Reconstruction on Display:
Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947–1949 as Site for Disciplinary Formation

by

Ingrid Dobloug Roede

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Abstract

With the liberation of Norway in 1945—after a war that left large parts of the country in ruins, had displaced tenfold thousands of people, and put a halt to civilian building projects—Norwegian architects faced an unparalleled demand for their services. As societal stabilization commenced, members of the Norwegian Association of Architects (NAL) were consumed by the following question: what would—and *should*—be the architect's role in postwar society?

To publicly articulate a satisfying answer, NAL organized a series of architectural exhibitions in the years 1947–1949. Physically touring the length of the country and actively disseminated in various media outlets, the three editions of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* (*Arkitektenes høstutstilling*) gave a broad audience access to the discursive field. While each exhibition dealt with the postwar rebuilding of Norway, the image presented of the architect evolved with every edition. Confronted with a pressing need for rapid reconstruction, and a scarcity of material and human resources, the architectural profession clamored to assert their vital role in the national rebuilding.

Yet in order to move forward, certain things were deliberately excluded from the public discourse. During the immediate postwar years, NAL was engaged in a riveting—and confidential—extrajudicial process against members accused of having collaborated with the Nazis. Power subtly shifted as new voices assumed important roles in NAL and state institutions, and with the rise of a new and more diverse generation of architects.

The exhibition series was not only a response to wartime destruction, but fueled by NAL's anxieties about the architect's societal role. Architectural exhibitions were seen as important tools for propaganda, and as potent sites for the formulation of professional identity. The thesis argues that NAL, aided by the short but energetic life of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, implicitly launched a revived and more specialized profession.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek
Professor of the History and Theory of Architecture

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Abbreviations

NAL: Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund (The Norwegian Association of Architects)

NA: Norges Arkitektforbund (the nazified NAL, active 1941-1945)

AAF: Agder Arkitektforening (The Agder Association of Architects)

BAF: Bergen Arkitektforening (The Bergen Association of Architects)

SAF: Stavanger Arkitektforening (The Stavanger Association of Architects)

TAF: Trondheim Arkitektforening (The Trondheim Association of Architects)

MAF: Møre- og Romsdal Arkitektforening (The Møre and Romsdal Association of Architects)

OAF: Oslo Arkitektforening (The Oslo Association of Architects)

BSR: Brente Steders Regulering (Burnt Sites Regulation; a state-founded rebuilding agency active in the years 1940-1955)

NS: Nasjonal Samling (National Gathering; the Norwegian National Socialist party)

RA: Riksarkivet (The Norwegian National Archives)

OBOS: Oslo og omegn Bolig- og Sparelag (a cooperative building society)

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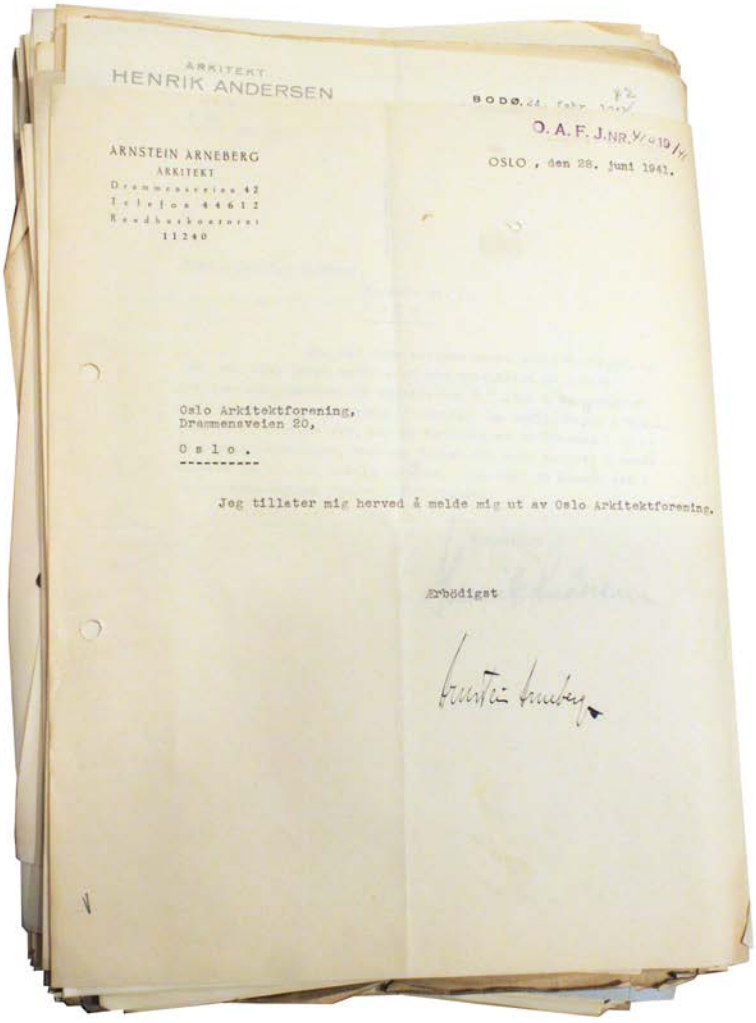
A warm thanks to my cohorts, especially my "dear colleagues" and Cambridge family in 7-301a—Nitzan Zilberman, Nof Nathansohn and Rodrigo Escandón Cesarman—for encouragement, comradery, and No Fun. MIT would have been a lot greyer without your company and friendship. Thank you, Oslo friends, for your patience and long-distance love. And finally, always, to my parents Lars and Margrethe.

0. Recuperating from Crisis

When browsing through the archives of the Oslo Association of Architects (OAF), one particular folder—in the box concerning membership in the organization—practically overflows with papers. Nearly all letters in this ominously large stack of correspondence are dated around the end of June 1941. The brief and businesslike letters, counted by hundreds, are all variations over the phrasing used by architect Arnstein Arneberg: "I hereby take the liberty to withdraw from the Oslo Association of Architects."[1]


ARKITEKT
HENRIK ANDERSEN

BODØ, 24. juni 1941.

O. A. F. J.NR. V/c 19/41

ARNSTEIN ARNEBERG
ARKITEKT
Drammensveien 42
Telefon 44612
Rådhuskontoret
11240

OSLO, den 28. juni 1941.

Oslo Arkitektforening,
Drammensveien 20,
O s l o.

Jeg tillater mig herved å melde mig ut av Oslo Arkitektforening.

Erbødigst

The positive avalanche of resignations was spurred by the events of June 18, 1941, when the governing board of the Norwegian Association of Architects (NAL) was forcibly dissolved by the recently instated collaborationist government, and the organization was reconstituted under the name Norges Arkitektforbund (NA); led by regime sympathizers and submitted to German control. Six days after the 1945 VE Day, on 14 May, NAL was reconstituted by its legal executive committee. They deemed every action and decision made by the nazified NA to be illegal, and

Figure 1 Architect Arnstein Arneberg's letter of resignation from OAF. Medlemskorrespondanse, Oslo Arkitektforening Archives.

[1] Arnstein Arneberg, "Letter from Arnstein Arneberg to Oslo Arkitektforening," June 28, 1941, OAF/P/Medlemskorrespondanse 1938-1947/Inn-og utmeldelser J.nr.4/019/41.

annulled the 1941 resignations from "loyal members", thus resuming control of the organization and restoring its former body of members.[2]

Figure 2 The Norwegian town Bodø destroyed during the Luftwaffe bombing raid in 1940. Håkon Østensen/Sør-Troms Museum.

Norway was occupied by Nazi Germany on April 9, 1940, and quickly made part of a weighty military system of defence and fortification known as 'Festung Norwegen'. Hitler saw the occupation of Norway—with its vastly extended coastline and geopolitical position—as *essential* for success during World War II, and a large number of German troops were dispatched to the country.[3] By the end of the war in 1945, 340 000 German soldiers were stationed in Norway, among them 26 000 SS members, police, and military engineers.[4] Ambitious civilian and military infrastructure projects were undertaken during

[2] Harald Hals and Sinding-Larsen, K. H., "Letter to NAL Members," May 1945, RA/PA-0311/F/L0012/Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund - Papirer fra opprydningen 1945.

[3] Not least due to the devastating effects of the maritime blockade of the North Sea during World War I, which prevented Germany from receiving provisions and effectively led to societal collapse. Among the military-strategic reasons behind the German occupation of Norway were the threat of an Allied maritime invasion of Norway, the close proximity to Swedish iron ore resources, and the strategic importance of its Soviet border. Johan Sigfred Helberg and Knut Sivertsen, "Drømmen Om Nordstern," in *Fortidsminneforeningens Årbok 2016* (Oslo: Fortidsminneforeningen, 2016), 166.

[4] Ole Kristian Grimnes, "Norge under Andre Verdenskrig," in *Store Norske Leksikon* (Oslo: Foreningen SNL, 2018), https://snl.no/Norge_under_andre_verdenskrig.

the war years, and the totalitarian governance made possible a comprehensive and ruthless exploitation of natural and human resources.[5] Occupied Norway was *de facto* under German rule and supervision, but nominally administered by a collaborationist government comprised of the local National Socialist elite.[6]

With the liberation of Norway on May 8, 1945—after a war that left large parts of the country in ruins, had displaced tenfold thousands of people, and put a halt to civilian building projects—Norwegian architects faced an unparalleled demand for their services. Wartime destruction necessitated the rebuilding of entire towns, an unprecedented housing development in large Norwegian cities, and the establishment of new welfare state institutions. Two event horizons thus emerge when discussing Norwegian architectural culture in the postwar context: the immediate past and the anticipated future. Both physical and psychological consequences would have to be dealt with in order to reconstruct the country and return to normal life. The traumatic effects of the German occupation were still fresh in memory. Its immense material destruction necessitated reconstruction on a scale hitherto unseen, but also—as a prerequisite for amelioration and progress—a national reckoning with anyone suspected of collaboration with the occupying power and collaborationist government.[7] The state conducted a legal purge between 1945 and 1948, convicting thousands of Norwegian nationals and foreign citizens of treason and war crimes. Society at large followed the process with feverish interest, and many member groups and unions likewise saw the need to conduct purges within their own ranks. Within days after the liberation, the legally elected NAL board of 1940 initiated a lengthy and thorough investigation of their own: an internal and extrajudicial process against members who had remained within the organization

[5] The workforce primarily consisted of prisoners of war from Russia and Eastern Europe**.** Of the estimated 100 000 prisoners of war in Norwegian labor camps during the years of German occupation, about 13 000 lost their lives. Marianne Neerland Soleim, *Sovjetiske Krigsfanger i Norge 1941-1945: Antall, Organisering Og Repatriering* (Oslo: Spartacus, 2009), 80.

[6] Vidkun Quisling, founder of the Norwegian fascist party Nasjonal Samling (National Gathering, henceforth NS), served as Prime Minister of Norway from 1942 to 1945.

