Gödsling och sådd i köksträdgården., 1945-04-25: 14.

<sup>232</sup> Richardsson, 2003: 118–119.

<sup>233</sup> UNT, Odlingsverksamhet bland ungdom., 1942-04-21: 2.

a part of the effort to make food. In 1942 there was clearly a demand for more food, which UNT reported about.<sup>234</sup> Before, children helped in the cultivation on farms and were involved in the parents' enterprises. This type of engaging youngsters though in cultivation without their parents was new since it was organised by someone else than the parent. There was a consultant that was available to teach children and their teachers how to cultivate potatoes and other garden products [trädgårdsprodukter]. The need of youngsters and consultants for them to contribute to the people's supply was something UNT reported more on during the Second World War.<sup>235</sup>

In 1944 there was a notice in UNT that said that schools also that year should get their pupils out in the fields to cultivate the land, and no allotment gardens should be left unused.<sup>236</sup> Children in this case are used where the adults interest, time or energy are not enough to fill all the allotments with cultivations. UNT also reported on children having their own gardens in Tensta, a small society outside of Uppsala.<sup>237</sup> Karl Åmark writes that there were camps where children could cultivate in the countryside.<sup>238</sup> No such advertisements have been found in UNT which could imply that the children in Uppsala used land in town. The article about the children cultivating in Tensta can have been meant as an inspiration for the city. What happens with the cityscape was that it got a new group of users, youngsters, and children. That group was called in when the adult users were not enough which imply that the children were a temporary group used in the temporary cityscape. The change in the cityscape happens because of exogenous shock and this creates a flux in the cityscape. It also created a flux among how children integrate with the cityscape. This enhances that the cityscape of cultivation was of a temporary kind for the people's supply.

Children in agriculture was as mentioned above not something new. Children cultivating in land lots was also happening on the countryside. In the article "Agriculture and youth movement." [Jordbruket och ungdomsrörelsen] published in UNT in November 1939, agronomist Sigurd Svensson writes about children having land lots.<sup>239</sup> There are also competitions in various agricultural activities and these activities took place because the status increased for agricultural labour. The Svensson article was not related to the city specifically but to land lots. The article reported on activities taking place in an agricultural setting with a consultant from the Agricultural Youth Covenant [Jordbrukare-ungdoms förbund].

Engaging youngsters in cultivation was already happening but the food crisis brought by the Second World War increased youngsters' involvement in agriculture. A new school break was instituted, the potato break [potatislov]. The break was instituted to help the adults gather the potato harvest.<sup>240</sup> The Crisis Board in Tierp opened for children to apply for land lots. This article was not from Uppsala and the context of the town, but it said that people need to be open for what needs to be done in times of crisis. The man handling the issue in Tierp was from the Crisis Committee.<sup>241</sup> That the management of the land lots were supplied by the Crisis Committee was a way of seeing the land lots as a method of what the state and municipalities promoted and wanted people to use, and even children. Within this Crisis Committee

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<sup>234</sup> UNT, Husbehovsodlingen måste ökas., 1942-04-16: 5.

<sup>235</sup> UNT, Ungdomen stimuleras till husbehovsodling., 1942-04-08: 4; UNT, Harbo., 1944-01-31: 14.

<sup>236</sup> UNT, Kolonilotterna böra ej få ligga outnyttjade., 1944-04-15: 6.

<sup>237</sup> UNT, Husmödrarna odla grönsaker i sommar., 1940-04-27: 8.

<sup>238</sup> Åmark, 1952B: 1149.

<sup>239</sup> UNT, Jordbruket och ungdomsrörelsen., 1939-11-07: 4.

<sup>240</sup> Svensson, 1996: 28.

<sup>241</sup> UNT, Tierp, 1942-05-05: 9.

area there were several local cityscapes that became nodes in the cooperative network for the people's supply. Richardsson wrote that 11 000 children had land lots of their own around the country.<sup>242</sup> A new group of children were engaged in agriculture, the ones from the cities and children seem to be seen as independent actors in the aim of supplying the people with food.

### 4.3. Uppsala citizens growing their own food in urban green spaces

The main time frame for this part of the thesis is 1939–1945. During this time the people needed to start cultivating in their gardens and rent land lots from Uppsala Municipality. Pictures have been used in this part of the analysis to complement the texts and see what people did.

#### 4.3.1. Private gardens

A picture from what is likely the block Svartbäcken from May 1943, shows presumably a father and a son planting potatoes in their garden, see Fig. 3. This is an example of what people did in the private gardens in the city. In the picture one can see that they are planting the potatoes in long rows. In other parts of the garden there are small bushes and a small tree, probably a fruit tree and berry bushes. As discussed above, by 1939 the Plantation Board start intervening in people's gardens and fruit trees were promoted.<sup>243</sup> Therefore, it is most likely a fruit tree on the picture. That there are berry bushes is probable because black currant bushes were promoted as healthy in an article in UNT and in documents from the Plantation Board concerning the same area they approve of berry bushes such as currant bushes.<sup>244</sup>



*Figure 3. Potato cultivation in homeowners garden probably in outer Svartbäcken 1943, DigitaltMuseum.*

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<sup>242</sup> Richardsson, 2003: 137.

<sup>243</sup> Till Byggnadsnämnden, Upsala., 1939-09-02. B II:2, PB, UCA.

<sup>244</sup> Till Byggnadsnämnden., 1944-06-30. B I:1, PB, UCA.

The rest of the land in front of the house in Fig. 3 is not covered in grass, whether the people living in the house are planning on planting the whole area with potatoes or not is unclear. The area of Svartbäcken was a so-called working-class area at the time.<sup>245</sup> Historically the working class had allotments to plant in to get an extra income as discussed earlier.<sup>246</sup> The plantations in this photo can therefore originate from several circumstances. One possibility is that the house is recently finished and there has been no time to plant a lawn because as the description of the photo says, the house is probably from Svartbäcken and that area was newly built at the time of the photo.<sup>247</sup> Another reason can be that the working class had allotments and that there was a tradition of planting for people belonging to this class, another can be the fact that many still remembered the practices of cultivation from their time in the countryside and took the practice with them when they moved to urban areas. Together, these practices together with the Second World War being on its fourth year can be explanations to why these two people are planting potatoes in their garden.



