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Making Place for the Future

Transformations of a Rural Village into an Industrial Area after 1972

By Daniel Svensson

Introduction

Viared, a small village outside the city of Borås in western Sweden, is today a thriving industrial and transport nexus, with more than 100 companies and 4,300 employees (Samuelsson 2015:7). As late as the 1970s, though, family farms with small-scale food production and forestry provided the main livelihood. The transformation of Viared is one of the largest and most dramatic removals of rural population in Sweden during the twentieth century. Over the course of the 1970s local authorities transformed the area into an industrial and logistic site, removing farms, farmland and farmers in the process. Some protested but in vain, by the 1980s the village was gone and replaced by large corporations such as Volvo and the mail-order firm Ellos. The goal of the transformation was to secure industrial development through “rational” land use. This article will analyse the transformation process, focusing on how the different actors articulated the landscape. The sources represent two sides – those who argued for the transformation and those who opposed it. For the first category, official planning documents from the city of Borås and interviews with the planners have been instrumental. For the resistance, interviews and articles from local newspapers are the main sources. While the availability of sources is uneven and this potentially could be seen as a problem, I see it rather as a strength as it represents the uneven power relations in the articulation process of Viared in the 1970s.

Forceful removals of people are in no way a rare event in the history of mankind, not even in recent years. Looking at major hydroelectric power projects in China,

Brazil, India and many other countries, we see that people are ousted for the sake of a “greater good” almost on a daily basis. Those who support big projects argue(d) that it will lead to development (Josephson 1996:323), that it will only use lands which otherwise would be unproductive or at least yield much less (Willard Miller 1949:97), that it will make nature more manageable and profitable (Adams & Ryder 1998:689), that it will further stimulate industrialization and resource extraction (Barrow 1988:68 et passim), and so on. In Sweden, ousting people for the sake of rapid development has not been very common, at least not in the southern parts of the country and certainly not in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the most debated cases of relocation for industrial and development purposes is the ongoing transformation of the Kiruna area, first to make room for the mining industry but also to create a “space town” hosting the *European Space and Sounding Rocket Range*, ESRANGE. The process of turning Kiruna, once a core area for Saami reindeer herding, into a mining town and subsequently also a space town, built on logics similar to the transformation of Viared; growth, jobs, keeping up with national and international competition. It is also striking how the argument of state officials and others promoting the transformation of Kiruna and Viared are centred on how the landscape in question is ideal for transformation (Backman 2015), implicitly stating that current land use is inefficient compared to potential future uses.

A few questions stand at the core of this article. How was this removal of more than 600 people from the village of Viared

in the 1970s promoted? What ideas of rationality, speed and scale were used to frame this landscape as an ideal site for industrial development? What effect did the transformation of Viared have for local *movement heritage*?

The role and organization of agriculture has changed dramatically during the industrial and post-industrial eras. The number of people working in agriculture has decreased, while technological advances (machinery, pesticides, artificial manure, GMOs and the like) have encouraged larger farms, specialization, and rationalization. The yield per employee has risen dramatically. Simultaneously aspects of agricultural production have been outsourced from the west to developing countries and replaced first by industry and later by the service and IT sectors. Arable land has been claimed for industrialization and urbanization.

The case of Sweden is in many ways similar to the rest of the Western world. Structural changes in Sweden's economy and agriculture during the twentieth century have made small-scale farming uneconomical. As in most of the Western world, the number of farmers decreased and the size of the remaining farms increased. Agriculture was rationalized, industrialized and specialized (Myrdal & Morell 2011). Small-scale farms, where people were self-supporting and had a diversity of crops and animals, could no longer contribute to growth and were abandoned in favour of the industrial and service sectors. In this transformation, the interest of farmers has often conflicted with those of corporations, state officials and urban population. Structural changes in agriculture and economy have led many

farmers to lay down their shovels and move to the cities. This has been a fast transition compared to earlier transformations in human history. In Sweden, nine out of ten farms have closed down during the last 25 years (Lundell 2015). But it has also been a rather slow process compared to the more extreme cases where farmers (or others who have stood in the way of progress and growth as envisioned by state officials and large corporations) have been forcefully removed to speed up the urbanization process.

The transformation of Viared also raises questions about relations between man and landscape. Does history and tradition matter when it comes to the right of land use? Scholars in the field of environmental humanities have outlined theories of co-evolution, co-ecologies, embodied time and responsible inheritance which highlight the importance of human-environmental relations (van Dooren 2014; Rose 2012). This has been a key issue in northern Sweden as the Saami have traditional claims to land, while Swedish companies and even the Swedish state have argued that the relevance of such histories is exaggerated and that legal ownership has priority. One of the most recent examples is the conflict between the Swedish state and the Saami village of Girjas, where the efforts of the state to undermine traditional land rights have been heavily criticized (Allard, Avango, Axelsson *et al.* 2015). Can, and should, traditional land use and heritage be a relevant factor in decisions about future land use? The Viared case may help anchor such discussions in recent history.

Those who supported the development of Viared for reasons of industrialization,

primarily the planners and politicians of the city of Borås, argued that industrial jobs were much more vital for the city's development than a few farming villages (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). Those who worried about the ambitious development plans pointed to the potential loss of valuable arable land, and a future residential area. Sources include planning documents from the Borås city council, scientific studies from the 1970s, articles from local newspapers, and interviews with former residents of Viared and with politicians and officials involved in the process. These sources indicate that the ideas about how to best use the villages of Viared differed greatly.

Theory and Method

This paper will examine the ideas and arguments for and against the transformation of Viared in the 1970s. The central document describing the planned transformation is the so called "Blockplan" from 1971, passed in the Borås municipal council (*kommunfullmäktige*) on 15 June 1972 (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). The document is a visionary plan for the entire area around Borås, with optimistic estimated figures for population growth, housing projects, industrialization and traffic planning. It is in a sense the future of the city and its surroundings, as envisioned by the politicians and officials in the early 1970s. This document reveals the extent to which the planners and city officials saw an industrialized Viared as a common good that would guarantee economic growth, future development and progress. The document is a good representation of how the representatives of Borås understood Viared.

Interviews with the planners Forsberg and Jonson (who were the two most active in the writing of the planning document which is analysed in this article) have also been conducted by the author in order to get their retrospective view on the events in Viared. These interviews, and the interviews with current and former residents of Viared, were semi-structured. A number of prepared questions formed the basis for each interview, but there was also room for the discussion to lead in different directions depending on what was brought up by those interviewed (Wengraf 2001). A downside of this type of interview is that the answers are not fully comparable. In a qualitative study, I would argue that this is but a minor issue. With semi-structured interviews, the material becomes more diverse and better represents the voices of those interviewed than if I had stuck strictly to my pre-formulated questions. The interviews ranged between one and two hours, and were recorded. Jonson was interviewed at his office in central Gothenburg, while Forsberg was interviewed in his apartment in Borås.