[7] According to Andenæs, close to 28 750 people were arrested for questioning in the days following the Norwegian liberation. By the end of the legal purge, about 46 000 people had been disciplined. See Johannes Andenæs, *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen* (Oslo: Tanum-Norli, 1979), 22, 91–96.

under Nazi rule, or who were accused of taking commissions from the collaborationist government and occupying forces. Yet people had to make a living, even during wartime, and the demarcation between justifiable and gratuitous contact—between strictly necessary cooperation and unpatriotic behavior—seems nebulous, even with the benefit of hindsight. Constitutional questions further complicated the legal (and extrajudicial) purges, as did the legitimacy of retractive regulations.[8]

Already during the war years, architects in exile had formed groups to discuss the current situation and devise possible solutions to the issues facing the profession come peacetime. Administrative, organizational, and material factors were delineated at length, but also—and with rigor—grounds for agency, as witnessed by the longstanding struggle to ensure legal jurisdiction to regulate use of the title "architect".[9] The extraordinary situation brought on by the Second World War might have intensified architects' desire for a clearly demarcated domain, and these conversations would continue to permeate architectural society throughout the mid-twentieth century. Confronted with a pressing need for rapid reconstruction, and a scarcity of material and human resources, the architectural profession clamored to assert their vital role in the rebuilding of the country. As will be discussed in this thesis, the unsettling events of the war, coupled with new economic and political circumstances, drove NAL to more or less implicitly reformulate and concretize the architect's position.

As societal stabilization and reconstruction commenced following the liberation of Norway, NAL and its members were consumed by the following question: what now? How could the organization recuperate from the war, publicly exonerate itself, and deal with members who had collaborated with the German occupiers? What ideals and techniques should lay the premises for the physical reconstruction of

[8] In his review of Andenæs' book on the postwar trials in Norway, legal scholar Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen aptly summarizes the legal and societal issues brought forth by the process. The Norwegian government in exile formulated a number of laws relating to treachery, finalized in the 1944 *Landssvikanordningen.* Hans Gammeltoft-Hansen, "Rettspleie og rettsoppgjør," in *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen*, by Johannes Andenæs (Oslo: Tanum-Norli, 1979), 9–29.

[9] The title is not chartered in Norway.

the built environment? And, more pressingly, what would—and *should*—be the architect's role in postwar society?

One of the initiatives instituted to articulate a strategically satisfying answer to this final problem, was a call on NAL members to publicly show their work. On an edifying mission to enlighten the general public, and to enlist government support, NAL organized three traveling exhibitions under the umbrella *Arkitektenes høstutstilling* (*The Architects' Fall Exhibition*) in the years 1947–1949.[10] Physically touring the length of the country and actively disseminated in various venues and media outlets, these exhibitions gave a broad audience access to the discursive field. Each exhibition represents a distinct—and different—self-representation. While all more or less explicitly dealt with the rebuilding of postwar Norway, the image presented of the architect—and of the pressing tasks at hand—evolved with every edition. Underlining currents furthermore augmented the unresolved status of national identity within contemporary architecture, and in the wake of National Socialism. In the context of modernization and modernity, with modernism as the auxiliary language on the international architectural scene, these questions—and their architectural responses—brought with them certain idiosyncratic tensions between the modern and the historical.

The exhibitions were each, in different ways, intended to highlight and resolve particular issues concerning normalization and progress. Yet in order to move forward, certain things were unstated, omitted, or deliberately excluded from the formulated projection of architecture into society. These subliminal absences were vital to the reconstitution of the discipline; allowing NAL to privately recuperate while publicly relaunching. Power subtly shifted behind the scenes as new voices assumed important roles

[10] The *Arkitektenes høstutstilling* exhibitions were not the first architectural exhibitions organized in Norway after the Second World War. Other notable architectural exhibitions in the immediate post-war period includes the traveling MoMA exhibit *Amerika bygger* in 1946, showing works by leading American and US-based architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Marcel Brauer, Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius; and the 1948 housing exhibit *Bo riktig*, organized by Oslo Byes Vel in collaboration with Foreningen Brukskunst, Norsk Leieboersamband, Oslo Møbelhandlerforening, Møbelprodusentenes Landsforening, and the cooperative housing company OBOS. Yet this thesis examines *Arkitektenes høstutstilling* as a unique phenomenon, as the series were organized by NAL with the explicit purpose to showcase architectural production authored by its members.

in NAL and state institutions, and with the rise of a new generation of architects who joined the profession *after* the festive thirties. Architectural exhibitions were seen as important tools for propaganda and dissemination, and subliminally potent sites for the formulation of professional identity. The broader story at play is thus that of disciplinary formation.

The Architectural Profession and its Organization

With the exception of a few PhD dissertations, the disciplinary formation of architects in Norway—and NAL's organizational history—is a scantily studied field.[11] The reference text remains architect Odd Brochmann's *--disse arkitektene* (1986), where the history of professional development is chronicled through a number of seminal biographies, buildings, and events.[12] Ragnhild Skogheim's essay "Arkitektene" (2014) contextualizes the professional development and societal role of architects in a volume explicitly devoted to recounting the history of Norway's modernization through a number of its most influential professions.[13] One of Skogheim's principal inquiries concerns the relative autonomy or heteronomy of the architectural profession in Norway. While outlining the architects' position as a balancing act between independent artist and servant to their client, her account privileges external factors over internal discord and debate. Architect Jon Guttu's analysis, on the other hand, ties *discourse* to the formation of disciplines, arguing that the ways in which ideas are formed within a professional community

[11] These dissertations include Mathilde Sprovin, "Tegneskolen i Christiania - en nasjonal arkitekturutdannelse tar form" (PhD Dissertation, The Oslo School of Architecture and Design, 2017); Elisabeth Seip, "Brødre og søstre i arkitekturen : ingeniøroffiserer og sivilarkitekter i Norge rundt 1800" (PhD Dissertation, The Oslo School of Architecture and Design, 2008); Ragnhild Skogheim, "Mellom kunsten og kundene: Arkitekters yrkessosialisering og profesjonelle praksis" (PhD Dissertation, University of Oslo, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, 2007). Architectural historians Sprovin and Seip trace the 19th century progenitors of (respectively) architectural education and disciplinary formation in Norway. Sociologist Skogheim examines the professional socialization and practice of (predominantly contemporary) architects.

[12] The book was published in celebration of NAL's 75th anniversary. Odd Brochmann, *--disse arkitektene: en historie om deres liv og virke i Norge* (Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1986).

[13] Ragnhild Skogheim, "Arkitektene," in *Profesjonshistorier*, ed. Rune Slagstad and Jan Messel (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2014), 81–102.

are conditioned by and discernable as recurring patterns.[14] This causes a basic mutual understanding and sense of community between participants in a professional discourse, even when opinions diverge. Professional discourse thus transcends its academic content, and is tied to the societal structures—education, esteem, and domain—that distinguishes the profession and constitutes its identity. Given this premise, *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* provides a microcosm through which one can examine short-term changes in architectural discourse; both internal to NAL, and between the architects and their targeted audience. By situating architecture within larger discursive systems of power and agency, one might identify the broader factors motivating change or conformity. Similar to architectural historian Sarah Williams Goldhagen's conceptualization of modernism in architecture as discourse in and of itself, it opens up the field to a heterogeneous assemblage of positions and practices.[15]

As will be discussed over the following chapters, *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* was a decidedly public broadcast in support of the profession's role, tasks, and position. However, part of the reconfiguration of NAL included deciding who, in the wake of liberation, should be allowed to reassume membership in the organization. NAL's internal examination of architects' wartime activities, and the following internal tribunal (see chapter 1), have not been comprehensively studied. Its format was broadcast in an announcement in the first *Byggekunst* issue released after the war, as witnessed by passing mentions in a number of texts on Norwegian postwar architecture. Yet few historians have critically scrutinized the process, and its effects on the profession at large. This is partly due to NAL's restrictive access policies for archival folders with sensitive documentation. Author Nicholas Møllerhaug's *Stupet – Leif Grungs krig* (2018) and architectural historian Helga Stave Tvinnereim's *Sverre Pedersen – pioner i norsk byplanlegging* (2015) present two exceptions, in their recent portraits of highly profiled architects in

[14] Jon Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år" (PhD Dissertation, Arkitekthøgskolen i Oslo, 2003), 38.
[15] Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk about: Modernism, Discourse, Style," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, no. 2 (June 2005): 144–67.

the mid-twentieth century.[16] Both Tvinnereim and Møllerhaug treats the NAL process against their respective protagonists—each with the apparent agenda to exonerate the architects and restore their posthumous reputations.

Rupture or continuity?

The tasks faced by Norwegian architects in the postwar period were similar to those of their European colleagues; dominated by questions concerning reconstruction and the rebuilding of society at large. While this thesis is less concerned with the physical outcome of the national reconstruction, and predominantly focused on the 1940s as a moment of disciplinary reconfiguration, literature concerning Norwegian modernism, architectural exhibitions, and work undertaken in the service of reconstruction has been consulted.[17] A number of monographs have been published on key actors in the Norwegian postwar architectural scene. The oeuvres of these canonical figures have been documented—and to a certain degree, analyzed—at length, but few scholars have looked *beyond* stylistic idioms and morphological progression to produce narratives of the culture's contemporary discourse and critique. The 2010 National Museum of Architecture exhibition *Brytninger* (2010), and its accompanying catalog, represents an important historiographical contribution to the field, with a number of close readings on certain influential architects' ideals, representations, impact, and sources of inspiration. Architect Jon Guttu's 2003 PhD dissertation on the professional perception of housing quality in the latter half of the 20th century examines Norwegian architectural discourse in the light of societal and political

[16] Helga Stave Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen: Pioner i Norsk Byplanlegging* (Oslo: Kolofon Forlag, 2015); Nicholas Møllerhaug, *Stupet: Leif Grungs Krig*, 1. opplag (Bergen: Vigmostad Bjørke, 2016). Both Tvinnereim and Møllerhaug are exceedingly critical to the NAL process, in their respective readings of its effects on the fates of Pedersen and Grung.

[17] The vast literature on this topic covering the activities of the rebuilding agency Brente Steders Regulering (Burnt Sites Regulation) is usually locally anchored, and often part of broader accounts of World War II and the postwar reconstruction. While these works are peripheral to the topic of this thesis, contributions include Tvinnereim's abovementioned biography on Sverre Pedersen; Anders Ole Hauglid, Knut Erik Jensen, and Harry Westrheim, *Til befolkningen! brannhøsten 1944, gjenreisingen etterpå* (Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1985); Trond M. E. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene: gjenreisningen av Finnmark, 1945-1960* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1986).

developments. His assessment of the postwar situation reveals two contrasting tendencies: the need for rapid reconstruction, particularly due to pressing housing shortage, and the wish to increase architectural quality through the employment of new knowledge and techniques.[18]

Conventional narratives frame the war years 1940-1945, during which Norway was occupied by Nazi Germany, as the definite end of a prolific period of functionalist experimentation and international exchange. Architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz went so far as to claim that the modern movement in Norway had two beginnings: "The first beginning took place in the late 20s, and was a triumph. […] The second, in 1950, was a struggle."[19] As can be surmised from Norberg-Schulz' statement, a central question in writings on Norwegian architectural modernism is whether the postwar period represents rupture or continuity. The wartime embargo on civilian construction, and the consequent halt in normal building activities, aid in the conceptualization of World War II as a pronounced break in the history of Norwegian architecture. But the functionalism of the 1920s and 30s was still fresh in memory, and many of its proponents would continue to play important roles in Norwegian architectural spheres also after the war.