Figure 4. Homeowners' area, probably Svartbäcken, May 1943, DigitaltMuseum.

In Fig. 4 all the garden is covered with a lawn but the trees are probably fruit trees but there is rhubarb growing at the back. The gardens further back in the picture does not have a lawn, they could be planted with potatoes, or the grass has not established itself there yet. Fig. 3 is rather like Fig. 5. There is no lawn, but it is still unclear if some edible crops have been planted there or not. Whether it was usual to have all the garden planted with potatoes or only parts are hard to tell. In Fig. 6 the whole gardens are planted with potatoes, the photo is from 1942 and the previous years had had bad harvests, as discussed in Subchapter 4.1.3., which can explain the intense use of the garden. Important to remember is also that the photographs are from different months, Fig. 3 is when the cultivation season starts, while Fig. 6 is close to its

<sup>245</sup> Franzén, 1996: 53–54.

<sup>246</sup> Weirich, 2016: XXI; Nordh et. al., 2016: 854.

<sup>247</sup> Franzén, 1996: 49.

end. One can also discuss how children were used for the livelihood of the family at this time. Fig. 3 depicts both an adult man and a male child, a father, and a son most likely. At the time as mentioned earlier there were something called potato holiday. Children had the right to three weeks off from school to help with the people's supply of food, and the picture might be an example of that.<sup>248</sup> As discussed in Subchapter 4.2.2. at this time children were expected to help with the people's supply and children had previously helped on the farms. It is therefore not too farfetched to say that it is normal for the children to help their parents planting potatoes.



*Figure 5. Neighbourhood with homeowners' houses, probably outer Svartbäcken, May 1943, DigitaltMuseum.*

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<sup>248</sup> SOU 1942:25 B: 41; Svensson, 1996: 28.



*Figure 6. Homeowners' area, the crossing by Swedenborgsgatan - Stenkilsgatan, Svartbäcken, Uppsala August 1942.*

What is also important to state is that cultivation in gardens took place before the war too. The difference in how people grew their own food during the war was that there was a quantitative increase in use of the land. In UNT there was an article from 1942 about the harvest from 1941 on wheat, and it was only 58% of the usual amount.<sup>249</sup> This means that due to a crisis and during crisis the habit of using the cityscape for cultivation increases, and Fig. 6 is an example of that. This means not only that crisis creates new cityscapes, but crisis can also enhance and strengthen already existing habits that contribute to handling the crisis. The same year there is an article that speaks of the intensification of cultivation in gardens. The writer of the article said that Sweden is a horticulturally interested country.<sup>250</sup> As seen on the Figures above, one can interpret it as there is no lawns but cultivations. It is likely that potatoes were what was cultivated on these lawns since one of the Figures show such a thing and because potatoes were part of the rearrangement of the consumption during the First World War, as discussed in Subchapter 3.1. This strengthens that crisis contributes to strengthening already existing habits that work in the new setting.

#### 4.3.2. Allotments

In 1941 the Tuna allotment garden association opened. In a picture from 1942 one can see a man working in what seems to be a potato field, see Fig. 7. The picture was taken by UNT and was published in July 1942. In the article it said that all 237 allotment gardens were sold, and that berry bushes and fruit trees will not give fruit the first year, but potatoes and vegetables will be harvested. In the article it also said that not all allotments are planted yet, but that

<sup>249</sup> UNT, Brödsäden i fjol endast 58 proc. av medelskörden., 1942-01-28: 4.

<sup>250</sup> UNT, 'Intensifiering av trädgårdsodlingen!', 1942-03-07: 9.

was because the work with the water pipes was not done.<sup>251</sup> All allotments were sold, thus having an allotment can be seen as an attractive choice in getting food and they are more permanent than the land lots rented from the city. The reason why potatoes and vegetables were planted was because they give a yield the same year as they are planted. With allotments there is an ability to be able to plan further into the future in contrast to land lots, with land lots there was only planting of edible plants that would give a yield within a season. Such were the case with the mentioning of potatoes and root crops on the small handwritten note that was in front of the decision on where to put land lots in 1940 as discussed above.<sup>252</sup> Earlier the size of a notice in the paper *Morgontidningen* was discussed. That notice was published towards the end of the war and was rather small. In contrast, this article about the Tuna allotment garden association was on the first page and had three images. The article was right under the headline, the headline said that Stalin has ordered no one to retreat. The other articles on the front page were also connected to the Second World War.<sup>253</sup> Front page news are important.

The allotment gardens presented on the first page, where Fig. 7 is included, ends up in a context of war and in the article about the Tuna allotment garden association it said that the Tuna allotments are appropriate [ändamålsenlig]. Does this mean that the allotments will fulfil the purpose of getting food or was some other purpose meant? From the context of where in the war this article was presented and with bad harvests in previous years,<sup>254</sup> what appropriate means was that the land will be able to produce food.



Figure 7. Cultivation toil at Tunaberg pays off, 1942, DigitaltMuseum.

<sup>251</sup> UNT, Odlarmöda vid Tunaberg ger kolonister lön., 1942-07-31: 1.

<sup>252</sup> Uppsala Drätselkammare Ink. Den 29 JAN. 1940 D.nn 31411940, F I:72, MO, UCA.

<sup>253</sup> UNT, Stalinorder till trupperna: Icke ett steg reträtt., 1942-07-31: 1.

<sup>254</sup> UNT, Odlarmöda vid Tunaberg ger kolonister lön., 1942-07-31: 1.



Figure 8. "85 litres of strawberries on generous allotment garden.", 1944, DigitaltMuseum.