The opposition (as often in these kinds of events) was more diversified and has left fewer written sources. The opposing voices analysed in this paper will therefore come mainly from interviews or the local press. I have used both current and historical articles from the local newspaper *Borås Tidning*. These have been found through the archive of the newspaper, found in the Borås city archives. I have also done interviews with four current and former residents of Viared. While this may seem like a relatively small number, not that many who lived in Viared at the time of the transformation would agree to



View towards Ek, taken in the 1960s. A picture from the same spot today would show the Volvo factory and other company buildings. The farm is no longer there. Photo: Viareds Natur- och Hembygdsförening.

be interviewed. There seemed to be a clear scepticism about discussing this issue, at least with an outsider. To get in contact with them, I approached the local heritage society. I eventually chose these four people because they represented different geographical parts of the old villages of Viared. All four were interviewed in their homes. The reason for this geographical diversity was to cover as much as possible of the pre-industrialized landscape of Viared, and get an overview of how the farms and villages used to be connected to each other through the paths, dirt roads and other discrete infrastructure for mobility. Since the transformation took place more than 40 years ago, and since those

that were interviewed all were of quite high age, I have been cautious about some details. Information about when and where a certain event took place has been cross-checked with other sources when possible. However, this is not primarily an article about the landscape itself but rather about the articulation process. Therefore, it is the narratives of each side that are in focus.

I also interviewed Per Olov Blom, a researcher who in the 1970s studied the impact of the local protests in Viared and other areas around Borås on the structural changes taking place. Blom also worked within Borås municipality at the time and is one of the best sources regarding the de-

bates that took place within the municipality as well as in Viared. This interview was conducted via telephone.

Finally, I also used an element of auto-ethnographic field studies (Allen-Collinson 2013). I walked around in Viared, visiting the places of importance brought up in the interviews. I tried to find remains of the paths, dirt roads and other traces of small-scale mobility. These field visits may not appear as references in the text but were nonetheless instrumental for my own understanding of Viared and its landscape history.

I consider the transformation of Viared as a form of rationalist and modernist techno-scientific disciplining on a landscape scale. It fits the general history of Sweden (and most of the Western world) at the time, when rationalization was a key factor in countering the economic crisis. The concepts of rationalization, scale and speed will be important throughout this article.

Research on the history of large-scale technologies and changes and how they transform landscapes will also be useful, especially literature on displacements of people due to a perceived greater good (dam projects, airports, roads and other such projects). I will specifically compare Viared to the city of Kiruna in northern Sweden, a place that both historically and in the present time has been physically altered to make room for industry (mining) and other job-creating ventures (rocket base) (Backman 2015). I will build on James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State* (1998), in which he outlines a history of state interest in rationalizing and optimizing landscapes, because I will argue that it was the state (represented by local offi-

cials in the municipality of Borås) that was the driving agent behind the transformation of Viared.

Sverker Sörlin's (1999) theory of *articulation of territory*, i.e. the process in which a landscape is articulated through written, oral, physical or visual means as a place for and by certain activities, will also be put to use in my analysis. The landscapes of Viared have been articulated in two distinctly different ways. From the rationalist perspective of the planners, it was articulated as an ideal site for industries. The values brought forward built on a rationalist approach, and the focus was on the location of Viared in relation to the highway Riksväg 40, the Gothenburg harbour and the low cost of development. The landscape was analysed more in relation to its potential in a techno-economic system than for its history.

The terms *rational* and *rationalize* will be used throughout this article to describe the ambitions of planners and other officials in Borås to transform the economically ineffective small-scale farming area into a more productive, profitable industrial/logistics site. The meaning of rationality advocated by the planners and politicians at the time was heavily influenced by economic ideas of efficiency, productivity, growth and development. In the rationalization movement of Sweden (strong from the 1930s onwards) efficiency and work intensity were means both to secure profits and opportunities for private companies, and to ensure a productive population that could sustain the welfare state (De Geer 1978).

This ideology of rationality did not take other values, such as heritage, history and memory, into account. The transformation

of Viared resulted in a dramatic loss of local heritage and history, especially the type of heritage that I together with fellow historian Sverker Sörlin have labelled *movement heritage* (Svensson, Sörlin & Wormbs 2016). This type of heritage is grounded in movements, and includes small-scale, low-impact human transformation of the landscape, such as paths, herding grounds and dirt roads. *Movement heritage* are traces of human activity which has had visible but small-scale physical impact on the landscape, but major impact on how that landscape is understood and framed, historically and by present inhabitants. The many centuries of rural life in Viared had produced a rich *movement heritage*, most of which was destroyed in the transformation. In this article I will contrast the *movement heritage* and the close relation between inhabitants of Viared and their landscape, to the less romantic, more rationalist, economic language and ideas of the planners.

The way that residents in Viared focused on tradition, personal knowledge of the landscape and its *movement heritage* represents a different form of articulation. It builds more on the emotional values of the landscape than the economic one. There are reasons to frame such traces of mobility as a heritage. Heritage signals a value that goes beyond personal attachment. When the heritage sector has expanded with previously neglected remains (such as industrial heritage, mining heritage, farming heritage) these remains have been protected to a larger extent than before. By expanding heritage to include also traces of mobility in the landscape, the articulation of territory would include voices that have been silenced historical-

ly. *Movement heritage* thus offers a critical potential in articulation of landscapes. By re-framing a historical case such as Viared with this theoretical concept, I also aim to offer a method for how such critical perspectives could be included in current *articulations of territory* (Sörlin 1999).

In this article, the two attempts at *articulation of territory* will be analysed in detail. It will be evident that the means for articulation were unevenly distributed, as they often are when an urban centre enters into a conflict over land use with a rural periphery. While the planners of Borås had access to printed and broadly distributed planning documents as well as established contacts in the local media, the residents of Viared had to resort to informal communication at local protest meetings. Their version, their articulation, was not widely spread outside their own ranks.

The Agricultural Villages of Viared

Viared has long been a small-scale agricultural site. It consisted of five minor villages (Viared, Ek, Lund, Ryssnäs and Västra Boda). Humans have dwelled in parts of this area since the Stone Age, but Viared's recorded history as an agricultural village dates to the fifteenth century when the forested area was partly transformed into fields through swidden farming (Bondestam 1987:170). For centuries to come, the villages developed and more farms were built. A congregation, a school, a local grocery store and a few minor businesses developed in the area, but in essence the rural farming identity remained. Not until the twentieth century, when electricity, phones and a small airfield came to Viared, did change accelerate.