Two leading figures in Scandinavian architectural history and theory have brought this discussion to the fore: Norberg-Schulz and his Danish colleague Nils-Ole Lund. According to architectural historian Espen Johnsen, Norberg-Schulz and Lund both characterize the architectural climate in the postwar years as a "struggle": the former by conceptualizing it primarily as an internal and ideologically saturated struggle between socialist architects active in the 1930s, and the latter describing it as a tension between the formal ideals of internationally oriented modernist Arne Korsmo and "organic" architect Knut Knutsen.[20] A closer examination of Lund's work reveals a strong emphasis on formal reactions and

[18] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 63.
[19] Christian Norberg-Schulz, "En ny begynnelse," in *Nordisk funksjonalisme: det internasjonale og det nasjonale*, ed. Wenche Findal (Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal, 1995), 144. My translation from the Norwegian.
[20] Espen Johnsen, "Tidlige brytninger 1935-55," in *Brytninger: norsk arkitektur 1945-65*, ed. Espen Johnsen (Oslo: Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, 2010), 20–31.

counter-actions as a driving factor in the postwar period's architectural development, as opposed to Norberg-Schulz' focus on underlying ideological currents as motivating factors.[21] As described by Jon Guttu, the war brought with it a definite change in the housing sector, as new institutions and policies were established.[22] He nonetheless finds the conceptual basis for postwar architectural development to originate in the 1930s functionalist movement, thus blurring the clear delineation between pre- and postwar practice. Guttu highlights three distinct legacies from the functionalist movement that continued to have a discernable impact on postwar architectural production: health and sanitation, analytical planning, and industrialized production.[23] These ideals were particularly strong within the radical PLAN group, of which a number of members would come to hold important offices in public housing and planning agencies—and indeed also within NAL.[24] Similar to Guttu's take on leading figures in the architectural scene, Johnsen underlines the strong ties between prominent Norwegian architects and the political left—and what appears to be some coherence in their preferred approaches to architectural assignments.[25] While policies and reforms, along with the immense need for reconstruction, marked a definite turn in Norwegian architects' latitude and commissions, Johnsen stresses that the *ideals* that conditioned their practice were more fluently inherited from the interwar period.

The war-year activities of Norwegian architects, and building activity in the country during the German occupation, is a historiographical lacuna. As shown by architect Odd Brochmann, certain architects used the years of civilian building ban to produce scientific and scholarly work.[26] The most

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[21] Nils-Ole Lund, *Nordic Architecture*, 1. ed (København: Arkitektens Forlag, 2008), 36–45.
[22] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 11.
[23] Ibid., 50–51.
[24] A group of young, radical architects who were members of Sosialistiske Arkitekters Forening (The Socialist Architects' Association), published the influential periodical *PLAN* in 1933-36, criticizing contemporary city planning and housing policies. Eyvind Alnæs, Carsten Boysen, Frode Rinnan, Gunnar Øvergaard Jørgen, and Erik Rolfsen were primary members of the editorial board, and later assumed important roles in public housing and planning agencies. See Ivar Sekne, *Han forandret Oslo: Frode Rinnan, arkitekt og byplanlegger* (Oslo: Gaidaros Forlag, 2015), 52–58.
[25] Johnsen highlights particularly the influential role of state employed architects Frode Rinnan (1905–1997) and Erik Rolfsen (1905–1992) had within this movement, and the roles they would come to play in the Labor Party state in the postwar years. Johnsen, "Tidlige brytninger 1935-55," 38.
[26] Brochmann, --*disse arkitektene*, 53–55.

important example, Oslo Byes Vels Boligundersøkelse (the Oslo City Society's Housing Survey), was immensely influential on postwar political and discursive developments in the housing sector.[27] Around a hundred specialists from different professions collaborated to register and interview residents in 200 Oslo apartments, in order to study the functionality of tenements. The purpose was not only to make recommendations on how people ought to live, but mapping out how they *actually* lived. The results of the survey were widely disseminated (and propagandized) after the war, and influenced the government's standards for floor plan solutions, making three-bedroom apartments the preferred norm. As revealed by this example, architects of the period began to expand their societal mission; claiming social agency and new types of commissions in spheres outside the ambit of traditional architectural practice.

Architectural Exhibitions as Sites for Disciplinary Formation

The principal aim of this thesis is to investigate how the Norwegian Association of Architects recuperated from the war and redefined its profession in the immediate postwar years, so as to construct a narrative of professional formation that explores the tensions permeating Norwegian architectural culture during the late 1940s. Using the tripartite exhibition series *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* as a subject of inquiry allows for a focused study of NAL's collective and publicly broadcast endeavors—a condensation of efforts and issues brought forth to articulate and solidify the architects' societal role. The thesis examines how exhibitions were instrumental in NAL's self-conscious efforts to articulate the architectural profession and its particular role within the Norwegian postwar society, and ultimately discusses the disciplinary significance of architectural exhibitions beyond their transient physical presence. In doing so, the conversations and external conditions that conditioned their making—in other words, the very *coming*

[27] The survey, initiated by PLAN member Carsten Boysen and co-directed by psychiatrist Nic Waal, was the first scientific study of its kind in Norway. Conducted during the war in 1942–1943, it was ultimately edited and published in 1948. Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 54–55. For the published survey, see Odd Brochmann, ed., *Mennesker og boliger. Oslo Byes Vel's boligundersøkelse. Bind II* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens forlag, 1948).

into being of the exhibitions—are given primacy over the objects on display. The exhibitions are, in other words, examined not as mere representations, but as media for architectural dissemination in and of themselves.

Exhibitions have long played an essential part in shaping architectural history and its disciplinary narratives. Their study shed light on contemporary concerns, positions, theoretical advancements and aspirations, and can be situated within larger cultural and political currents. Yet architectural exhibitions have received modest scholarly attention when compared to the history of art exhibitions and curating. The academic field is growing, as attested by increased academic interest over the recent decades; chiefly through specific case studies and chronicles on institutions, but also evident in more comprehensive research.[28] Every instance of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* was hastily organized and modestly assembled, and consequently displays little of the glamour and theatricality associated with a number of canonical architectural exhibitions in the 20th century.[29]

While other twentieth century NAL exhibitions have been subjected to scholarly study, particularly over the last five years, the *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* exhibition series and their role in shaping the modern professional practice is omitted from the historiography of Norwegian architecture; only evident in a handful of footnotes and passing mentions.[30] As such, this thesis relies heavily on archival material paired with then-contemporary discourse and media coverage. A key challenge has been piercing together a narrative from evidence scattered across different institutional and personal archives. The three

[28] Notable contributions of the latter category include *Curating Architecture,* a special issue of Log (ed. Cynthia Davidson, 2010); *Thinking About Exhibitions* (ed. Greenberg et al, 1996); and *The Art of Architecture Exhibitions* (ed. Feiriss et al., 2001).

[29] Even within—when seen from a continental perspective—peripheral Norway, we find many instances of spectacular architectural displays. The most famous and influential example is, perhaps, *Vi kan-utstillingen* in Oslo, 1938.

[30] Recent scholarship on exhibitions organized or co-organized by NAL include Mari Hvattum and Mari Lending, eds., *Modelling Time: The Permanent Collection 1925-2014* (Oslo: Torpedo Press, 2014); Mari Lending, "The Permanent Collection of 1925: Oslo Modernism in Paper and Models," *Architectural Histories* 2, no. 1 (March 21, 2014): 3, https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.be; Mathilde Dahl Simonsen, "Den menneskelige faktor. OAFs jubileumsutstilling 1956," *Arkitektur N*, no. 5 (2013): 64–77; Geirr Olav Gram, "Vi kan – Gå og se og lær" (Master Thesis, Universitetet i Oslo, 2007); Geirr Olav Gram, "Oslo som 'det moderne' – Vi kan-utstillingen 1938," *Byminner: tidsskrift for Oslo museum*, no. 3 (2008): 20–37.

traveling exhibitions are to a varying degree documented in their various manifestations. The main source of evidential basis for the exhibition's form, content, and intent is found in the archives of NAL, the Oslo Architectural Association (OAF), in the Oslo City Archives, and in the private archives of leading voices within NAL. These archives hold correspondence and other documents pertaining to the organization, implementation, and reception of the exhibitions; including meeting minutes, jury deliberations, lists of exhibited items, draft plans of venues and installations, photographs from the exhibitions, shipment notices, and other ephemera. There is less material on the 1947 exhibits than on the two succeeding editions, and to the best of my knowledge, only the 1948 exhibition was accompanied by a catalog. This catalog, however, did not document the works displayed, but can be read as an interdisciplinary assessment of the present situation.[31] Statements by architects inform the intention behind and organization of the exhibition, textual and photographic documentation (where available) has provided information on installation design, while reviews by critics in the general media attest to the series' immediate impact. Although all three editions of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* circulated in the year following their respective openings, and as such had multiple appearances, their Oslo appearances are most thoroughly documented.[32] The Oslo premieres of each show were reviewed in Norwegian trade journals, most notably NAL's own journal *Byggekunst*. They were furthermore advertised and widely disseminated in local and national newspapers; and the 1948 and 1949 exhibitions even broadcast nationwide by *Norsk filmrevy*, a weekly film bulletin.

"Reconstruction on Display" does not aspire to construct a comprehensive story of Norwegian postwar reconstruction and disciplinary formation, but rather a historical narrative to help illuminate the

[31] The catalog includes two long essays; one from Boligdirektoratet (the Housing Directorate) on reconstruction and rehousing; the other from Brente Steders Regulering (Burnt Sites Regulation) on the planning and regulation of war-torn towns and districts. It also included a polemic from Ullevål sykehus' chief physician Trygve Braatøy. Olav Platou and J. Grimelund Jervell, eds., *Boligreisingen* (Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1948).

[32] Due, in part, to the novelty and spectacle of their premieres, but also because the exhibitions were planned *from* Oslo, and *for* the Oslo venues. Material attesting to the exhibitions' appearances in other towns and cities might be available in personal and unindexed archives spread around the country, but time has permitted a thorough examination only of the archives found in Oslo.

fragmented set of stories that characterized the status quo of the professional discourse of the immediate postwar years. Instead of privileging singular voices, famous architects, or buildings recognized as parts of the conventional histories of Norwegian architecture, the focus on NAL and their members as a whole helps to uncover the internal and external discourses that permeated Norway's architectural sphere in the late 1940s. Organized around the following three chapters, each devoted to one of the *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* exhibitions as principal framing device, the thesis allows and interweaving of the cultural events and parallel histories that were significant to the formation of the profession. The organization, projection, and dissemination of the exhibitions—as far as archival research has permitted—form a basic narrative framework, assembled to expatiate on the conversation about where the discipline resides and its continuously negotiated relationship to the public.

1. A Romantic Image: *Arkitektenes høstutstilling* 1947

FOLKETONE

sungen etter O. A. F.'s vitjing på Arkitektanes Haustsjå

Melodi: „Den bakvendte visa"

1.