The area of one allotment garden is said to make a family of four-five people self-sufficient during the winter months on potatoes and vegetables. In an article from 1943 one woman expresses that she hopes her cultivations in her allotment will fill the winter cellar she has at home.<sup>255</sup> As can be seen on both Fig. 7 and Fig. 8, the allotment gardens were intensively cultivated. With this the hopes and fears of people are transferred to the activity of cultivation. How they grew their food was connected to what they needed and hoped would keep them food secure. Examples of what was cultivated in the allotments of Tuna allotment association was cucumber, tomatoes, strawberry, potatoes, peas, carrots, cabbage, raspberry, currant, and gooseberry.<sup>256</sup> Once again, an article about the Tuna allotment association ends up at the front page among articles about the war.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> UNT, Sommarstaden Tuna inviges på söndag., 1943-08-11: 1 & 6.

<sup>256</sup> UNT, 85 liter jordgubbar på givmild kolonilott., 1944-08-02: 1.

<sup>257</sup> UNT, Tysk reträtt på 11 mils front i Normandie., 1944-08-02: 1; UNT, Retirerande japaner på Brumafronten angripas i ryggen., 1944-08-02: 1.

#### 4.3.3. Land lots

Private places are also the common spaces of housing cooperatives. An example of where there were potato cultivations outside of a housing cooperative where people lived was outside the retirement home in Svartbäcken in the block Idun. The land lots went down from the retirement home to the river, and towards the railway.<sup>258</sup> The retirement home can be seen as both a private and public cityscape because it was inhabited by private people but was owned by the municipality and was made into land lots. The documents mentioning this cultivation are from the period of the war, but the picture below, see Fig. 9, is from the 1950's. Even though it is not from the period of the study it shows what it looked like.



*Figure 9. Spring ploughing before the potatoes are planted, Uppsala nursing home, Svartbäcksgatan, Uppsala 1954. DigitaltMuseum.*

This shows that not only people with houses were able to grow in the proximity of their home. The reason though for having cultivations by the retirement home can also be because it was the land of the municipality. Even though the land most likely was owned by the municipality it creates a change in what was there before, most likely a lawn. The handling of the crisis has entered people's homes and their proximity. Since the land around the retirement home was made into land lots this case was rather special. The private area for the retired are made public due to it being municipal land and this creates a bridge between private and public land.

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<sup>258</sup> Till Stadsfullmäktige., 1945-09-10. F I:68, CC, UCA.

## 5. Discussion

How can the methods to locally produce food used by people during the Second World War in Uppsala help us be sustainable and ready for crises today? When answering this question, we must remember that the urban situation has changed dramatically since the war and nor do we now face the threat of direct war. Still the scarcity of resources is an actual threat, something we must solve if we are to better face current and future crises. Below I will discuss how and if we can learn from the opportunities taken in urban agriculture during the war to inspire us today.

### 5.1. Summarizing the results

Before discussing the results, here is first a short summary of them. The study was started in 1930 in the Plantation Board's archive to make sure to see if there were any preventive work made before the outbreak of the Second World War and see the changes due to the outbreak. During the 1930's the material from the Plantation Board was about the worker's pensions, salaries, purchases, new plantations, and re-plantations and where they had taken place.<sup>259</sup> Changes in the cityscape were seen in 1940 when land lots were planned by the city. On some of the land lots ordinary plantations of trees and bushes were supposed to have been done but those were put on pause because the need of food was greater. The city got edible features which was not present before. The edible features will later be removed when there was no need for this temporary aspect of the town's layout. A new group taking part in the cultivations were children. There was a belief that everyone that could, should contribute to the people's supply.

The changes made in the town's layout reflects what happens in the war, and close to the end of the Second World War the interest in land lots was weak but increases again. There was also a change in who the inhabitants of Uppsala should cultivate for. In the documents concerning the period after the war, it was said that some of the areas where there were cultivations would be kept which meant that what was meant to be a temporary flux in the cityscape was sometimes kept. No decisions were taken to alter private land but recommendations on what the inhabitants in the city should cultivate and how were made in the local newspaper and more allotment gardens were made after the war. The administration of the municipality was extended, and the municipality made money on the temporary change in land use. In some instances, there were no change in the land use, and the potato cultivation was said to have a character of crisis.

The citizens were given recommendations how to be as efficient as possible. The urban agriculture was meant to make the citizens food secure, and the most prominent crop was the potato. From the source material one can see that there was a know-how when it came to

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<sup>259</sup> 7. B. Parker och Planteringar. Förslag till Utgifts- och Inkomststat för Upsala stads Planteringar m.m. för år 1939., B II:1, PB, UCA.

cultivation. The produce that was cultivated towards the end of the war was not only for the people's supply in Sweden but also for people in war-torn Europe. Cultivation in the city was as discussed earlier not something new. What has been shown thus far is that crisis creates new features in the cityscape and can in some cases increase already existing habits, as in this case of urban agriculture.

## 5.2. Learning from the past

### 5.2.1. New preconditions

Firstly, the basic settings for the city have changed over the last 80 years. The area of the municipality is larger, and the population has increased by more than 200 000 inhabitants. Since the time of the investigation Uppsala has gone from being only a municipality consisting of a single town to becoming the municipality with the biggest rural population in the country.<sup>260</sup> Since this study focuses on the changes within the cityscape that is what will be discussed further here. If Uppsala Municipality were to have a project on urban agriculture this means that to make it an equal opportunity for the participation of all citizens in the municipality it would need to have a project on urban agriculture for the smaller societies too.

Today, most of the population in Sweden are urban in contrast to how it was in the 1930's and 1940's where half of the population were rural, and many had recently moved into the cities. One example is how Uppsala's population increased with circa a third in about 20 years.<sup>261</sup> The new urban dweller still had experiences of rural life such as cultivation and agriculture. Today, most people are born in cities and do not grow up surrounded by agriculture, while people living in rural areas have a higher chance of seeing food production. If one follows von Thünen's land use theory, the agricultural products are produced outside of the city and the closer to the city, the more expensive the product. There has therefore been a cultural change in our contact with food and relationship with agriculture. When more and more people live in the cities, less and less people see the food production too, as well as take part in it. This means that there is a considerably lower know-how when it comes to food production.