View of Viareds Missionshus in the 1950s. A man named Fritz Gabrielsson lived in the adjacent farm. In the background are Lake Viared and Sjömarken. Photo: Viareds Natur- och Hembygdsförening.

About 600 years after the initial fires, Viared was once again transformed in fire when the area, by order of the Borås municipal council, was turned into an industrial site and many of the buildings were burned to the ground as training objects for the local fire-fighting department. The transformation of Viared was formally decided on 15 June 1972, when the municipal council passed a new development plan for Borås and the adjacent areas. The Municipal Board of Borås suggested that the passing of proposed development plan without major changes. A counterproposal was made in order to open up for keeping parts of Viared as residential areas, but

proponents of large-scale industrialization won the vote, 31–18 (Borås municipal council protocol, 15 June 1972). Of those who voted against, the majority represented the Centre Party, traditionally the party of farmers in Sweden.

In the years that followed, the city bought farms and land in Viared including some of the most fertile land in Borås. The farmers had no alternative but to sell, and the deals were signed under threat of expropriation. In 1975, the city had bought enough land to begin the physical transformation. During the years 1975–1977, some 300 buildings were burnt or torn down. Out of these 300, 87 were residen-

tial buildings, the rest were barns or other buildings related to farming (Samuelsson 2015:7). And in 1977, a new Volvo Buses plant opened. The first decades of the new industrial area were slow in terms of other companies establishing their business in the area, and the optimistic prognosis of the planners of thousands of jobs was not realized at first. Eventually, however, the area did become a success in terms of the number of jobs and companies with over 4,400 new positions and further expansion now under way.

The decision to transform Viared ended more than six centuries of agriculture. Some residents tried to resist the development, but in 2013 the last farmer gave in and sold his cows (Boersma 2013). There are now no active farmers left in the area, although some residential houses are still there. And the transformation continues. One of the last houses affected by the original development plan was destroyed in January 2014 (Rosenqvist 2014). Several old houses remain in Viared, but these were excluded from the development plan from the start because of their relative distance to the main road, Riksväg (state highway) 40. The areas where the first industrial complexes were built all lie closer to the main road, and the road itself was one of the major arguments as to why industrialization of Viared was so profitable. In 2012, the next phase of development began and the industrial expansion continued west and north along the highway Riksväg 40, a process that will result in another 88 hectares of industrial land (Samuelsson 2015:7). On the north side of the road, towards Lake Viared, such new factories opened during 2014 and 2015, and more are being built. South of the

road, the industrial area is expanding to the west. But unlike when Viared was first transformed, this land is not easily flattened and made suitable for industrial buildings, as wetlands, mountains and forests have to be removed. There are not many houses in the area, but the few that are there face a similar situation as did the people of Viared in the 1970s – sell or have your farm expropriated (Hedenryd 2012). Apart from a few cows grazing between the industrial complexes, there is little rural about Viared anymore. It is now an area filled with expansive companies, and an important part of the growth of Borås in recent years.

Viared in Relation to Previous Research

As one of the largest and more recent displacements of people in Sweden, the case of Viared needs further attention in order to understand how such a large removal of people was possible and how it was motivated. Rationalization and technologization of landscapes in order to use it more effectively is a common theme in cases from many areas of the world (e.g. Worster 1982; Sörlin 1988; Barrow 1988; Qing 1993; White 1995; Karlsson 2009; Pritchard 2012). Agricultural landscapes have likewise gone through similar transformations (e.g. Fitzgerald 1991; Myrdal & Morell 2011). Research on issues and ideas about displacement and resource exploitation in other areas of the country (mainly in northern Sweden, especially focusing on the Saami) has been conducted that often indicated that the “greater good” of the country gained priority over the rights of individual citi-

zens, especially when water power was at stake (e.g. Sörlin 1988, Öhman 2010).

Few of these cases can be found in southern Sweden. The fact that Viared was transformed relatively late in the twentieth century also makes it stand out, at least when also considering that it did not cause any major debate. Compared to the debate about the possible domestication of Vindelälven for water power in the 1960s (which caused a massive debate in the whole country), the Viared case did not attract any major interest outside Borås. Why did so few people take an interest in preserving Viared? One possibility was the “ordinariness” of the landscape. Rural villages like this are found all over Sweden, but rivers like Vindelälven are quite rare (and many of them had already, by the 1960s, been domesticated by hydropower companies). Another possibility is the small number of people affected. Similar cases in Sweden, such as the historical controversies of Vindelälven or Stora Sjöfallet, or more recent examples such as the resistance to mining in Sápmi (the land of the Saami in northern Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia), demonstrate that resource exploitation and industrial development often result in protests from locals. But they have little chance of stopping the development plans if they do not manage to raise attention for their cause on regional, national or even international scale. Viared remained a local issue.

The debate about other areas of Sweden, especially Lapland and its resources and potential for industrialization, reveals that the case of Viared was not unique. The way in which Norrland was perceived as the land of the future has interesting

connections to the transformation of a south-western Sweden rural village in terms of the conflict between tradition and economic development (Sörlin 1988). Histories of relocations of citizens, destruction of houses and appropriation of private lands (or commons) are well documented for the northern areas of Sweden. Similar processes in the more densely populated south of Sweden have been less studied by historians and other scholars. With Viared being one of the more dramatic events of this sort, its history deserves further attention. It can also serve as an example of how exploitation of forests, mires and farmlands for the sake of urban or industrial expansion is motivated.

Borås Blockplan – Long-term Planning, Long-range Effects

Borås blockplan outlined the future of the city of Borås and its surrounding municipalities Bollebygd, Dalsjöfors, Fristad, Sandhult and Viskafors. The five smaller municipalities had already in the 1960s, together with Borås, investigated the possibilities of forming a large municipality with Borås as its centre. This merger was part of the major overview of Swedish municipalities in the 1970s and was approved and realized in 1974. The blockplan was therefore written with regard to the needs of this new, and (for Sweden) large-scale, municipality of about 110,000 citizens.

During the years of unprecedented economic success in Sweden 1950–1974, Borås relied on the textile industry and mail-order companies for its economic growth. But in the late 1960s there were signs that the textile industry would not

withstand increasing competition from countries with low labour costs. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of people employed in the textile industry of Borås dropped from almost 19,000 to about 11,000, a major blow to the local economy (Berglund *et al.* 2005:151). City leaders saw the need to diversify the job market to reduce vulnerability in the event of further crisis, and determined to pursue the attraction of industry (*ibid.*:203–205). At the same time, the oil crisis hit the Swedish economy, causing even more trouble (*ibid.*:201–202).