Eg leitte i mappur, eg rota i skoff
eg fann fram det beste eg åtte.
Eg fiksa på fargar, eg gnudde med loff
for Grimelund sa at eg måtte.
Blandt stabbura lå
ein gamal pannå
med søylekolonnur frå Pæstum på.

2.

Frå loftet kom ned
frå gløymselens fred
ei teikning frå Konstantinopel.
Ein støvut modell
ein bleik akvarell,
eit utkast til svigerfars bopel.
Eg tenkte som så:
Nå skal dei få sjå
at me er ein stand på eit høgt nivå.

3.

Å Poulsson er svær, han byggjer med trær
med bark på i vegg og på tilje.
Og proselyt Lund
har og gjort eit funn
for Storsteinfamilien på Gilje.
Modellen til Damm
ble også synt fram.
Då måtte eg burt for å få ein dram.

4.

No gjeng eg og spyr: Kva er det som gryr?
i konsta og arkitekturen?
Kva er det iår
som gjær meg så sår?
og gjær at min strek vert så uren?
Eg låg og eg datt
eg drøymde inatt
at hovdulinalen var bakvendt satt.

Figure 3 From the Byggekunst *review of* The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947. *The illustration shows Kruke farm in Heidal.* Byggekunst*, no. 7–8 (1947): 78.*

The architects' journal *Byggekunst* begins its review of the exhibition *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* (*Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947*) by citing the following folk tune, written by the board of the Oslo Association of Architects (OAF), and—according to the printed designation—collectively sung after their visit to the show:

1.

I sifted through folders, I rummaged in drawers
I found the best that I had in possession.
I rubbed with loaf, corrected shades,
for Grimelund[33] called it an obligation.
Among granaries, lo
an old panneau
with colonnades from Paestum in row.

2.

From the attic, release
from oblivion's peace
a drawing of Constantinople glowing.
A dusty model
a bleak aquarelle,
father-in-law's abode in redrawing.
My thought's progression:
Now they'll see without question
that we are indeed a high-level profession.

3.

Oh Poulsson is marvelous, his buildings are ligneous
bark on walls and floors unfold.
And proselyte Lund's
not short of funds
for Storstein of Gilje's household.
Damm's model creation
up for demonstration.
Made me need a drink for recreation.

[33] Josef Jervell Grimelund (1898-1983), who "called it an obligation" to partake in the exhibition, was the newly instated secretary general of NAL, and led the 1947 exhibition committee. The committee had members from across the country, and consisted of architects Reidar Lund (NAL's representative and the committee's chairman), Kjell Ullring (OAF, secretary), Johan Lindstrøm (BAF), Herman Semmelman (TAF), and Waldemar Hansteen (SAF).

4.

Now I wonder thereon: What is in dawn?
in architecture and in art?
What is it this year
that fills me with fear?
and makes my line so grubbily depart?
I fell to the ground
as last night's dream found
that the T-square was mounted the wrong way round.[34]

What was in dawn? The humorous song—written in an ironically exaggerated colloquial dialect—is indicative of the exhibition's ambition: displaying the finest examples of Norwegian architecture in order to prove that architects, indeed, constituted "a high-level profession". The peculiar juxtaposition of Constantinople and "father-in-law's abode" points to certain ambiguities that permeated the nation's architectural culture in the postwar years: the frictions between history and the contingencies of modernity, between the imaginative and the mundane. What tasks were relevant to architects, and where could one look for (morally) appropriate sources for inspiration and stimuli? And furthermore, which works of architecture could adequately represent the architectural profession, and by extension NAL?

Two years had passed since the end of a war that had caused mass casualties on Norwegian soil, left large parts of the country in ruin, and shaken society to its core. The reconstruction of Norway had begun even before the war had ended, but became a chief concern for society at large once liberation was a fact. Architects across the country were consumed by questions of how, and by whom, the postwar reconstruction should be organized and implemented. Technological advances and developments in the construction industry were moving at a steadily accelerating speed, while the immense destructions of

[34] Quoted in Kjell Colbjørnsen, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947," *Byggekunst*, no. 7–8 (1947): 78. My reinterpretation from the Norwegian.

World War II precipitated intense activities within the building sector. Norwegian architects—at least when operating in group—seemed hard pressed to follow. This further complicated the formulation of the profession's mission. Should architects close the gap to engineering, economics, and social sciences? Or rather emphasize artistic and autonomous sides of the profession? As indicated by the folk tune cited above, NAL privileged the latter when first instituting an exhibition apparatus meant to strengthen the discipline's standing and reputation in Norway.

The exhibition series *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* was initiated by NAL president Andreas Hesselberg Bjercke (1883–1967) in 1947, intended as an architectural counterpart to the annual art exhibition *Statens høstutstilling* (*The State's Fall Exhibition*).[35] A seed was thus planted within NAL to assemble annual exhibitions intended to spotlight the importance of the architectural profession in light of the ongoing postwar reconstruction. Bjercke's vision was to assemble a yearly show—a set institution for architectural exhibitions, concurrent with *Statens høstutstilling*—to which all NAL members were invited to participate.[36] Although funds were low and time to implement the new institution was scarce, the timing could not have been more opportune for the nation's architects to take stock of their collective oeuvre. Faced with an unprecedented need for architectural services, architects saw their domain threatened by competition from contractors and untrained builders. The staging of an architectural exhibition at this moment in history—when the disastrous wreckages of war were still highly perceptible, and its reverberations filled the headlines of every newspaper in the country—was a strenuous exercise, both labor-intensive and intellectually challenging. Its successful execution attests to a deep-seated wish from Norwegian architects to examine their legacy, advertise their abilities, and influence public opinion by collectively entering the public stage. But the question of exactly *which* legacy and abilities would

[35] This state-funded institution, established in 1884, is run by Norske Billedkunstnere. It celebrated its 131st edition in 2018, and still constitutes Norway's largest and most influential exhibition for contemporary art. Architects were originally included in *Statens Høstutstilling,* until the space within the venue Kunstnernes Hus was deemed too scarce in 1920. See Norske billedkunstnere, "Statens Kunstutstilling, Høstutstillingen. Historie," accessed April 23, 2019, https://www.hostutstillingen.no/historie/.

[36] As will be revealed in this thesis, the series would conclude with its third edition, in 1949.

convincingly propagandize for the profession's interests was complicated by recent historical events. In particular: those unfolding during the German occupation during World War II.

"Norwegianness" and the Legacies of the Nazi Occupation

Norway was occupied by Nazi Germany on April 9, 1940; a five-year occupation that lasted until the German capitulation of May 8, 1945. The Allied and German bombing campaigns of 1940, and the German army's use of scorched earth tactics during their retreat in 1944, had caused a severe need for housing and civic buildings. Norway's northernmost county Finnmark was particularly affected. It had been reduced to ruins during the German withdrawal, rendering around 50 000 people displaced and 11 000 housing units destroyed in Finnmark alone.[37] The postwar years thus presented the architects with commissions of unprecedented proportions, and with them: a complex set of problems and anxieties. The planning and rebuilding of entire neighborhoods and cities—practically from scratch—were new and unfamiliar tasks, far removed from the familiar design of single buildings within established communities.[38] Architectural historian Christian-Norberg Schulz argues that it was as much a question of *how* as *what* to build.

A distinct sense of tension—but also interdependence—between history and the contingencies of modernity permeate architectural trade journals and NAL meeting minutes from the immediate postwar years. The young architect Peter Andreas Munch "P. A. M." Mellbye, reflecting over the architect's standing, shared the following deliberations with his NAL colleagues in a causerie presented on the opening night of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947*:

> When the war was over we wanted to resume where we left off in 1940. But much had changed. Gone were the slogans, gone was the enthusiasm over new ideas, as one was concurrently faced with the enormous task of reconstruction. We felt helpless and abandoned, and simultaneously

[37] Hauglid, Jensen, and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen! brannhøsten 1944, gjenreisingen etterpå*, 99–100.
[38] Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Modern Norwegian Architecture* (Oslo : Oxford ; New York: Norwegian University Press ; Distributed world-wide excluding Scandinavia by Oxford University Press, 1986), 87.

> bound to random motifs or symbols from abroad; felt like our profession was contrasting strangely with the present.[39]

As expressed by Mellbye's sentiments, the 1947 exhibition must in part be read as a reaction against the functionalist wave that came to dominate Scandinavian architecture in the 1930s, and the following renewed interest in vernacular architecture's regional motifs and materials. Functionalism had ceased to be the incontrovertible solution to every assignment, and many turned to the nation's own cultural heritage for inspiration. While the formal legacy and technological innovations of the internationally oriented functionalism had left an inerasable mark on Norwegian modernism, architects—spurred, perhaps, by the recently gained independence—were eager to build in accord with local context and character.[40] The interest was hardly new. With increasingly systematic excavations around the turn of the

Figure 4 Viking ship imagery used during Borrestevnet, a Nationalist Socialist rally in Vestfold, 1943. Unknown photographer, the National Archives of Norway.

[39] Colbjørnsen, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947." My translation from the Norwegian.
[40] Lund, *Nordic Architecture*, 36–40.

20th century, Norwegian archaeologists had uncovered ships, graves, and objects dating from the 8th and 9th centuries. These findings ignited a national curiosity for the Viking Age, and were widespread sources of artistic inspiration, particularly with the rise of nationalism and the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905. Yet this nationalistic current might seem regressive to the contemporary reader, as it reverberates with uncomfortable echoes of Norway's recent past: a tense period marked by nationalistic sentiments and economic crisis, before the country was occupied and submitted to Nazi rule.

Figure 5 Heinrich Himmler (to the right) listening to traditional Norwegian instrument "langleik" at the Norwegian Open Air Museum in Oslo, 1941. Max Ehlert, Bild 101I-091-0168-08A, Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

Archaeological artifacts and romanticized national imagery often figured as part of the National Socialist propaganda in the years leading up to and during the war.[41] Heinrich Himmler, leader of the paramilitary Nazi party organ Schutzstaffel (SS) and Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums, was famously fascinated by Norway, and spent a total of three weeks in the country in 1941. While his travels might have had military strategic purposes, he toured numerous museums and heritage

[41] Lise Nordenborg Myhre, *Arkeologi Og Politikk: En Arkeo-Politisk Analyse Av Faghistoria i Tida 1900 - 1960*, Varia / Universitetets Oldsaksamling 26 (Oslo: IAKN, 1994).

sites throughout the country, and requested entertainment in the form of folk dance, folk music, and readings of old Norse sagas.[42] As material connections to the perceived ideal race of a glorified past, national symbols and objects were quickly employed for propaganda purposes by both Norwegian and German National Socialists: showing a vulgarized prehistory infused with new meaning to serve eugenic and imperial ideology.[43]

According to Goldhagen and Legualt, contextualism in time and space was a central theme in postwar architectural discourse at large, fueled by some architects' desire to understand the period as one of continuity rather than rupture.[44] Architectural historian Christian Norberg-Schulz upholds that the war had shaken the Norwegian architectural community to its core, pulverizing the optimism that saturated the 1930s functionalist movement. One can question whether the devastating destruction and societal destabilization of the war had rendered the architectural community in a crisis of identity. While national imagery might have been tainted by association, its heritage carried symbolic weight; tying the present to a past that far succeeded its recent and iniquitous mishandling. Indeed, Norberg-Schulz contends that in the postwar period, "the only thing that seemed to represent some sort of rallying point was the national values fought for during the occupation. Thus, many pre-war functionalists attempted to become 'Norwegian' again."[45]