With today's 200 000 more inhabitants it would mean that considerably more land would be needed for land lots if there were to be a crisis as big as the effects of the Second World War. During the Second World War, at its peak there were 10 000 land lots and allotment gardens and 37 000 inhabitants. If there were to be as many allotment gardens, and land lots with the total population of Uppsala of today, that would mean about 65 000 allotments and land lots in and around Uppsala. The number of square meters has not been discussed here but a lot of land would be needed. The municipality has grown area wise but to have land used in this way close to the city or in the city can probably be difficult due to high prices on land, as Alonso's theory suggests. The city has also been a subject to densification and areas where there previously was land lots are now built upon. At the same time, there are 20 organisations with land lots and four allotment garden communities today in and around Uppsala, which can be seen

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<sup>260</sup> Uppsala kommun, Årets landsbygdsaktör.

<sup>261</sup> Bergold, 1989: 127.



Figure 10. Map of Uppsala 2020, Uppsala kommun.

on Fig. 10.<sup>262</sup> However, the total number of allotments and land lots in Uppsala today have not been found unfortunately. Fig. 10 shows what Uppsala looks like currently with the new division of districts. The red dots are representing the places where there are land lots today and the blue dots represent the places where there are allotment garden associations. The town

<sup>262</sup> Uppsala kommun, *Odling i Uppsala*; SVT Nyheter, *Så föreslås Uppsalas framtida stadsdelar heta – men oenighet råder*.

of Uppsala is as mentioned larger than during the 1940's. The town has also been a subject of densification which can be seen on Fig. 11. and Fig. 12. Fig. 12 were taken where the land lots in Fig. 11 were in the 1930's.



Figure 11. Aerial photo of the eastern part of Uppsala, sometime in the 1930's, DigitaltMuseum and a box named 'Flygfotoargfier från Uppsala 1934, 1935, 1937, foto: Oscar Bladh' at the City Archive.



Figure 12. Photo of Stationsgatan, taken by author, 2023.

During the war there was a will to cultivate and a need. If one were to let people use the city's land today, would people be up for the task? There are many organisations focusing on cultivation today, but why they cultivate is another story. If more people were to cultivate the loss of knowledge of how to cultivate would also need to be amended. At the time of the war there

were consultants from the household associations, which are still functioning today. To use them would be an option, as it was at the time of the Second World War. Janson writes that exchange of seeds can take place in allotment garden societies.<sup>263</sup> Surely knowledge between cultivators can be exchanged too.

A need to cultivate can be seen today due to high food prices. Currently there is a disruption in the food chain with the war in Ukraine and the food prices have gone up due to the war but also due to inflation.<sup>264</sup> The Second World War created similar disruptions in the food production and in the availability on food. As was seen among the Mediterranean countries in the traces of economic hardship, it led to increased cultivation.<sup>265</sup> In this way, a window of opportunity for urban agriculture is open when there is a crisis.

The ongoing climate crisis and biodiversity loss that threaten us today could mean possible changes in the cityscape. Compared to this, the crisis that caused the change in the cityscape during the Second World War was an active means to prevent a lack of food. The climate crisis is right now not causing any lack of food for the population of Uppsala, they can go to the store and buy food as part of the global food system. But it is only a question of time before the effects of climate change are also felt in Uppsala. Around the world climate change is already affecting food security.<sup>266</sup> Cultivating food could be a way to decrease the emissions causing the climate crisis and this is an argument one could use to motivate people to turn to urban agriculture. What one also should have in mind is that the temperature in Sweden has increased with 1,5 Celsius the last 30 years and there is more rain than before.<sup>267</sup>

Another changed precondition is that at the time of the Second World War the plans and organisations created in case of a blockade were meant to get through a war. Today, planning to cultivate in the city would instead be focused on decreasing the emissions of carbon dioxide. As Eriksson writes in her report, the use of fertilizers in agriculture often gets critique for its greenhouse gas emissions.<sup>268</sup> Planning to decrease CO2 emissions would not be planning for the same crisis as during the Second World War, but it would still mean that the impact of the crisis would be lessened by cultivating locally in the city. The study of the Second World War shows that public land could easily be reallocated to individuals for farming – a transition which happened rather smoothly. It did not lead to land conflicts and citizens appear to have been rather happy about this change since no discontent in the material has been found about Uppsala. The latter point is important as the quality of the urban experience is crucial for a sustainable transition of the city. Important to add is also that the land lots were signed in the spring. The first land lots were mentioned in January 1940 and the decision of making them was established in May 1940. The season for when people can sign up is also of importance so that there is time to sow the seeds and harvest before autumn.

Thus, today allotment gardens and land lots would serve two important functions: they would be useful for cultivating food that might be very necessary for future crises, and they would also help alleviating greenhouse gas emissions – the biggest threat of the current climate crisis.

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<sup>263</sup> Janson, 2003: 233.

<sup>264</sup> Riksrevisionen, Inflation och kriget i Ukraina sätter press på svenska myndigheter.

<sup>265</sup> Keshavarz & Bell, 2016: 26–27.

<sup>266</sup> Christoplos & Pain: 2014: 41.

<sup>267</sup> Naturskyddsföreningen, Klimatförändringarna i Sverige.

<sup>268</sup> Eriksson, 2018: 20.