As a solution, three men, Sten Forsberg and Einar Brandt, employees of the Borås municipality *Blockplaneenhet* (planning unit), and Sten Jonson, an architect who at the time worked as a consultant, produced the *Borås blockplan* (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). It was mainly Forsberg and Jonson who designed the plan. The work on authoring the plan had begun in 1970, as part of the preparations for the new *Borås kommunblock*, the new, larger municipality where Borås was to incorporate the surrounding, smaller municipalities (*ibid.*:1).

Already in the first pages of the document, there was reason for concern for those who lived in Viared. The authors Forsberg and Jonson reviewed the current and future land use in the Borås area, but did not mention Viared despite its high status as an agricultural area. They stated that “arable land that is situated directly adjacent to existing, larger densely populated urban areas will in some cases be in conflict with the urban expansion, especially as this land is attractive to develop from an urban planning-economic perspective” (*ibid.*:12). Viared was not men-

tioned here either, but it fits the underlying point that Forsberg and Jonson wished to make: that cities and economies need to grow, and that arable land may have to be sacrificed in order to secure this desired development. This is a rationalist way of thinking about land use that had been increasing in Sweden since the rise of the rationalization movement in the 1930s (De Geer 1978). It also resonates with how earlier industrial development in the area was tied to infrastructure and geography. The successful establishments of the nineteenth century textile industry along the river Viskan were dependent on the river for power. The best-known example is Rydal spinning factory, built in 1853 south of Borås. In the 1970s, Viskan had lost its role as a decisive factor for industrial expansion. Instead, it was the new road, Riksväg 40 between Göteborg and Borås, that presented the infrastructural argument for placing industry in Viared. The proximity to the new road meant easy access to the port of Gothenburg, lifting Viared from the microlevel and placing it in a macrolevel technological system including trucks, roads, ships and international trade.

Forsberg and Jonson also presented a “land requirement prognosis”. They predicted that new industrial establishments would require more land than older forms of industry, because of the tendency to use one-level plants and serial production (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:34). Unsurprisingly the need for rationalization (of industry) in turn led to a rationalization of land use, according to the economic and ideological standards of the time. Further into the document, the planners outlined three potential solutions for

Viared. In options one and two they included both industry and housing, but option three (which they argued for) “means that the whole area is reserved for industrial purposes” (ibid.:68). This follows a certain logic that was not unique for Sweden. Rationalization movements across the world argued for increasing specialization, not least in cities and their surroundings, during the twentieth century (Scott 1998). The famous French architect Le Corbusier argued tirelessly for separating dwelling and working areas. His arguments, picked up by planners across the globe, framed the multifunctionality of landscapes as an obstacle for planning effectively. According to Le Corbusier (and many of his contemporaries and followers), a landscape should ideally serve only one purpose. When faced with a multitude of uses and user groups, planning becomes much harder (Scott 1998:109–111). A place like Viared, which had not been planned but rather organically and slowly developed into a multifunctional landscape, was a nightmare for the kind of high-modernist planning that Le Corbusier advocated. Forsberg and Jonson may not have been explicitly influenced by Le Corbusier, but their arguments follow in his footsteps. Both Le Corbusier and the officials of Borås built on a Cartesian dualism and ideas about order through division and specialization (ibid.: 55–56). In the *articulation of territory* done by the planners, Viared was framed as a monopolized landscape devoted solely to industry. Similar arguments were raised in Denmark and other countries around the same time – rural areas often troubled by unemployment deserved the right to be industrialized and developed,

with clear separation between living areas and industrial areas instead of the mixed landscape of rural Scandinavia (Engset Høst 2016: 128–129).

The prose of the plan is bureaucratic, but follows a certain rationalist logic that justifies the proposals. First, Forsberg and Jonson argued that urban expansion should be done in a manner that enables each urban residential area to support a lower secondary school (*högstadieskola*) (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:42). Once this prerequisite had been established, the alternatives to industrialization of Viared (like a mixed area with both industries and residential buildings) were judged unfit because the number of people would not justify a lower secondary school (ibid.:68).

In modernist thinking, dichotomies like the one between nature and culture are essential. The city and the countryside are another such dichotomy. Planning of rural areas is rarely done there, but often in urban *centres of calculation* (Latour 1987), where local knowledge is dwarfed by the over-viewing ability of collected knowledge (Flygare & Isacson 2011:219 et passim). In the Viared case, the focus of the planners who wrote the planning document was the city and its needs. They constantly justified the transformation of the village through the benefits for the city of Borås, as when they argued for industrialization of Viared as the only way for Borås to have a large and easily transformed industrial area with good communications (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:68). Tradition, history, emotion and movement heritage were not included in the calculations, and agriculture was reduced to the number of jobs it can result

in. Why did they not include it? How can anyone quantify history, heritage, beauty, justice? By leaving such values out, planning documents themselves therefore have an inherent political agenda.

Given that rationale, it was no longer feasible to keep Viared as an agricultural area, according to the planners. They argued that the number of jobs in agriculture in the Borås area was declining (from 2,200 to 1,700 between 1960 and 1965, a loss of 500 jobs in only five years) and that the kind of small-scale farms that dominated in Viared would exist “only during a transitional period” (ibid.:12). In summary, there were more rationalist ways to use this land, and the farms would not remain in any case due to their incompatibility with modern, rationalized agriculture.

In the concluding remarks of the plan, Forsberg and Jonson stressed the great need for industrial areas of 2,500 hectares. They stated that “Viared should be made fully available for industrial purposes. The area’s location in relation to communications and suitability for construction should make it very attractive for industrial expansion and it will be a decisive factor in securing the municipality’s industrial development” (ibid.:112). The first argument was one of logistics. Viared’s location close to the new motorway between Gothenburg and Borås was a key factor, and the road was seen by Forsberg and Jonson as a corridor of expansion in which companies would be likely to invest. The other alternatives for industrial expansion did not have this advantage and that alone was enough to recommend Viared as the next industrial site of Borås. The second argument was also based on logistics and economy, but in a different

way. Viared was a flat landscape that could easily be rebuilt, and the costs per square metre could be kept to a minimum. Finally, Jonson and Forsberg argued that Viared was a vital part of the future industrial expansion (and therefore also the general expansion) of Borås. In summary, the planners Jonson and Forsberg argued for Viared as the most favourable location for industrial expansion from economic and practical perspectives. They were not insensitive to the protesting villagers but argued (and still argue) that the interests of the few must sometimes give way to the greater good of the many. Similar arguments are found in other urbanization-related environmental issues, such as sewage systems causing downstream disturbances (Rosenthal 2014).