If we are to believe Norberg-Schulz' assessment, architects turned to location, history, and vernacular tradition for inspiration for their contemporary schemes. The unprecedented destruction and its consecutive building activity led to an increased sensitivity to regional characteristics, vernacular tradition, and historic setting. Architectural historian Espen Johnsen attempts to nuance the canonical

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[42] Ola Flyum and Mari Allgot Lie, "Himmlers Bisarre Rase-Safari i Norge," *NRK*, October 1, 2013, https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/nazi-sjefens-norske-rase-safari-1.11270023.
[43] Myhre, *Arkeologi Og Politikk*, 110.
[44] Their examples include regionalist leanings as displayed by Team X groups operating in continental Europe and Africa, but the tendency is also discernible in postwar Norway. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, eds., *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Montréal : Cambridge, Mass: Canadian Centre for Architecture ; MIT Press, 2000), 20.
[45] Norberg-Schulz, *Modern Norwegian Architecture*, 87.

narrative of the postwar period as a homogenous modernist movement, when suggesting new empiricism, (abstract) new traditionalism and (avant-garde) modernism as formal *and* theoretical designations for internal schisms that saturated Norwegian architecture in the decade-long interregnum following the Second World War.[46] Norway's New Empiricism was a pragmatic continuation of the scientific and formal methods of functionalism, however with an increased sensitivity to regional and historical features.[47] *Byggekunst* and *Bonytt*, the leading journals for Norwegian architecture and arts and crafts (respectively), were at the time directing increased attention towards reports and documentation of traditional Norwegian architecture, as well as modest and "natural" single-family houses built during and after the war years. One example was the variety of model homes commissioned by notable aluminum company Norsk Hydro, constructed from patterns drawn by a number of architects.[48] New developments were documented and compared to older vernacular homes, in an attempt to revive vernacular traditions "lost" with functionalism's preference for the universal and international—as witnessed for instance by the abundant return of saddle roofs and wooden weatherboarding.[49]

Propaganda for the reconstruction commenced before the dust of the first bombing raids had settled. Already in 1940, architect Odd Brochmann wrote *Gjenreisningen og det norske i vår byggeskikk*;[50] a pamphlet showing examples of Norwegian vernacular architecture, chiefly from the recently war-torn areas.[51] Photographs of picturesque farms and log houses hailing back to the 18th century were

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[46] Johnsen, "Tidlige brytninger 1935-55," 32.
[47] The direction had close ties to contemporary milieus in England and Sweden, where reactions against vulgarized Functionalist expressions were criticized for being too rigid and unpoetic. Johnsen, 37–38.
[48] Eyvind Alnæs, "Noen trehus," *Byggekunst*, no. 11–12 (1946): 145–61.
[49] Norberg-Schulz uses the book *Norske hus* as a further example of this tendency. A survey of Norwegian traditional architecture, the book showed photographs of hundreds of national and 'natural' buildings. The book was originally intended to be an exhibition, commissioned the Norwegian government in exile in 1943. The editorial board's difficulty with procuring material, however, led to a change in medium. The funding provided by Aschehoug publishers was a welcome source of income for the architects involved, providing work for the remaining years of the German occupation. Eyvind Alnæs et al., *Norske Hus: En Billedbok* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950).
[50] The title loosely translates to "The reconstruction and the Norwegian in our building culture".
[51] The publication was published by the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Norwegian Monuments, with additional funding from NAL. Brochmann, Odd, *Gjenreisningen og det norske i vår byggeskikk* (Oslo: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring i kommisjon hos Grøndahl, 1940).

accompanied by a flowery essay on the country's architectural development, regional variations, and lessons to be learnt from history. While the project gives the impression of being closely aligned with the Nationalist Socialist fondness of an idealized Nordic past, a superficial reading is enough to reveal strong discords between the author and the prevailing nazified policies. Brochmann presented admirable attributes in traditional building schemes, site specificity, and methods, but resolutely saw functionalism as a positive addition to Norwegian architectural culture. He condemned the superficial use of national expressions, and agitated for quality over taste. Architects should be intimately familiar with vernacular architecture, Brochmann proclaimed, but should not attempt to emulate it—on the contrary, it should "sink to the bottom of our professional consciousness as something bygone and absolute."[52]

Brochmann's writings were not to the Germans' liking. Architect William K. Essendrop, who had recently been appointed chair of Nasjonal Samling's Committee on Culture and would later come to author the indicatively titled article "Norwegian and un-Norwegian in Our Building Culture", criticized the piece harshly.[53] Essendrop sought to hold the publishers morally and economically accountable for the pamphlet's content, as he found it to shift chameleonlike between national and traditional reconstruction on the one hand, and "the opposite" on the other. One can only assume this to be a reference to Brochmann's forgiving attitude towards modern architecture. The pamphlet's introduction and conclusion were, in Essendrop's assessment, particularly insincere in their sanctimonious concessions to the prevailing national guidelines. The final pages of the essay, which Essendrop found to be "dictated by opportunistic concerns", might on the contrary—and to a different reader—appear suffused with ill-concealed dissident sentiments:

> […] a patriotic feeling is strong within all Norwegians today, and demands its expressions. It is no longer a foggy romanticism, with lur[54] tones and Hardanger fiddles, but a strong and sincere wish to find collective values that clearly and visibly show that we are one people, an independent

[52] Brochmann, Odd, 48. My translation from the Norwegian.
[53] Wilhelm K. Essendrop, "'Vedrørende Odd Brochmann's bok Gjenreisningen.' Letter to the Department of Culture and Public Education.," December 30, 1940, RA/PA 1005 NAL, D/Da/Dae/L0005/ 10. Propaganda. Oppl. om ark.
[54] A traditional Scandinavian wind instrument.

> cultural sphere. It is not a wish to be different from others at any cost, but rather the awareness of having something special to take care of—something that can make us, and consequently the world, more precious.[55]

The resentment towards a despised foreign rule's appropriation of national symbols strengthened Norwegian architects' resolve to redeem their inherited vocabulary and construct a new building culture founded on local history.

An Artistic Endeavour

When encouraging architects to participate in *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947*, NAL president Andreas H. Bjercke and secretary general Josef Jervell Grimelund urged the organization's members to submit works showing the *artistic* sides of the profession.[56] Their call for proposals saw the nation's desperate need for architectural services as the ideal time—or "psychological moment"—for architects to strengthen their position within society at large. As evident in the previously recited folk tune, this was *not* done through directly commenting on the war's destruction and subsequent need for construction, but rather by showing what architects were capable of in ideal (or idealized) circumstance.[57] The *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* series thus premiered in Oslo, 2 October, 1947, with a hastily organized exhibition expressively looking to propagandize the profession's artistic abilities. Norwegian architects tentatively entered the art gallery Kunstnerforbundet to render visible their work, stimulate commissions, and reclaim a national heritage.[58]

As dictated by Bjercke and Grimelund's request, the exhibition would not only show new works. Architects were encouraged to "rummage through their drawers" in search of their career's most

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[55] Brochmann, Odd, *Gjenreisningen og det norske i vår byggeskikk*, 47–48. My translation from the Norwegian.
[56] Bernt Heiberg, "Byggekunst i bunad," *Bonytt*, no. 11–12 (1947): 206–9.
[57] Andr. H. Bjercke and J. Jervell Grimelund, "Untitled," *Arkitektnytt*, no. Addendum (June 18, 1947).
[58] The following year, the exhibition traveled to Kristiansund, Molde, Kristiansand, Bergen, Stavanger, and Trondheim. Its title, *Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947*, created a certain amount of confusion, as NAL's 1947 and 1948 exhibitions toured the country simultaneously.

decorative architectural drawings, inspired sketches, and feats performed at the height of artistic proficiency. The choice to feature architecture's artistic components, Grimelund explained, was in part founded in the wish to underline the new exhibition series' ties to *Statens Høstutstilling.*[59] According to the call for proposals, the general public had grown tired of cold objectivity—particularly when dreams of new homes and better living conditions seemed far off on the horizon. In one of the few critical reviews written on the exhibition, architect Bernt Heiberg took great issue with this approach, and with its implicit critique of functionalistic architecture as lacking in artistry and creativity.[60] Heiberg scorned the retrograde fostering of vernacular motifs, and with a venomous pen ridiculed NAL's efforts to present the building sector as a realm unfettered by actual facts. "If this exhibition was representative for our work and our efforts today, then it might be grounds to speak of the architectural profession's treason," Heiberg wrote, before mercifully assuring the readers of *Bonytt* that *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* illustrated only a marginal segment of architects' current undertakings.

Little documentation attests to the installation design of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947.* Reviews in newspapers and journals reproduced some of the drawings on display, but seldom the installation design as materialized in Oslo and its other venues. A rare photograph, courtesy of photographer Leif Ørnelund, shows the white walls of the Oslo locale—the art gallery Kunstnerforbundet—covered in drawings and paintings of various ill-assorted formats, mounted on cardboard plates or individually framed. Two linen-clad tables were placed under the soft sheen of the exhibition hall's skylight; one set out like a dining-room table with chairs and a flower arrangement, the other stocked with models placed side by side after no apparent order. The two-dimensional exhibition material ran along the gallery's 54 linear wall meters, accompanied by twelve architectural models.[61]

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[59] Grimelund, J. Jervell, "'Arkitektenes Høstutsilling'. Letter to F. Fonahn," April 5, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30, j-nr. 570/48/F1.
[60] Heiberg, "Byggekunst i bunad."
[61] Grimelund, J. Jervell, "'Arkitektenes høstutstilling.' Letter to local NAL chapters," October 14, 1947, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30, j.nr. 1201/47/F.1.

Incessant reminders printed in NAL's bulletin *Arkitektnytt* bears witness to the exhibition committee's difficulties with obtaining an adequate body of material.[62] The received submissions were characterized as being "highly variable" in quantity and quality, and the committee reported great difficulties with achieving a coherent curatorial expression in the cramped venue during the exhibition's run in Oslo.[63]

An inventory from the Oslo exhibition, still preserved in NAL's archives, reveals that both of Kunstnerforbundet's exhibition halls were put to use, but one is hard pressed to find a taxonomy behind the ordering of the exhibition.[64] 253 objects were on display, ranging from surveys of vernacular

Figure 6 Photograph from The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947, *as displayed in Kunstnerforbundet, Oslo. Leif Ørnelund, Byhistorisk samling, Oslo museum.*

[62] The deadline for submissions was extended by two weeks in the hope of receiving more material. Or, as an *Arkitektnytt* notice stated, it was extended by the committee "out of consideration for their colleagues' slowness". "Arkitektenes høstutstilling," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 17 (September 1, 1947): 1.
[63] "Arkitektenes høstutstilling," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 19 (October 10, 1947): 1.
[64] "'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947.' The Oslo exhibition's inventory.," Undated 1947, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.

architecture to photographs of recently constructed villas.[65] Although a diverse collection of 64 individual architects and architectural firms were accredited authorship, items submitted by the older generation of architects conspicuously dominate the list of exhibited materials. Among these authors, each with several exhibition entries assigned to their name, figures Christian Morgenstierne (1880–1967), Arne Eide (1881–1957), Andreas H. Bjercke (1883–1967), Georg Eliassen (1880–1964), Henrik Bull (1864–1953), and Arnstein Arneberg (1882–1961)—all of whom had been important contributors to Norwegian architecture's national romantic neoclassical period in the 1910s and 20s before to varying degrees adopting functionalistic tendencies in the 1930s. While this might allow us to speculate on NAL's resistance to include novel voices, another likely explanation is that the younger generation were busily occupied elsewhere—partaking in the ongoing reconstruction, which provided an excess of real and compensated commissions even for the unexperienced architect.