### 5.2.2. Responses to crises and current preparedness

Today there are no crisis organisations such as the Crisis Boards and Crisis Committees. But since 2015 there are changes being made and storage of necessary goods are discussed.<sup>269</sup> Would Sweden today be able to have an organisation like the Crisis Boards in time if there were to be any type of crisis today? What responsibility does the individual have? As mentioned in Subchapter 4.1.1. there were even plans for people's kitchens in case the conditions became worse. In 2018 the brochure *If the Crisis or the War comes* [Om krisen eller kriget kommer] was sent out to all households in Sweden from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, [Myndigheten för samhällskydd och beredskap] (MSB).<sup>270</sup> In the brochure it says what people should do in case a crisis or war hits Sweden. There is also a list on what groceries to have at home.<sup>271</sup>

Information is important and, in the brochure, *If the Crisis or the War comes*, there are tips of what to do, but no tips on how to have food in the long run except long durability on food. As shown throughout the study, urban agriculture is a type of crisis response. It is a well-tested strategy and since we are in a climate crisis today and have high food prices, urban agriculture could be the crisis response we need to handle the multiple crises we face today, from pandemics to ecological degradation. I would also argue that it should be included in the brochure because crises can have long duration and when the food with the long durability is out, then what do you do?

### 5.2.3. What is needed and what can be promoted?

Today, we live different lives than people did 80 years ago. The self-sufficiency level on food has been downsized in Sweden, as Eriksson wrote in her report, and the downsize was due to three reasons, the end of the Cold War, Sweden entering the EU believing it would lead to safer foreign trade and a demand on savings in the State budget. Only being self-sufficient on carrots, grain and sugar will not take us very far. Our food security is dependent on the world around us. As shown during the Second World War, if we were to be cut off from the rest of the world Sweden must compensate somehow with a domestic food production. Urban agriculture as shown above can work as a crisis response and it is a way of creating more sustainable cities. Below I will go through suggestions on what is needed and what can be promoted for urban agriculture as a general crisis response.

Firstly, the authorities need a crisis plan for urban agriculture like the authorities did during the Second World War. The authorities were those who by law had to manage the crisis and granted the people land on which they could cultivate. Today in the brochure from MSB, as mentioned in Subchapter 5.2.2. there is a list of what one can have at home in case of a war or crisis, but these lists are built on consumption. There are no lists for how a person can start to prepare for a crisis that is longer than a couple of days and one cannot buy more supplies in a store. Another problematic aspect on a preparedness system built on consumption is that not everyone might have the economic ability and physical space to buy and store these products. In a hypothetical scenario, say that there were to be a new Covid-19 pandemic but worse, the imports of food can no longer get to Sweden, what do we do? A preparedness system built on consumption would not help. Local authorities would therefore need to have land available

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<sup>269</sup> Eriksson, 2018: 6.

<sup>270</sup> MSB, Broschyren Om krisen eller kriget kommer.

<sup>271</sup> MSB, 2018: 10–11.

for the people to cultivate on if there were to be a fast crisis like a war or a natural disaster. The best would be to have an already well-functioning urban agricultural system that could contribute to fewer emissions, mitigating the slow crisis that the climate crisis is and if there were to be a fast crisis, a well-functioning urban agricultural system would already be in place and contribute to food security. There would also be a need for spaces to store the food people cultivate. Not all individuals in apartments have the space to store food. Food storages would need to be built so that there would be room for storing, for example in basements.

Secondly, the people are those who need to cultivate in a crisis. If there were to be a fast crisis today, know-how about crops and cultivation are much lower and this would need to be remedied quickly. Many are today born in cities and may not have the knowledge as the people in the 1940's had about cultivation or relatives in the countryside that could help with food supplies. Knowledge could be spread both online and via physical material and meetings. In a fast crisis people will probably be active in arranging for a well-functioning urban agricultural system to obtain food, but how can one today make people cultivate when there is a slow crisis? For people to cultivate there must be a reason, a motivation for them to do this activity and during the Second World War people would be without food if they did not cultivate. For us today living in a slow crisis, the climate crisis, in Sweden there is no threat of being hungry, yet. How can one promote urban agriculture in a slow crisis? One should not scare people into cultivating the land but rather make cultivation into a package of benefits and see it as a type of preparedness. As Touliatos wrote, there are many benefits from urban agriculture such as food security, decreased environmental impact, and better mental and physical health.<sup>272</sup> With the recently high food prices urban agriculture might have a window of opportunity since high food prices are something that negatively affects people here and now. Cultivating your own vegetables will be cheaper than buying them in the stores. Urban agriculture has many reasons for why we should do it and a package of reasons has a bigger chance of appealing to more people.

Thirdly, another suggestion is to have cultivation as a part of the home economics lessons in school to make cultivation a part of people's lives again in case there were to be a fast crisis in the future, people would know how to cultivate land and grow crops. Reaching out to children today would be in a different legal frame than in the 1940's but children and youngsters are likely a group that would be interested in locally produced foods and their sustainable advantages. Right now, there are a group of youngsters that sue the state of Sweden for not doing enough to prevent the climate crisis.<sup>273</sup> Therefore, the youth could have an interest in producing food locally and this is already done in one school in Uppsala, Västra Stenhagen skolan. The school have cultivations as part of the home economics lessons.<sup>274</sup>

What is also important to discuss is people's understanding of crises today. The climate is getting warmer, and we also do not have much food self-sufficiency. Thus, one cannot help but ask the question of if we are living on borrowed time? Recently the war in Ukraine is what have affected the food prices in Sweden but not to the extent that there is no food in the country. When the Second World War started people had recently experienced the First World War and they had experiences of crises and strategies how to manage. Today the closest to such a shared experience the whole people share is the covid pandemic, but there was still food in the stores. If there were to be as many allotment gardens and land lots in Uppsala as during

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<sup>272</sup> Touliatos, 2011: 6.

<sup>273</sup> SVT Nyheter, Greta Thunberg och hundratals unga stämmer staten.

<sup>274</sup> Uppsala kommun, Om skolan.

the Second World War, it would take a lot of space. Therefore, one must use balconies and roofs and be creative to find new places to cultivate to have enough land dedicated to urban cultivation because there are more people living in Uppsala today than before. Rivers is also possible to cultivate in.<sup>275</sup> Using areas in town in creative ways would put less pressure on the land in the city and more people could have a place to cultivate.