Who were the two men behind this document, and how did they motivate the industrialization of Viared? Sten Jonson, a young architect at the time, had his own business in Gothenburg. He had already done similar planning work in other cities. Sten Forsberg was an economist, educated in Stockholm and employed by the city of Borås. Together they had the main responsibility for the content of the plan. As I have shown, their argumentation was based on rationalist ideas about effective and specialized land use, economic growth, and attraction of industries and jobs. Forsberg and Jonson were experts, and their job was to plan the expansion of Borås in the most effective and profitable way. They did this based on modernist arguments which fit into the general discourse of the modern Swedish state, where the city emerged as the ideal, rational way of living and the countryside was reduced to an old-fashioned, irration-

al remnant of the past. The argumentation echoes the frustration of dualistic philosophers like René Descartes over the seemingly chaotic diversity of medieval cities and land use (Scott 1998:55–56). Rural life was to be planned and engineered from the city, implicitly because the city experts had a much better overview (Flygare & Isacson 2011:219–220). To speak with Bruno Latour (1987), the *centre of calculation* was Borås, and it was Jonson and Forsberg who did the calculations. Engineering the landscape for arguably better use has a long tradition in Sweden, not least in the industrial expansion in Norrland from the late nineteenth century onwards (Sörlin 1988). Transformation of landscapes by mining, bridge-building, roads etc. was also one of the core aspects of early engineering education in Sweden, and as such a sign of the ambitions of the state to use scientific-technological expertise for the sake of growth and rationalization of landscape use (Sundin 2006: 245–249).

The work that Forsberg and Jonsson performed was in essence an *articulation of territory*, a way of framing Viared as something other than it had been, full of potential for future development. As Sörlin puts it, *articulation of territory* is “a process of differentiating one area from another, establishing communities of affection and memory” (Sörlin 1999:108). I would argue that the same process (articulation) can also do the opposite – obscure and break down such communities and replace them with other ideas of community based on the preferences of the articulating actor. In the Viared case, the traditional understanding of place was re-articulated in favour of industrial development.

The process was on a local level but the resemblance to the articulation of other, more iconic landscapes is striking. Articulating places like the French Riviera as tourist destinations was done with similar techniques to Viared’s articulation as an industrial site (ibid.:107), namely, by writing the landscape of Viared into a narrative of specialization rather than the multi-functionality that had historically been the case.

Forsberg and Jonsson down-played the traditional and historical aspects of the landscape in favour of its potential as home for industry. The planning document framed Viared as the best, maybe even the only, option for future industrial expansion in Borås. The counter-narratives from residents of Viared were not published or recorded, further underlining the demarcation between rationalistic (written, scientific, universalist) articulation and traditional (oral, experiential, local) *articulation of territory*. The power-relations between the urban centre and the rural periphery are clearly part of this articulation process. While the planners had access to all sorts of written and visual communication, the residents of Viared had to rely on personal communication. Their articulation reached a smaller audience, and because it built on personal rather than scientific knowledge it was not seen as relevant.

The Voices of the Village – a *Movement Heritage* Lost

Residents had been left in the dark about these early discussions. This fact was not even addressed in the planning process, which indicates that this was a self-evident way of doing things. The first official

informational meeting with the residents was held in early 1972. And by then, the plan had already gained significant technique-bureaucratic momentum, because it was part of a larger technical system including a major road, international trade and logistics (Hughes 1983). When city officials finally presented the plans to the people of Viared, so much time and resources had already been invested that, in practice, it would be too expensive to stop the development according to the planners. The plan had gained momentum.

One of the more persistent opponents of the industrialization plan was Sture Magnusson. Now over 90 years old, Magnusson has for decades run a museum in his barn where he displays tens of thousands of tools, memorabilia and other artefacts related to the old Viared. He has also produced a film about the landscape transformation, as well as a website that has the heading “Viared – the raped village” (Viared.eu 2015). Sture lives in one of very few farms that were not destroyed during the industrialization process. Most of his lands (south of the house) are still open fields, pastures or forests, but the view from his kitchen window to the north is dramatically altered. Where he once saw fields, a few farms and Lake Viared in the background, he now sees a large road and several massive industrial plants. Sture shows pictures of Viared in the 1960s, and points at a small dirt road where he used to ride a bike when he was younger: “That’s where the Volvo plant is now, and the old road is gone” (Magnusson 2015). The roads are broader now, and bikes make no mark on the asphalt-covered road. The local knowledge that Sture has acquired over time is of little use

in the new Viared – his experiential knowledge about where best to walk, ride a horse or bike, go fishing or pick mushrooms has lost its practical application.

However, by articulating such knowledge (place-names, maps etc.) it can be turned into a *movement heritage*. As such, it has potential as counter-narrative to the official story of progress and economic growth. *Articulation of territory* based on personal knowledge and experience of moving through the landscape has historical roots. Nordic traditions of access to nature through *Allemansrätten* (Right of Public Access), emphasize personal effort (Kayser Nielsen 1997:87–89). Viared was no exception – it was full of paths that were a sort of commons, open to all who had an errand of any sort. In the transformed landscape, the industrial complexes are often surrounded by fences and the paths are not accessible in the same way as before. This fact constitutes a loss that is comparable to the loss of houses and other buildings. Experiential, personal knowledge of how to move through a landscape is important for our feelings about a place. As Susanne Österlund-Pötzsch (2011:111) has framed it: “The ability to find one’s way and to know how to move within a place are significant factors for feeling at home.” Massive loss of *movement heritage* would therefore risk of undermining such feelings of belonging and being at home.

Moreover, paths and small roads connected the farms of Viared into a community. As Tim Ingold (2016:3) has argued, lives are lived along lines and it is along paths and other such lines that “people grow into a knowledge of the world around them, and describe this world in



Monument at Viared Museum, run by local man Sture Magnusson. The inscription translates: "From time to time, from hand to hand". Photo: Daniel Svensson.

the stories they tell". This is probably one reason why the paths and dirt roads keep emerging in the *articulation of territory* by inhabitants of Viared, but are totally neglected in the planning documents. The planners worked with a "building" perspective, which in this case means planning and building comes first and is then filled with mobility (Ingold 2000:180–181). *Movement heritage*, on the other hand, is more based on a "dwelling" perspective that presupposes a long tradition of mobility in an area. That mobility is the very reason for the roads and paths being there at all (Ingold 2000: 185–187).

Across Viared, city officials treated local folk and their farms with hurried disdain. Lund Västergården was neither exceptionally large nor small, a mid-sized farm producing oats, rye, barley, wheat, potatoes, honey and vegetables. Livestock included cows, chickens, pigs and a horse. The city of Borås approached the owners in 1973 (when the municipal council already had passed the development plan meaning that Viared would be transformed), and the contract was signed in January 1975. The four sisters who then had inherited the farm from their parents got 590,000 kronor, a price that was reasonable in economic terms. Nothing in the deed of sale, which the politician Eskil Jinnegård signed as a representative of Borås city, reveals that the farm was sold under threat of expropriation.¹ And perhaps this is not surprising. It is a document regulating a deal, and not outlining how the deal came to be. But the farms in Viared were sold with the threat of expropriation lurking in the background.