The materials selected for *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* were by all accounts heterogeneous. Conventional forms of architectural representation were accompanied by colorful and enchanting renditions meant to stir the audience's sentiment. A jumbled selection of recently completed projects were exhibited side by side with travelogues and sketches, artistic oil renderings of church interiors, detailed survey drawings, and photographs of renaissance architecture framed as art objects. A great number of paintings were found among the objects on display, and harnessed special attention in the press. Arnstein Arneberg's paintings, which included a colorful oil painting rendition of Lomen stave church and an aquarelle of Nore stave church—both medieval wooden church buildings dating back to the 12th century—gained positive mentions in several newspapers for their atmospheric depiction of Norwegian architecture's old and significant tradition.[66] Sweeping pastel drawings by functionalist champion Arne Korsmo (1900–1968) were by *Drammens Tidende*'s reviewer seen as evidence of a

[65] Andr. H. Bjercke and J. Grimelund Jervell, "Årsmelding for 1947," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 3, Enclosure (February 14, 1948): 6.
[66] "Arkitektenes høstuststilling i Drammens Kunstforening," *Fremtiden*, April 28, 1948.

prevailing artistic sensibility, in spite of modern architecture's engineer-fetishized "purging".[67] Other contributions, like Karen and Odd Brochmann's romantic tourist hotel in Sirdal, was perceived by the same reviewer as the successful amalgam of contemporary practice and "distinct Norwegian characteristics" inherited from a lineage of architectural development.[68] The Brochmanns' project, like those of many of their peers, showed an attempt to adapt modernism to a Norwegian context while simultaneously giving it form as a distinctly Norwegian phenomenon. Functionalism's theoretical abstraction and rationality were challenged by the upsurge of national expressions, although none were excluded in *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947*. The multifaceted display revealed an architectural discourse that, according to one reviewer, was "symptomatic of the modern man's situation."[69] Bernt Heiberg was less tolerant in his assessment, and disparagingly professed that the disorderly conglomeration read as "architecture in national costume".[70]

NAL was not unacquainted with the useful role architectural exhibitions could play as devices for professional propaganda and popular edification. Already in the 1920s, leading Norwegian architects—who were made aware of the bustling exhibition activity in architectural circles worldwide through journals and media coverage—regretfully noted their absence from the international exhibition circuit.[71] This was remedied by the founding of the Permanent Collection in 1925; a prolific and consciously strategic institution for exhibiting and disseminating architecture, controlled by NAL.[72] In spite of its somewhat misleading designation, the Permanent Collection was anything but static. Its multifarious assortment of drawings, photographs, and physical models was continuously updated and revised,

[67] Henning Alsvik, "Utstillinger i Kunstforeningen," *Drammens Tidende*, April 27, 1948.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Øistein Parmann, "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling," *Morgenbladet*, October 7, 1947.
[70] Heiberg, "Byggekunst i bunad."
[71] Hvattum and Lending, *Modelling Time*, 21.
[72] The prelude to and eventual establishment of The Permanent Collection is treated in Hvattum and Lending, 23. See also Lending, "The Permanent Collection of 1925."

securing a content that would always be at the height of modernity.[73] At its pinnacle of activity, in the mid-1930s, the Permanent Collection included several hundred projects, many of which were exhibited in canonical international exhibitions such as the 1931 *Deutsche Bauausstellung*, the 1933 *Triennale di Milano*, the 1937 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, and the 1939 *New York World's Fair*.[74] The collection's vigorous circulation left a long paper trail, evident both in NAL's archives and in the press, where it was often identified as "architect propaganda". While originally a bid for international recognition, the Permanent Collection's many appearances in exhibition spaces across Norway renders it a remarkable chapter in Norwegian architectural history. Equally as interesting as the contents of the collection was its mere existence; an organizational, collective and collaborative feat executed by NAL with contributions by

Figure 7 Materials from the Permanent Collection being mounted for display in Trondheim, 1930. Schrøderarkivet/Sverresborg

[73] The material was rationally assembled in a modular mounting system, allowing parts – or all of – the material to be shipped and exhibited virtually anywhere upon demand, with minimal need for adaptation.
[74] Hvattum and Lending, *Modelling Time*, 44–56.

numerous members. The energy and resources invested in the Permanent Collection over a fifteen-year period attests to NAL's insistent enthusiasm for exhibitions as an advantageous architectural mass medium. Not only facilitating the international spread of Norwegian architecture, it actively disseminated architecture to a wide domestic audience, thus forming an important point of contact between architects and laymen.

Figure 8 The 1947 exhibition on display in Trondheim, where contributions from local architects Semmelmann and von Krogh were included. Schrøderarkivet/Sverresborg.

The three exhibitions treated in this thesis represents the short-lived postwar revival of NAL's institutionalized exhibition apparatus, though now without the framework of a permanent collection. While all exhibitions débuted in Oslo, they were each successively sent on a one-year tour of Norway and displayed in every major town with sufficient local interest, thus mirroring the domestic trajectories—and to a certain degree also the ambitions—of the Permanent Collection. While models weren't part of the 1947 exhibition's tour, local material often supplemented the exhibition to add local color and relevance—for instance architect Helge Thiis' model of the reconstruction of Nidaros Cathedral, which was displayed

when *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* made its way to Kunstforeningen in Trondheim, during February and March of 1948.[75] Not until September 1948 did the material from the traveling exhibition return to Oslo.[76]

Figure 9 The 1947 exhibition's trajectory.

[75] "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 4 (March 1, 1948): 1.
[76] "Materialet fra Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1947," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 12 (September 15, 1948): 2.

The Internal Purging of NAL

NAL's organizing committee for *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* was unable to procure any substantial number of works produced during the war years. They were possibly also less than inclined to showcase works developed under the current postwar conditions, as the period was marked by a shortage of resources in every meaning of the word: materials, time, labor, and capital. *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* therefore reads as an attempt to remedy the war damage by ignoring it; deferring to artistic renderings of the past instead of spotlighting the assignments that occupied the majority of architects at the time. NAL was equally reluctant to openly discuss one of the profession's most critical undertakings in the postwar years: the wartime activities of Norwegian architects, and the extrajudicial process against members who were suspected of underhandedly collaborating with the Nazis.

The governing board of NAL was dissolved 18 June, 1941, during a meeting in the Parliament building that by all accounts was nothing short of dramatic. This meeting would constitute a definite break in the organization's history, and completely reconfigured its administration, policies, agency, and membership. Transcripts from the 24 June board meeting in the Oslo Association of Architects (OAF), the local NAL chapter with the highest number of members—and the strongest ties to the mother organization—attest to the perceived severity of the situation.[77] NAL's premises were forcibly closed down 18 June, and president Harald Hals and secretary general Kristen Sinding-Larsen removed from office following orders from the highest governmental authorities. The previously mentioned Nazi-sympathizing architect Wilhelm K. Essendrop was appointed Commissary of NAL 22 June, 1941.[78] As a result, OAF's governing board collectively resigned from the organization in silent protest, though not before sending out an orientation to all its members. The vast number of membership resignations from OAF members in

[77] F. S. Platou et al., "Styremøte 24de juni 1941 på O.A.F.s kontor," June 27, 1941, OAF/A/Styreprotokoll 1939-1945/Oslo arkitektforening styreprotokoll fra 9-10-1939 til des 1945.
[78] Architect Frithjof William Rode was appointed "National leader" of the nazified organization later the same year.

the following days suggests a shared—and likely urged—consensus of dissidence among Norwegian architects.[79]

The prelude to this dramatic reconfiguration of NAL was the founding of the Norwegian Arts Council (Norges Kunstnerråd) in 1940. Its formation was a reaction against the increased influence and power asserted by the Nazi regime, that worked systematically to nazify all aspects of society. In the months following the German occupation, Norwegian artists were alarmed to learn of plans to establish of a Reich Chamber of Culture. If implemented, membership in the Chamber would be a prerequisite to practice within any artistic profession.[80] Attempting to counter the German-led initiative, and form a collective front against the regime, leading cultural personalities founded the Norwegian Arts Council as a member organization, which would eventually comprise 16 interest groups and associations within the extended field of art.[81] With members ranging from opera singers to authors, it was a centralized agency for a near comprehensive cultural field in Norway.[82] Along with 42 other organizations, representing a total of 700 000 members, the Council signed a letter to Reichkommisar Josef Terboven on May 9, 1941. The letter protested the execution of legislation that privileged political inclinations over other qualifications for candidates seeking state employment.[83] In the interval before the letter received an official response from the Reichskommissar, Vidkun Quisling stated that the endorsers had "signed their

[79] See «Recuperating from Crisis», p. 6-7

[80] While the Reich Chamber of Culture was never officially implemented, several steps were taken by Reichskommissar Josef Terboven to nazify Norwegian society. All political parties, save the National Social party Nasjonal Samling, were dissolved and made illegal in 1940. Shortly thereafter, Terboven established the new Kultur- og folkeopplysningsdepartementet (Department of Culture and Enlightenment). Nasjonal Samling leader Vidkun Quisling, appointed Minister President by Josef Terboven in 1942, took further steps to secure political superintendence over the cultural sphere with the 1942 founding of "Kulturtinget"—an institution meant to regiment and reform Norwegian culture. Henrik Grue Bastiansen, "Født til kamp: Norges Kunstnerråd 1940-1955," in *Kunsten å rulle en stein: Norges kunstnerråd 1940-2000*, ed. Oskar Stein Bjørlykke (Oslo: Forlaget Bonytt, 2000), 12–13, 22.

[81] Membership organizations included Norsk Komponistforening, Norsk Operaforbund, Norsk Solistforbund, Kunstnerforeningen, Bildende Kunstneres Styre, Unge Kunstneres Samfund, Bildende Kunstneres Landsforening, Norsk Bokmannslag, Norsk Musikerforbund, Norske Grafikeres Forening, Norsk Skuespillerforbund, Norske Dramatikeres Forbund, Norsk Tonekunstnersamfund, Tegnerforbundet, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, and Den Norske Forfatterforening,

[82] Bastiansen, "Født til kamp: Norges Kunstnerråd 1940-1955," 11.