### 5.3. Further research

When discussing the question of what is needed and what can be promoted, when it comes to urban agriculture and preparedness, the division between state, local authorities and the individual must be precise. During the Second World War there was a plan for who should do what and such a plan of how to use urban green spaces would be needed today too. Especially how people in apartments are supposed to handle crises needs to be researched and planned for.

When discussing urban green spaces there were no mentions in UNT about the crisis cultivations being annoying but in Borås during the Second World War the people there did not want green areas in the city to be cultivated. What can be discussed is therefore people's experience of the cityscape and especially how people interpret a changing cityscape. What can also be researched is how people interpret crises and if they experience that they are prepared for it and who they think should have the responsibility. During the 1940's there was a full state machinery that started rolling after the outbreak of the Second World War and land was rented to the people.

Secondly, what possibilities are there to change the cityscape in case of a crisis today? Where can urban agriculture be put? This would mean that there would be a need for analysis of what land can be cultivated. The amount of air pollutions is also something that needs to be considered. The same is necessary for river Fyrisån if one were to use it for cultivation.

Thirdly, people at the time cultivated their own food to some extent in the city. As touched upon earlier, they had knowledge about cultivation and recommendations were made to the people. Today we need to establish an interest in the knowledge of cultivation. What makes people cultivate in the city would be a future research area and see how and if reasons for urban cultivation change over time. In times of fast crises, one needs to go beyond the enthusiasts of cultivation and make everyone cultivate. How to convince people that does not have memories of such crises created by the Second World War is something that has to be taken into consideration too. Wijk means that there was a shift in generation among Swedish politicians in the mid-1980's. The politicians active after the Second World War had connections to the agriculture but the new politicians did not, which Wijk means made the agricultural questions end up in the shadows and that Sweden would be cut off in the future seemed unlikely.<sup>276</sup> The experiences of crises and of agriculture shaped the decisions on self-sufficiency until there was a generational shift. How to make us ready for a crisis today is a whole other matter than for the people living in the 1930–1950's. How to make the population mentally ready to handle a crisis would therefore need to be researched. One might ask if we are living in a belief of false security?

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<sup>275</sup> SVT Nyheter, Elever på Vetenskapsgymnasiet i Gävle ska odla på vatten – sjösätter en odlingsflotte i Gavleån.

<sup>276</sup> Wijk, 1992: 264.

One also needs to ask what the differences one needs to prepare for whether a crisis happens in early March or late October? The Second World War broke out in September 1939. The decisions taken to cultivate the land in Uppsala were suggested in January 1940 and finalized in May. Since Sweden have long winters compared to other countries, there should be plans for how to cope with a crisis depending on when the crisis breaks out, since the Second World War started in September it was too late to cultivate and one had to manage on what one had for the winter. How many food storages is needed for Sweden to store enough food to manage until the next harvest from the summer after the outbreak of a crisis is a question that must be investigated too. Different municipalities and areas in the country will have different conditions in terms of administrative resources and climate deciding how a crisis can be handled which also must be taken into consideration. In a densely populated city, one cannot do the same urban agriculture as a rural municipality can do and the other way around. Furthermore, even if these plans were to be made, a changing temperature and different climatic conditions would soon make these plans in need of revision and an update. To successfully plan for crises the plans must be dynamic as the crises are.

## 6. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to analyse how authorities and individuals strategized to provide food during the Second World War and how the arising food crisis was negotiated. Throughout the thesis there has been a focus on potatoes. Potatoes were an important part of the Swedish diet and still is. Potatoes and root crops in general, are important wartime crops, and they can be cultivated in Sweden. Therefore, more potatoes should be planted as part of a sustainable and local food production. This is something to take note of because there would be less CO<sub>2</sub> emissions if there were cuts on the transportation of food due to us eating locally produced foods, which also could be bought directly from farmers. Planting what can grow here where the people living in Uppsala is and eating those crops would also contribute to less emissions. The people living during the Second World War did this during the war, and we can do it again to fight the climate crisis and to maintain food security in case of other types of crises such as a new pandemic or other types of disturbances in the global food chain.

Johnson said, towns do not disappear but continue to work in the present landscape. In this case, this means that the cityscape changes in response to outer circumstances such as a crisis. The citizens of a town change the cityscape in new ways when put in dire situations. Cultivating food in the city creates a safescape. The land has the new purpose of providing for the people that don't have cultivation as their main profession and is performed by them and to some extent by youth and children. In the change of the cityscape, new lands and new groups are activated in new tasks to fight the crisis. In crisis, everyone and everything may prove useful.

The preconditions for the town are changed both when it comes to the population and the area. The climate in Sweden have gotten warmer but a crop like the potato which is not sensible could be cultivated to a larger extent in Uppsala as a general crisis response since it is a way to food security in case of crisis and a crop that can be locally produced. What we can learn from the past is how to use their methods in the future to build greener cities which can produce food within the city boundaries. When it come to the people, there is not the same know-how anymore when it comes to cultivation but that can be improved with courses and course materials, both physical and digital.

At the time of the Second World War, a changing cityscape was made to make the citizens food secure. Today, the climate crisis is not as immediate as the potential lack of food was for the citizens of Uppsala in the 1940's. For the population in the North, climate crisis is noticeable, but still there are food on the tables. In this way, a changing climate is happening at a much slower pace and affecting the North much slower because there is still food in the stores. How can changes in cityscapes be promoted when there is a slow crisis? The theoretical approach to the changes in the cityscape is that changes are made when there is a crisis and usually a fast crisis. Today in many cities there are changes happening, a greener cityscape is taking place but at a much slower pace than during the Second World War. We are right here and right now not in danger of being food insecure. For the future though, if changes are not made, we might be. In this case, making people aware of the consequences of a slow crisis that will hit us hard in the future and to prevent it and mitigate the consequences is something

one can appeal to, because here and now we are not experiencing a potential lack of food, but potentially we will and we therefore need to ask ourselves, are we ready for crisis?