In the spring of 1975 the house was burned down, followed by the rest of the

buildings (barn, henhouse) in the autumn of 1976. One of the sisters, Ingegård Davidsson, who had grown up on the farm and lived there as late as the to mid 1960s with her husband, her son Lars and her daughter Lena Davidsson, remembers the paths she used as a young woman. She went cross-country skiing from her home in Viared to the ski training sessions in Hestra (about 5 kilometres north), and says that "even at night with only moonlight to guide me, I knew exactly where the path was" (I. Davidsson 2015). Both Ingegård and Lena stress the kind of experiential knowledge about the landscape that is dependent on years and years of land use. "It was a very free life. Dad cut firewood in the forest and our horse carried it, and where the horse couldn't go across the bog we carried it [the firewood] ourselves. That's why I was a good skier," says Ingegård (I. Davidsson 2015). The memories are still there, but the small paths through the forests surrounding Viared are now mostly gone. Memories such as these have remained largely unarticulated. By articulating them now, by turning memories and personal knowledge into a movement heritage, the history of Viared may become a little less one-sided.

In the years after their family farm had been burnt down, the family gathered a few times in what used to be their garden. "We brought coffee and sat there in our garden and watched the motorway. We talked about our old memories. That was the purpose. We could never get it back but it is no use dwelling on that" (L. Davidsson 2015). A large ash tree, planted by Ingegård's uncle, is still standing in the old garden, like a monument over Lund

Västergården. Maybe it will outlive even the industries?

Several churches and other social organizations also raised concern about the plan. The local congregation of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden voiced some critique toward the plan. Their church (or *missionshus* as it is called in Swedish) stood on the land that is now part of Volvo Buses plant, and they wanted to assure a new location for the church (which they eventually did, in neighbouring Sjömarken).

The so-called formal protest committee, *Viaredskommittén*, voiced critique against the development plans. They suggested that both industries and residential areas could be built in Viared (Blom 1972: 24–25). One of the committee members, Nils Alexandersson, was also a minister in the above-mentioned congregation. He wrote an article in *Borås Tidning*, basing his rejection of the development plan on historical and emotional arguments. He underlined the long history of the congregation (started in 1877) along with the suitability for residential expansion and ended with an “appeal to planning and decision-making authorities [...] so that our congregation also in the future may fulfil its mission in Viared” (Alexandersson 1971). He clearly tried to emphasize the long history in a place as basis for right of use. Such claims have rarely been successful in Swedish history. Traditional land rights have been ignored in many cases when the greater good (or greater profit) of society as a whole has stood on the other side. Saami villages have fought tirelessly to have their traditional land rights (*häv*) recognized legally, but 2016 a court decided in favour of a Saami vil-

lage against the Swedish state regarding hunting rights on Saami land (Heiki & Frygell 2016). In Viared, even traditional land rights *paired with* legal ownership of the land did not help.

With the emotional tone of the article, Alexandersson fits well into the dichotomy of history and future. The people of Viared represented history, according to themselves and to the planners. The development plan, on the other hand, was the future. Such was at least the articulation of this landscape in the media and in other written sources. Apart from being a minister, Alexandersson was a local representative for the Centre Party (traditionally the party of Swedish farmers), and several other members of the protest committee also had ties to the party. In the deciding vote on the development plan in June 1972, a majority of those who rejected it were members of the Centre Party.

In the spring and early summer of 1972, when the development plan was about to be passed and the villagers in Viared had finally realized that most of their village was about to be destroyed, there were some reactions in the local media. In the largest local newspaper, one farmer asked if the people of Viared “will be driven from Viared like the Finns from Karelia” (*Borås Tidning* 8 June 1972). Linking Borås municipality with the Soviet invasion in Finland was a strong statement, but even such a provocative argument did not cause any broad debate. This was on 8 June. A week later the answer from the municipal council was to pass the development plan. Apart from the few articles in local media, there was not much debate. Even those who protested had no illusions of keeping Viared mainly as an agricultur-

al area. Instead, they tried to convince the planners that there should be residential buildings alongside the industries. This strategy also failed. The clash between expert and local knowledge in the case of Viared is in many ways typical. Even if the issue at hand (industrial expansion) was important, there is also something about the rule of experts that is hard to legitimize in rural areas. From skiers who protested against scientific training advice (Svensson 2014), via British sheep farmers who distrusted the experts that forbade them to sell their products in the wake of the Chernobyl accident in 1986 (Wynne 1992), to the farmers in Argyll in Scotland who rejected the environmental protection agendas of experts (Lykke Syse 2010). There is an abundance of similar examples, which testify to the difficulties in direct interaction between local knowledge and expert knowledge. Viared was no exception, and the direct communication between locals and experts almost ended in a fistfight when the planners Sten Jonsson and Sten Forsberg visited Viared in spring 1972 to inform the villagers about the content of the development plan (Jonsson 2015; Forsberg 2015). The plan would go through. Some still protested, but in a way that confirmed that the battle had already been lost. A resident of Viared went to Stockholm to attend a funeral on the day that her childhood home was burnt down, and she was relieved that she did not have to be there to see it for herself (Anonymous resident of Viared 2015). It has been pointed out that the concept of family land and the complex practices of succession at farms has played an important role historically, and has continued to do so through the structural changes in ag-

riculture over the last few decades (Flygare 2012). I would argue that it is not just the property as such (buildings, land) but also the paths and micro-landscapes across and between farms, what I here have called *movement heritage*, that gets lost when continuities no longer function. The transformation of Viared disrupted such traditional patterns of property transfer through inheritance.

The Relative Silence

Unlike such other environmental and displacement issues in Swedish history such as Stora Sjöfallet or Vindelälven, the Viared case did not cause a lot of debate, and in the years since the events this has not changed. In a three-volume history of Borås city, the transformation of Viared is barely mentioned. In a short paragraph the authors explain that the large-scale welfare society needed long-term planning and therefore land available for industrial and residential expansion, and that this could affect individual citizens or even whole areas, like Viared (Berglund *et al.* 2005:292–293). In a section where the authors discuss the need for land acquisitions and long-term planning, they do not even mention Viared (Berglund *et al.* 2005:310–312). And in a section that portrays the first chair of the municipal council of the new, expanded Borås municipality in 1974, Eskil Jinnegård, his role in the transformation of Viared is totally neglected (Berglund *et al.* 2005:307). Given the magnitude of the Viared events, even on a national scale, the lack of debate is surprising.