[83] Nasjonal Samlings Personalkontor Offentlig Tjeneste (NSPOT). Ibid., 17.

own political death sentence," and several of the signees were interrogated and arrested by the Gestapo.[84] Terboven finally summoned representatives from all protesting groups to a meeting in the Parliament building on June 18. After Terboven held a thunderous appeal ridiculing the "insignificant" dissidents, it was announced that 11 of the organizations would be dissolved, while 26 were put under commissarial leadership.[85] NAL was consequently reconstituted as a Nazified organization, placed under Essendrop's commissarial leadership, and eventually rechristened Norges Arkitektforbund (NA).

The organization's appointed administration quickly sought to ingratiate themselves with Norwegian architects. NAL members had fought for an act to prevent misuse of the title "architect" since the early 1900s; eager to ensure that only qualified professionals could lawfully use the title and hold the right to practice. The professional title was regulated by law on October 26, 1944, making the Nazi administration in Norway the first among Scandinavian governments to pass such legislation.[86] Norges Arkitektforbund leader Frithjof William Rode asserted that only the *current* government's understanding and respect for the social legitimacy of the profession's claim had made such disciplinary advancement possible.[87] While overtly reproaching the former NAL members who resisted commissions under the occupation, Rode boastfully noted that the act was passed without any prerequisite of membership in NA. Some lenience was, in other words, afforded the large majority of architects who chose to remain outside the nazified organization. The passing of the new law would require a licensed architect to sign off on any building license, thus providing more commissions for architects—and a need for architects across the length of the country.[88] Rode furthermore claimed that the law would condition the development of a characteristic local building culture; an ambition that echoed with the contemporary architectural

[84] Ibid., 19.
[85] Ibid., 20.
[86] This was an amendment to «Lov om bygningsvesenet»; a law passed 22 February, 1924. The revised law included protection of the title «architect», requiring education from a Norwegian or comparable foreign architecture school, or a minimum of five years in praxis. Commentary to changes in the legislation are listed in Frithjof William Rode, "Beskyttelse av arkitekttittelen og arkitektyrket," *Byggekunst*, no. 7-8–9 (1944): 71–72.
[87] Frithjof William Rode, "En milepel i arbeidet for landets byggekultur," *Byggekunst*, no. 7-8–9 (1944): 69–70.
[88] Rode, 70.

ambitions in Nazi Germany. As legislation decreed by the collaborationist government during the German occupation was repealed after the liberation, the regulation of the professional title was revoked in 1945.

An unverified list of NA members, dated June 15, 1942, lists 48 names.[89] The number is tellingly scant in comparison to NAL's tallies of 1940 and 1946, which counted respectively 365 and 449 members.[90] Considering the fact that NA automatically enrolled all pre-war NAL members into their organization unless they actively resigned, the number of willing NA members might have been even slighter. The large majority of former NAL members closed down their work during the five years of occupation, following the organization's dissolution by the collaborationist government in 1941. Some former members were imprisoned or even sent to concentration camps in Continental Europe, and many fled to England, Sweden, or the US.[91] While most NAL members distanced themselves from NA, not all activity within the dissident architectural community in Norway subsided during the war. Even after NAL was dissolved and reconstituted as NA in 1941, the Trondheim chapter (TAF) continued meeting in secret, circulating between the homes of members whose lodgings had not been requisitioned by German occupiers. They

[89] The list can be found in among Harald Hals' personal correspondence from the war years, stored in the Norwegian National Archives. "N.A.-medlemsfortegnelse av 15.6.1942.," undated, RA/PA-0311/F/L0008/Fra Stockholmsoppholdet 1944-1945.

[90] "P. M. ang. evtl. opprettelse av nye lokalforeninger. Landsstyret 27/9.1946," *Arkitektnytt*, no. Enclosure 2 (October 15, 1946): 1.

[91] The group in Stockholm, *Den bygningstekniske komité* (the Building Technical Committee), was led by Harald Hals. It developed reports on current architectural developments in Sweden, but also reports to the Norwegian government in exile on the anticipated reconstruction of Norway. See Dancke, *Opp av ruinene*, 33–35. Hals' successor as head planner of Oslo, Erik Rolfsen, worked for the Supply and Reconstruction Department with the Norwegian government in London, and authored plans for the administration of the reconstruction that were—to a great extent—implemented after the end of the war. Another notable group was formed by socially engaged—and often leading societal figures—at Grini prison camp. Architect Frode Rinnan, who was active in the Norwegian resistance, was detained by the Gestapo 11 July, 1941, and eventually sent to Grini two weeks later. He was soon put to work by the Nazis, and developed plans for the expansion of the camp, but simultaneously enjoyed a leading role in both social life and the illegal resistance, as described by Ivar Sekne in *Han forandret Oslo: Frode Rinnan, arkitekt og byplanlegger* (Oslo: Gaidaros Forlag, 2015), 76–82. A total of 32 architects were detained at Grini, among them Kjell Colbjørnsen, Odd Nansen, Hartvig Munthe-Kaas, Frithjof Reppen, and Erling Viksjø. Several were later sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. For a list of Grini prisoners, see Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangeleksikon: Grinifangene* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1946).

continued discussing professional and collegial issues, and organized several architectural competitions for projects that were to be built once peace was reached.[92]

The legally elected governing board of NAL, led by president Harald Hals, vice president Jacob Christie Kielland, and secretary general Holger Sinding-Larsen, resumed their responsibilities 14 May, 1945. They immediately sought to restart normal membership activities, recommence the publishing of *Byggekunst*, and align their position with the cultural division of the Norwegian resistance movement.[93] As witnessed by NAL's meeting protocol, a primary concern *for* and demand *from* the organization's members—seen as a precondition to the resurgence of normal activities—was to investigate the conduct of Norwegian architects during the occupation.[94] Every NAL member was put under investigation, in accordance with NAL's by-law § 21, which grants the national board rights to "at any time investigate or allow investigation of whether a member fulfills the requirements set by the organization's by-laws."[95] NAL's postwar purge, which took the form of an internal tribunal, was led by Harald Hals, NAL president and head of urban planning in Oslo (1926–47). The confidential report from the 1945 extrajudicial process reveals strict disciplinary actions against Nazi collaborators, with detailed reports on their crimes and allotted punishments.[96] Initial investigation was performed by an appointed investigation committee, who meticulously gathered intel and conducted surveys on every single NAL member following guidelines established by the Norwegian Arts Council.[97] The information was then treated by a national committee,

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[92] F. B:, "Prosjekter fra Okkupasjonsårene. Noen konkurranser fra Trondheim.," *Byggekunst*, no. 7–8, tillegget (1946): 14–15.

[93] Sinding-Larsen, K. H., "'Referat fra Landsstyrets møte med utenbys representanter 24. mai 1945. Kongenst. 1, Oslo.' Meeting minutes from the NAL national board," May 24, 1945, OM/Harald Hals' arkiv/NAL OAF 1920-1950/Oslo Arkitektforening fra 1920-årene til ca 1950.

[94] The preparations for an inter-organizational purge had begun already during the war, led by architects Kristian Biong and Georg Eliassen. Sinding-Larsen, K. H.

[95] Harald Hals and Sofus Hougen, "Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund. Om oppryddingen.," *Byggekunst* 28, no. Tillegget (1946): 1.

[96] NAL's extensive archival material on the tribunal is confidential, and I was only permitted access after signing a non-disclosure declaration. The broader strokes of the proceedings are, however, possible to trace—and publish—from OAF's publicly accessible archive. A detailed report on all final verdicts is archived under OAF/D//Krigsoppgjøret 1945/J.nr. 412/45/Landssytrets avgjørelser i saker vedr. oppryddingen. 10. november 1945.

[97] The investigation committee "granskningsutvalget" was led by Harald Hals, and comprised of the following members: I Danielsen, K Hasssel, P. Hauge, L. Krogseth, O. Larsen, and Fr. Konow Lund from the Bergen Association

who reported to NAL's national board and—in certain cases of particular importance—submitted the materials to legal practitioners appointed by the Department of Justice.[98] A mandatory questionnaire circulated among all NAL members included questions on membership in Nasjonal Samling, membership in the nazified Norges Arkitektforbund (NA), and requested information on the architect's acceptance of commissions (directly or indirectly) from the occupying power.[99]

Offenses brought up in the internal tribunal varied greatly in scope and severity, but were all perceived to be of national interest or else in contrast to "our profession's ethics."[100] Sentencing depended on the perceived gravity of the offense, and resulted in one of four penalties:

0. Exclusion from the organization
1. Deprivation of membership for up to three years from NAL and local chapters
2. Time-limited deprivation of the right to hold office within NAL and local chapters
3. Reprimands

Architects in state employment, those who held senior positions, and elected representatives in NAL, were considered to have a greater moral and professional responsibility than others, and held to correspondingly higher standards. Category 1, the most severe punishment in NAL's internal tribunal, was reserved for those who had chosen to remain within—or joined—NA during the years 1941–1945, or who had been members of the National Socialist party. Membership in the nazified organization was seen as a political act; both signaling support for "the Nazification of public life" and betrayal of collegiate concerns.[101] Loyalty to NAL's legally elected governing board was clearly an inviolable professional virtue.

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of Architects (BAS); K. Holbæk-Hansen, Sofus Hougen, E. Moestue, R. Sveaas, and Th. Tostrup from the Oslo Association of Architects (OAF); S. Buch, G. Helland, T. Våland from the Stavanger Association of Architects (SAF); Aug. Albertsen, Finn Berner, and Helge Thiis from the Trondheim Association of Architects (TAF).

[98] Members in NAL's national investigation committee constituted H. Hals (president), H. N. Biong (OAF), E. GJone (TAF), G. Ø. Jørgensen (OAF), J. Chr. Kielland (SAF), A. Nortvedt (BAF) F. Bryn (TAF), and Bj. L. Mohr (BAF). Secretary S. Hougen participated without voting rights.

[99] Stave Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen*, 443.

[100] Hals and Hougen, "Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund. Om oppryddingen.," 1.

[101] Hals and Hougen, 1.

Those who crossed the line of acceptable behavior had not only jeopardized their own good name, but tarnished the reputation of the profession at large. As follows, NAL chose to sever ties with the ignominious entities, either permanently or for a limited period of time. Admittedly, few NAL members had remained within NA, and only 17 people were ultimately excluded from the association.[102] Yet several leading architects were found guilty of reproachable conduct, among them the prolific functionalist Arne Korsmo,[103] the state's head architect Fredrik Crawfurd-Jensen,[104] and the internationally renowned town planner Sverre Pedersen.[105] The internal process was considered a closed case by NAL on October 11, 1946, when a list of the 21 architects who received penalties in categories 1 and 2 was distributed to all NAL members.[106] As will be discussed briefly in the following chapter, the tribunal's verdict affected the reputation and standing of the investigated NAL members to a varying degree. Efficient rebuilding was an urgent national concern, and the profession soon sought reconciliation and stabilized normality.