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## Appendix 1 – the way the footnotes are shaped

The archival material is from the City Council, the Crisis Board, the Municipality Office, and the Plantation Board. These materials can be found at the Uppsala City Archive in Uppsala [Uppsala Stadsarkiv]. The City Archive will be shortened UCA in the footnotes after the English translation. The abbreviations for the material will also be named after the English translations in the footnotes. The Crisis Board (CB), the City Council (CC), the Municipality Office (MO) and the Plantation Board (PB). The volumes with the material will be presented in Appendix 2.

A footnote about the archival material from the boxes with loose documents will look as follows: The document's name: page number if there are any, date, the box code, the municipal organization, UCA.

A footnote from material shaped as a booklet or book will look as follows: Name of the piece: page number. Code of the piece, municipal organization, UCA.

A footnote from Uppsala Nya Tidning (UNT) will be shaped as follows: UNT, name of the article, publishing date: page number.

## Appendix 2 – descriptions of archival material

Below are the descriptions of what is in the volumes and boxes of the City Council, the Crisis Board, the Municipality Office, and the Plantation Board.

### City Council

#### **Uppsala stad stadsfullmäktige I:83**

In this volume all meeting protocols from the City Council from 1945 can be found.

#### **Stadsfullmäktige I Uppsala arkiv inneliggande handlingar 1945 F I:68**

In this volume the notes from the meetings held by the City Council can be found. September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1945, there are notes concerning a changing city plan for Svartbäcken. Other materials are one person handing resignations for a board, a booklet about schools, a booklet about the Childcare Board in Uppsala, articles from UNT about the city supporting student housing, letters from the social care bureau [Socialvårdsbyrån], land sold by the Municipality Office, documents from the sobriety association, and documents on housing for families with many children. In the meeting notes from October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1945, there are articles from an unknown paper, letters to the City Council of various sorts from the Municipality Office, the Building Board [Byggnadsnämnden], and the Salary Board [lönenämnden]. There are also documents from the Sobriety association. There are meeting notes from the meeting held 16<sup>th</sup> of November 1945. There are letters to and from the Municipality Office, the Building Board, and the City Council. There are meeting notes from the City Council's meeting the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 1945 and there is a booklet about the meeting. Articles from a newspaper and letters sent to the Region Board [Länsstyrelsen]. There are notes from the meeting held on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1945. There are articles from UNT, a booklet about the meeting, a booklet about the Technical school in Uppsala [Tekniska skolan i Uppsala], a booklet about the incomes and expenses of the municipality, letters to the City Council. A file with the expenses and incomes calculated for 1946. Lastly, there are documents from the Sobriety association.

### Crisis Board

#### **Uppsala stad kristidsnämnd A I:1**

In this volume all meeting protocols from the Crisis Board in Uppsala between 1939 and 1949 can be found.

#### **Kristidsnämnden i Uppsala korrespondens 1939–1949, E I:1**

In this volume there were documents such as a small booklet about the people's supply of goods. There are documents from the Fuel Office, delivery licenses, lists of food supplies, letters where for example fish is suggested as a substitute for meat, fodder for animals, a list of the firewood sold by the Crisis Board, incomes and expenditures for the Crisis Board, documents of what to do in case of war, documents from the Food Commission, salaries for members of the Crisis Board, contracts from the National Insurance Institute and documents on plans for spreading out supply stores.

#### **Kristidsnämnden i Uppsala stad, skilda handlingar, allmän serie, 1942–1945, F I:1.**

In this volume there are licenses on men's rubber boots, a list on all stores and people in Uppsala that has sold eggs, documents showing that the Crisis Board collected the ration cards of Danish and Norwegian refugees, rations on textiles for refugees, rations on textiles for priest robes, rations on textiles for Finish children, receipts that people have received their person cards, documents of inventories on various foodstuffs and documents of all the deceased people whose ration cards the Crisis Board have collected from the Hospital.

#### **Kristidsnämnden i Uppsala stad Räakenskaper allmän serie 1939–1951 G I:1**

In this volume there are receipts on various goods people have bought such as envelopes, notebooks, and stamps. Accounting of purchase cards [inköpskort], sold firewood and the firewood storages. There are also documents on the work made by the association Help through Work [Hjälp genom arbete] and the work they did in town such as handling the firewood. There are also receipts from the Municipality Office.

### **Municipality Office**

#### **Drättselkammaren protokoll 1940 A I:84**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Municipality Office held in 1940 can be found.

#### **Drättselkammaren protokoll 1944 A I:92**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Municipality Office held in 1944 can be found.

#### **Drättselkammaren protokoll 1944 A IV b:2**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Municipality Office held in 1944 can be found.

#### **Drättselkammaren protokoll 1945 A IV b:3**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Municipality Office held in 1945 can be found.

#### **Drättselkammaren protokoll 1945 A I:94**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Municipality Office held in 1945 can be found.

### **Drätselkammarens i stad arkiv inneliggande handlingar 1940 F I:72**

In this volume there are documents from meetings. There are receipts, letters to the City Council, the Salary Board, to the Building Board, to the Police, to the King, and the Municipality Office. There is a list of all kiosks, a booklet to the City Council by the City Architect, letters about the tram maintenance, a booklet to the Magistrate, articles from the paper *Socialdemokraten*, documents about the Home Guard [hemvärn], a document from the Family Grant Board [familjebidragsnämnden], letters from the City Engineer, letter to the Magistrate, letter to the Building Board and documents about kiosks. In the map 31<sup>st</sup> March 1940 there are handwritten notes from meetings, documents from the Magistrate, documents about donations, a letter to the Police, a letter to the building committee, a booklet about rules for the principal and teachers at the technical school [Tekniska skolan]. Further there are documents about an outdoor concert [friluftskonser], a booklet about union agreements, documents about insurances, and preparedness courses for the industry. There are also documents about bomb shelters, a map about the expenses on the streets [gatukostnadsregister]. A secret plan from 10<sup>th</sup> April 1940 how to evacuate Uppsala's citizens and other documents concerning evacuation plans.