One potential explanation for the relative silence is the turmoil and anger created by other issues in Borås in the early

1970s. The merging of six smaller municipalities into a larger Borås municipality with 110,000 inhabitants led some people to protest against centralization (Blom 1972). However, these protests remained a local issue, and I have found no records of any serious attempts to organize a broader resistance against the new administration. The fears of a decline in the textile industry also caught the public attention. And the biggest issue in the public debate at the time was the proposal to build a road through the Borås city park, *Stadsparken*, the most iconic park in the city. Almost 25,000 people signed the petition to stop the road (Johansson 2008). Per Olov Blom, local politician and chair of the city's building department from 1974, argues that the public attention was drawn to other things.

The road through the park was seen as something that affected the whole city. Compared to this, Viared was seen as a much smaller, more local issue. Very few protested, except for those who lived in Viared (Blom 2015).

The focus of public debate turned to other issues and Viared was not debated in public except by people who lived there. In any case, it is clear that other issues caused much more public protests than did the exploitation of Viared. This is yet another example of what Arne Næss pointed out decades ago: local residents are rarely successful in protecting their environment if they cannot rally the support of other groups, such as tourists or environmentalists (Næss & Rothenberg 1990). Another reason for the failure to raise enough public opinion to affect the outcome of the planning procedure may have been the relative commonness of Viared. In Sweden in the 1970s, arable land was not seen

as a scarce or even very valuable resource. On the contrary, rationalization of agriculture was the way to go, producing more food with fewer people involved and on smaller areas. Fewer people were employed in agriculture and large parts of the rural population moved to the expanding cities. And the most fertile agricultural lands are in the same areas where there are most cities and towns (Flygare & Isacson 2011:236, 253).

As the planners Jonson and Forsberg had stated in the planning document, arable land close to cities was needed for industrial and urban purposes (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971:12). And it still is. The local association of businesses aims at doubling the number of companies until 2022, underlining that the growth paradigm is still a guiding principle in the area (Viareds företagarförening 2017), and the history of Viared that they funded (Danielsson 2010) frames the transformation and continued expansion in a positive tone. This illustrates the different problems that rural areas face in Sweden depending on their distance or proximity to a major city. Rural landscapes in peripheral areas struggle with effects of urbanization, as people move out and services shut down. Rural areas close to cities like Borås, instead face the prospects of being incorporated into the city and transformed from rural to urban (Westholm 2013:57). Similar developments can be seen around other towns where the creation of new jobs is perceived as critical. The transformation of Viared shows how industrialization is often unequal. The need for industrial land was not distributed amongst the entire population but rather focused on a peripheral area with residents that had

little chance of making their protests heard. This aligns with similar experiences in other countries, where the poorest, most segregated or most peripheral (geographically and economically) are more often hit by the consequences of pollution, environmental degradation and industrial expansion (e.g. Pulido 2000; Guhathakurta & Wichert 1998). The distribution of environmental degradation (not least effects of climate change) is also a key issue on a global scale.

Discussion

The transformation of Viared into an industrial area was, in retrospect, a success in economic terms. And it was perfectly in line with the ambitions of the Swedish state in the 1960s and 1970s to rationalize and industrialize agriculture, i.e. to have fewer and bigger farming units and relocate the surplus workforce to the expanding industries of the cities (Flygare & Isacson 2011:231–232). For many of Viared's residents, however, the scars of this perceived injustice go deep. And the ongoing and ever-growing debate about how to balance small-scale rural life with urban expansion remains unsolved. The produce of Viared in terms of food production was marginal on a national and even on a regional scale. However, the growing demand for ecological, local food in Sweden and the increasing focus on sustainable food production may add a different, more critical perspective on the transformation of Viared.

Scale is an important issue here. Throughout this article I have framed the farming activities as small-scale. The centralized planning needed for the new, expanded municipality of Borås was not

small-scale, but rather large-scale in both temporal and geographical terms. The need for space to grow became more evident as the smaller municipalities of Borås, Bollebygd, Dalsjöfors, Fristad, Sandhult and Viskafors merged into one large administrative area. Per Olov Blom, local politician and chair of the city's building department from 1974, recalls that the framework of the political agenda was changed. "It became much more large-scale, and the common understanding was that it had to be so in order to secure future jobs and industries" (Blom 2015). Large-scale technologies, as well as large-scale planning and development, runs the risk of being less transparent and less democratic (Scott 1998) while also causing severe effects on nature (Josephson 2002). It is striking that totalitarian regimes such as the one in Soviet Russia have been particularly fond of large-scale technologies and centralized planning (Josephson 1996:298–299 et passim). In a democracy such as Sweden, one would expect more dialogue with and consideration of local residents.

We may ask what is lost and gained when social and environmental change is directed from the outside. The gaze of the state official is simplistic and synoptic, promoting "state simplifications". Such simplifications exclude aspects of human existence that do not fit into the model of aggregate, utilitarian facts (Scott 1998: 79–80). In our case, the planners carefully counted on the potential number of jobs created in Viared while neglecting local tradition and heritage, because such local values could not make an impact in a universalist, rationalistic analysis.



By the western entrance to Viared, there is a sign with a map listing all the companies in the area. Signs such as this one are part of the articulation process, framing Viared as an industrial landscape. Photo: Daniel Svensson.

This way of thinking about landscapes and wanting to order them into specialized spaces of industry, living, leisure, nature protection, forestry and so on is typical of Swedish twentieth-century planning. It builds on a Cartesian dualistic vision where multi-use, multi-species, organic use and growth over time are problematic and ineffective (Scott 1998:55). Viared was in a sense the twentieth-century Swedish equivalent of a medieval town – used for multiple purposes (houses, agriculture, small-scale crafting and home industry, schools, churches, paths and dirt roads). It lacked a general plan – it was not rational but traditional. It had reached its current state through organic development over hundreds of years, rather than by a large-scale, fast remodelling.

Viared did not fit into a Cartesian divide between wild nature and artefactual, man-made, rationalized landscapes. It was both nature and culture, landscape use which affected the ecology and aesthetics of the place but did so slowly and sustainably. Such boundary places, called “gaps” by Anna Tsing (2015), threaten a rationalist world order. Viared was neither wild nature nor fully rationalized. It was both a residential and work area, both “natural” (forests, lakes, animals) and “cultural” (humans, houses, fields, crops, paths). To the planners pointing out the future of this place, specialization was badly needed. They argued for a transformation into an industrial area, where people could work. And their homes should be in another area, where they could live (Forsberg, Jonson & Brandt 1971). It was a vision of separation and specialization, where no gaps were included. The now increasingly popular concept of the Anthropocene in-

volves aspects of this large-scale management approach. Humanity as a major force of change on a planetary, geological scale implies a need for more control, more human involvement and less unproductive wilderness or low-productivity farmlands. This has been heavily criticized by scholars who argue that previous human large-scale interventions have had disastrous effects (Crist 2013).