### **Drätselkammarens I stad arkiv inneliggande handlingar 1944 F I:100b**

In this volume there is a booklet from the Magistrate, documents about the capital owned by Uppsala, the Swedish towns magazine [Svenska stadsförbundets tidskrift], a protocol from the Swedish towns tax conference, and documents about taxes. Letters to the gas and electricity committee, letters about the libraries in Uppsala, letters to the Municipality Office, handwritten meeting protocols, a booklet about family pensions for retired firefighters, a letter of confirmation that a woman is who she claims to be to be hired in Uppsala Municipality. There are also instructions to the Police in Kristianstad, a map of the big Square [Stora Torget], documents about life insurances, a map of the Block Rådhuset, letters to the City Council and a map of the buss garage in Eriksberg.

### **Drätselkammaren I Uppsala stad arkiv 2:a avdelningens inneliggande handlingar 1944 F II b:3**

In this volume there are handwritten meeting protocols, letters to the Municipality Office, three maps of Uppsala and the names of the blocks, a map of Höganäshöjden, contracts of purchases, a map of the block Verkstan, a map of Vaksalagatan, contracts of purchases of land in the city, a booklet about the City Councils protocol, letters to the State's Building Lending Bureau [statens byggnadslånebyrå], letters concerning insurances, letters about the airbase, letters about the calculations on needs for apartments in Uppsala, a map over Svartbäcken, prices on land in various blocks, and documents concerning the costs on streets.

### **Drätselkammarens I Uppsala stad arkiv inneliggande handlingar 1945 F I:105**

In this volume there are handwritten documents from meetings, letters to the City Council, letters to the Municipality Office, a booklet about the Magistrate in Uppsala, documents on the capital owned by Uppsala Municipality, a booklet about economic post-war planning, letters to the Church in Uppsala, a map of the block Hovstallängen. There are letters to the Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency. There are also letters to the Royal Social Department, letters to the land survey in Uppsala County, letters to the King, a map of Sofielund,

articles from UNT, articles from Morgontidningen, documents of an investigation of airplanes, a map of who owns what land in Bälunge parish, a map of Kungsängen, letters of debt [skuldbrev] and purchases [köpebrev], credit coverages [meritförtäckning] of lawyers, documents from the Waterfall Board [vattenfallsstyrelsen], a map of the new fire station and documents from the company Anders Diös construction company.

### **Drätselkammaren I Uppsala stad arkiv 2:a avdelningens inneliggande handlingar 1945 F II b:6**

In this volume there are protocols from meetings, documents about purchases, loans, contracts, prices on land, a drawing of a bakery, and a map of the Block Granaten. There are also documents about people working in the municipality taking courses of various sorts, a table about the prices on heating in different parts of Uppsala, documents on rent in various housing associations, documents on building new houses, a booklet about the Swedish Town's Association, a drawing of a house made by City Architect Gunnar Leche.

## **Plantation Board**

### **Planteringsnämnden Protokoll 1909–1948, A I:1**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Plantation Board held between 1909 and 1948 can be found.

### **Planteringsnämnden Protokoll 1949-1954 A I:2**

In this volume, protocols from meetings of the Plantation Board held between 1949 and 1954 can be found.

### **Planteringsnämnden Konzept 1939-1954 B I:1**

In this series there are documents about building permits for gardens, documents about salary for workers, documents for planning of exits from newly built houses, protocols of inspections of gardens made by the City Gardener.

### **Planteringsnämnden Statsförslag 1920–1939 B II:1**

In this series there are documents about expenditures, pensions, salaries, equipment, where the work has been done, purchases, incomes, and short annual reports. There are also comparisons in expenditures and incomes between years, proposals on expenditures and calculations for incomes for the coming year. It also contains a small brochure from the City Council on streets and park management.

### **Planteringsnämnden Statsförslag 1940–1954 B II:2**

In this volume there are documents about expenditures, pensions, salaries, equipment, where the work has been done, purchases, incomes, short annual reports, and bathing places. There are also comparisons in expenditures and incomes between years, proposals on expenditures

and calculations for incomes for the coming year. It also contains a small brochure from the City Council on streets and park management.

#### **Planteringsnämnden Handlingar till diariet: Drätselkammaren 1922–1940 E Ib: 1**

In this volume there are documents about clearing out trees, construction of bomb shelters, requests for archives, a request for a land lot which is declined because the person did not apply through the system, documents from Uppsala University, correspondence with the fire department, expenditures for the Plantation Board, removal of trees, applications of having sports events, the children's day activities, a pamphlet about women's parttime work, courses for the employees at the Plantation Board, about the city's birds, a request for extending the airbase, the city's forests, arrangements of parks, playgrounds, documents about the people in the city being careless about the plantations (elderly and children), areas being planted after being left fallow, the women's housewife cooperation, documents about a new school in Svartbäcken, demolitions of bomb shelters and documents about the incorporations of Gamla Uppsala and Bondkyrko in Uppsala Municipality and the Swedish allotment garden movement about various types of pests on plants.

#### **Planteringsnämnden Handlingar till diariet: Drätselkammaren 1941–1954 E Ib:2**

In this series there are documents about aesthetic changes in the urban layout, demolishing of bomb shelters, documents on building a spare garden, the households association lease ends on land owned by the city, letters about an outside concert hall, documents of the incorporation of Gamla Uppsala Municipality in Uppsala Municipality, removal of trees and the creation of a playground.

#### **Planteringsnämnden Avlöningsfördelning: Beredskapsarbeten 1944–1954, G IIb:1**

In this volume there were documents of what various types of plantations works cost in salaries for the Plantation Board.