If local heritage was lost in Viared then the intended jobs were indeed gained, so far at least 4,300 of them. This has obviously meant a lot for the economy of Borås. The transformation was part of an ongoing exploitation of rural areas for industrial reasons across the Nordic countries. Turning farmers into wage workers and spreading industry and welfare services to rural areas was an important aspect of the social democratic ideology (Engset Høst 2016:132) and it was in this context that the planners in Borås worked.

What was lost is perhaps a bit trickier to answer. The homes of about 600 people are one thing but the most striking loss is perhaps that of heritage. The landscapes of Viared were shaped by many generations of farmers. Change occurred all the time, but it was slow and dynamic. The imprints (paths, grazing fields, dirt roads) are gone now, and part of the history of Borås was lost with them. Villages have typically been framed as static, and mobility has been seen as external to such (rural) communities (Uusitalo 2012:101 et passim). The small-scale mobility so important in many villages has been more or less neglected. In this article, I have argued that mobility and its heritage is instead a vital part of both historical and cur-

rent village community. Indeed, it is at the very core of such community as it ties the individual farms and households together through roads and paths.

Mobility heritage/movement heritage (Svensson, Sörlin & Wormbs 2016) is a concept developed to frame and analyse the remains of movement of different kinds in the landscape. In the Viared case, the *movement heritage* is the traces left behind by small-scale agriculture and movements by humans and animals (paths, pastures, fields, peat-bogs). This is almost eradicated. There are very few signs, monuments and other memorabilia to inform visitors about the history of Viared. As a final failure to recognize the historical importance of those that lived and worked in Viared over the centuries, the streets are named not with reference to local history but only to the new era. Streets such as Företagsgatan (Company Street), Bussgatan (Bus Street) and Stämpelgatan (Stamp Street) may be suitable for the companies, but they seem less related to those generations of people that dedicated their lives to work the earth in Viared. Such re-naming is an important aspect of the *articulation of territory* (Sörlin 1999), not least used in colonial efforts to incorporate new territories into the nation. The names on the maps and the physical signposts in the landscape all further the agenda of those articulating Viared as an industrial area, making its long pre-industrial history invisible in the process, to the grief of former residents (Anonymous resident 2015). A few of the old buildings are still there, but taking the complexity of human/landscape co-existence into account, pre-industrial Viared is gone.

Such practices differ radically from what the environmental humanities scholar Thom van Dooren (2014:19) has named *responsible inheritance*. Responsible inheritance pays attention to the diversity of a place and its history. It also means inheriting a place “as a dynamic and changing gift that must be lived up to for the good of all those who do or might inhabit it” (van Dooren 2014:19). In order to do this, more attention needs to be paid to the interconnectedness of humans and the landscapes in which they live. As certain species (e.g. plants, animals) or cultures (e.g. small-scale farming, reindeer herding) are diminished, or even extinct, the landscape will change. As discussed by van Dooren (2014:12), we are shaped by generations of co-evolution. Removing parts from these intricate webs of co-existence will affect our heritage, and our lives. In the case of Viared, most historical webs of co-existence were destroyed in the fast process of turning this area into something else. Speed is a key issue here. The long history of Viared was based on slow practices – farming without machinery, transport without cars, communication without phones. Large-scale technologies of high speed, such as the motorway, mechanized agriculture, buses etc., were part of an acceleration that left historical practices behind. It was a slow landscape deemed unfit for an accelerating world. This was partly due to necessity – Borås suffered from the decline of its textile industry. But it was also something inherent in the speed of technology itself – with large-scale mechanized farming, who needed small farms? Rationalization and large-scale solutions led to the abandonment of traditional practices, as well as the de-

struction of the traces of earlier, and slower, mobility. Paths and dirt roads vanished under the cars, and horse paths, school paths, church paths and other traces of traditional mobility became redundant in the process.

The past of Viared is hidden behind generic street names and massive industrial buildings, but it is still there. The farms and lands of those who were forced to leave are gone, but maybe more could be done to recognize their history and what it means in terms of moral, traditional and emotional claims to land rights. *Movement heritage* can in this respect be used as a counter-narrative, a counter-articulation. By recognizing remains of traditional patterns and practices of mobility, local heritage and experiential knowledge would thus be included in the articulation process. Articulating such remains through maps, signs and digital media gives voice to generations of people who otherwise are muted. Thus, there could be a critical potential in *movement heritage*. Paths, like other heritage, are political, and the eradication of such heritage is too. While the work of the local heritage society may not have changed anything in the development of Viared, they have at least articulated a heritage of trails, paths and place-names that would otherwise have been lost not only as physical remains but also from memory.

The changes in Viared relate to the ongoing issue of traditional land rights in northern Sweden. There is recent critique of the Swedish state's unwillingness to acknowledge traditional claims, and the significance of a long history of land use (Allard, Avango, Axelsson *et al.* 2015). Because Saami villages rarely have had legal

documents supporting their claims, they have turned to arguments of history and tradition which they have had a hard time defending in court. In Viared, the villagers did have legal ownership, for which they were compensated as the city of Borås bought their land. But their traditional and historical claims to the land were not recognized. No extra compensation was paid for the loss of memory, heritage and culture. Like the traditional lifestyle of Saami reindeer herders, the traditional lifestyle of small-scale family farmers has been pushed back by industrial and urban expansion during the twentieth century. The number of farmers and farms has decreased, while the size of farms has increased (Myrdal & Morell 2011). Given that development, Viared would probably not have remained an agricultural area even if the development plan had been rejected by the municipal council. Still, the situation could have been managed differently to avoid causing such resentment among former residents. Tradition often loses in court, but the recent verdict in the Girjas vs. Sweden case, which gave the Saami village the rights to administer hunting and fishing on their traditional lands (Heiki & Frygell 2016), may prove to be a breakthrough for the juridical status of tradition and local history. In such a process, articulating a *movement heritage* may help to balance the *articulation of territory* to include aspects reliant on experiential as well as scientific knowledge.²

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Notes

- 1 Deed of sale for Lund Västergården, 7 January 1975, Borås City Archive.
- 2 Ongoing research by the author of this article together with Sverker Sörlin (KTH Royal Institute of Technology) and Katarina Saltzman (Gothenburg University), funded by the Swedish National Heritage Board, suggest that *movement heritage* may also be more actively used as a category of heritage in the coming years.

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