The Image of the Architect

The folk tune sung at the opening of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* was filled with inside jokes and references, penetrable only to people with intimate knowledge of the architectural sphere. Its intended audience was likely the erudite in-crowd of well-versed professionals navigating the inner circles of NAL. As follows, the song unintentionally illuminates the exhibition's shortcomings. *The Architects' Fall*

[102] Harald Hals, "Fortegnelse over avgjørelser vedr. oppryddingen," November 20, 1945, OAF/D//Krigsoppgjøret 1945/J.nr. 412/45/Landssytrets avgjørelser i saker vedr. oppryddingen. 10. november 1945.
[103] Verdict: deprivation of the right to hold offices within NAL until 1 January, 1947. Hals, "Nr. 18. Saken Arne Korsmo, O.A.F., Referatprotokollen, sak 43, 155 og 181."
[104] Verdict: deprivation of membership until 1 January, 1949. Harald Hals, "Nr. 4. Saken Fr. Crawfurd-Jensen, O.A.F., Referatprotokollen, sak 16, 21, 75, 155 og 181.," November 10, 1945, OAF/D//Krigsoppgjøret 1945/J.nr. 412/45/Landssytrets avgjørelser i saker vedr. oppryddingen. 10. november 1945.
[105] Verdict: deprivation of membership until 1 January, 1949. Harald Hals, "Nr. 6. Saken professor Sverre Pedersen, T.A.F. Referatprotokollen, sak 19, 25, 47, 120, 155, 216.," November 10, 1945, OAF/D//Krigsoppgjøret 1945/J.nr. 412/45/Landssytrets avgjørelser i saker vedr. oppryddingen. 10. november 1945.
[106] Andr. H. Bjercke and K. H. Sinding-Larsen, "Ad opprydningen. Letter to NAL members," October 11, 1946, OAF/D/Krigsoppgjøret 1945/Gransking 1945.

Exhibition 1947 displayed a romanticized contemporary professional; the architect operating in a vacuum removed from concrete societal needs. The aforementioned P. A. M. Mellbye, speaking at the opening night of the exhibition's run in Oslo, anxiously voiced his concerns over the profession's ability to advantageously adapt to modern postwar conditions:

> Most of us acknowledge that we are half-studied charlatans, possessing only a little knowledge about everything. Modes of life and society develop at an incomparable speed—at least too quickly for us. Instead of sitting at the top and directing our fellow human beings with supreme overview, we proceed fumbling and hesitant. Our professional standing is very questionable, and we risk that architecture as the absolute free and independent art form will soon depart this life, slowly but empathically.[107]

While the emphasis on artistic expressions—and the resulting prefusion of Norwegian dialectics—could have been the results of changing taste, or of the will to reclaim national heritage, it also attests to the impotence of the country's architectural culture when confronted with a series of complex, and often contrasting, demands. NAL struggled to find their footing when torn between the needs for rapid reconstruction, traumatic collective memory, and the uncomfortable showdown with members of their own profession. The public broadcast did not offer concrete solutions to the questions asked of architects in the political sphere proper; nor to the issues implicitly posed or talked about in lowered voices behind closed doors. While the artistic renderings of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947*

Figure 10 "Architecture demonstrated as art form in Kunstnerforbundet, read the headline of an Aftenposten *reportage. Image shows architect Herman Semmelmann and NAL secretary general J. J. Grimelund in front of professor Finn Berner's "memorial wall".* Aftenposten*, 01/10/1937.*

[107] Colbjørnsen, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947." My translation from the Norwegian.

possibly alleviated misgivings amongst the general public of architecture being a dry profession, the exhibition—in its organizers' eagerness to emphasize the beautiful and pleasant—reveals a precarious sense of identity within the architectural community. The preference of old works indicates that NAL's exhibition committee did not consider the current examples of reconstruction to be representative of the profession. Or rather, that there were *other* sides of architecture they wished to emphasize, now that there was an abundance of commissions for low-cost, large-scale development. The ill-curated bricolage of materials nonetheless reveals a sense of historical continuity, and complicates Norberg-Schulz' schematic dichotomy between interwar and postwar architectural cultures.

The yearning for stabilization, and for publicly announcing the architects' re-entry into the market, might have inspired NAL to look to the past when exhibiting; constructing a public and sentimentalized image of the architect as artist. The architects behind *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* might furthermore have looked to the art exhibition *Statens Høstutstilling* with a certain degree of apprehension. Competing with the artists for popular recognition, the rather modest architectural results of the ongoing reconstruction—made for a material reality, driven by necessity—were not on par with work made by artists for display. By presenting the architectural profession as belonging to the fine arts sphere, the technological and social-minded aspects of architects' work—that might have lent weight to NAL's struggle for recognition—remained untapped resources. Looking back at the 1947 exhibition, a journalist from communist newspaper *Friheten* reflected that the assemblage of wide-ranging materials, while flaunting the participating architects' skillful drawings and artistic capabilities, failed to present their societal position "as an expression for the profession's resolve and ability to assist in the reconstruction with their specific qualifications."[108] *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* was rather a hesitant propagandization of the ways in which architecture—and architects—could positively and politely contribute to the refinement of aesthetic awareness. The hope was thus to elevate public perception of the

[108] T. Th., "Arkitektenes høstutstilling," *Friheten*, November 18, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948.

architectural profession's abilities and the width of its field. In his aforementioned exhibition review in *Bonytt,* architect Bernt Heiberg stated,

> There is no use in letting a pointless exhibition affect us too harshly, let us rather find a purpose for the next time. Let us exhibit what really engages us, and present it in a way to foster learning for everyone. […] Let us get the discussion started, and let it continue in the coming exhibitions, so they can be a breath of fresh wind instead of whirling architects' dust.[109]

Most critics, Heiberg included, were unified in their final recommendation: from now on, each edition of the exhibition series should focus on a clearly defined theme with relevance to contemporary societal issues.

[109] Heiberg, "Byggekunst i bunad," 209.

2. A Collective Effort: *Boligreisingen* 1948

Figure 11 King Haakon VII surrounded by the 1948 exhibition committee members during the opening night in Oslo. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbunds Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

During the grand opening of the 1948 edition of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, NAL president Henrik Nissen ruefully noted, with a sense of urgency and disciplinary self-awareness, that the general public was architecturally illiterate.[110] This illiteracy had not, however, prevented leading newspapers from printing near daily polemics against architects and the government alike, who, they claimed, were not sufficiently engaged in solving the ongoing housing shortage. The 1948 exhibition, *The Housing Construction* (*Boligreisingen)* displayed NAL's preliminary cure to—and vigorous concern for—this professed societal problem. Lamenting not only the public's illiteracy, but also Norwegian architects' lack of participation in public debate, the exhibition committee hoped to shed new light on the factual sides of the national

[110] "Arkitektutstillingen skal gi diskusjonsgrunnlag," *Morgenbladet*, November 10, 1948.

rehousing.[111] Models, drawings, photographs, and statistics would serve as indisputable evidence for the architects' societal engagement and practical contributions. Exhibition committee chairman Jens Sødring stated that NAL, through the course of *The Housing Construction*, would attempt to formulate guidelines for the design of coming annual exhibitions, so as to establish a praxis for architectural exhibition and dissemination.[112] And indeed, the second iteration of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* formed the short-lived tradition of the architects' annual exhibition apparatus. The continuation of the exhibition series was clearly an edifying venture, meant to bolster architects' public image. "If we succeed," Sødring wrote in a letter addressed to all NAL members, "the profession will with increasing force permeate people's consciousness as a societal factor to be reckoned with. This will strengthen our external position, and we will in turn feel more solemnly obliged to assume social responsibility."[113]

Illustrating the Housing Deficiency

However illiterate the Norwegian populace might have been perceived by the nation's architects, the chosen topic for the 1948 exhibition was highly relevant to all. By the end of World War II, Norway had an estimated housing deficiency of 100 000. The situation was most dire in northern Norway, where the German use of scorched earth tactic had razed to the ground an area larger than Denmark and ruined 20 000 homes.[114] The war-year stagnation of civic building greatly advanced the massive housing shortage, as did the 1946 baby boom with a record-breaking 70 000 births. In order to remedy the extensive

[111] Henrik Nissen, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," in *Boligreisingen*, ed. Olav Platou, P. A. M. Mellbye, and J. Jervell Grimelund (Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1948), 1.
[112] The exhibition committee consisted of architects Jens Sødring (president), Karen Brochmann (vice-president), Theodor Hals Frølich (BAF representative), Roar Tønseth (TAF representative), and J. Jervell Grimelund (NAL's secretary general). Brochmann and Grimelund were also part of the Oslo exhibition's executive committee, along with architects P.A.M Mellbye and Kr. Bernhoff Evensen (exhibition secretary).
[113] Jens Sødring, "Letter to NAL members. 'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948,'" 1948, 2–3, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948, jnr. 1326/7/48. My translation from the Norwegian.
[114] Around 12 000 of which in Finnmark, Norway's northernmost county Finnmark. Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 46–48.

adversity, the Norwegian government set an ambitious goal: to build 100 000 new housing units by the end of 1950.[115] In stark contrast to its forerunner, *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947,* the 1948 exhibition dealt directly with these very tangible and current issues. On display was a focused overview of the postwar housing situation, devised to form a complete impression of what had been ruined, what had already been constructed, and what would have to be built to solve the housing shortage caused by the war.[116]

Figure 12 Labor Day protest in Oslo. The banner reads "The country shall be constructed—the people shall be protected!" Unknown photographer, Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek.

While responding to the extraordinary situation caused by the war, NAL was still vying for the architectural profession's popular recognition and commissions. The choice of "Housing Construction" as the 1948 exhibition's topical theme reflected one of the postwar nation's biggest societal issue. The articulations of rebuilding as a societal problem appeared frequently in all kinds of media relating to the

[115] Guttu, 48.
[116] "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," *Norges Handels- og Sjøfartstidende*, November 8, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948.

event. Both organizers and cultural profiles treated it like a popular scientific problem, and key features of the exhibition involved a mapping and analysis of the field—a process into which the public was now invited to participate within the enabling site of the architectural exhibition. As expressed by an *Arkitektnytt* contribution: "If we can't solve the problem, we can at least help by mapping it out, and that's the first step towards a solution[…] If the plan succeeds, the exhibition might introduce more unbiased elements into the debate on rehousing."[117] While *The Housing Construction*'s exhibition committee conceded that the results of the ongoing housing reconstruction were less than optimal, they contended that the *perception* of its inadequacy far exceeded reality.[118] Latching onto a topic of significant public interest provided the architects with an arena to showcase their current work while simultaneously asserting—or perhaps rather enlisting support for—the profession's standing.

The Housing Construction premiered in Oslo 9 November, 1948, filling every room of the Neo-Baroque Oslo institution Kunstindustrimuseet (the Norwegian Museum of Decorative Arts and Design). A main section was devoted to the ongoing rehousing and housing construction, while another—"the free section"—was less rigorously organized and open to any contribution deemed worthy of public display. Material in the main section was twofold. One subsection showed diagrammatic statistics to give a comprehensive overview of the current situation. The other displayed projects for reconstruction and rehousing of 30 towns and villages, ordered by a taxonomy based on geographic location.[119] Folding screens mounted in Kunstindustrimuseet's largest exhibition hall were assembled in a star-shaped configuration, providing a flexible surface for display of two-dimensional items—likely appreciated by the organizers, who had little more than three weeks to curate the show between the submission deadline of October 16 to the opening night November 9.

[117] "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1948," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 12 (September 15, 1948): 1.
[118] Sødring, "Letter to NAL members. 'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948.'"
[119] Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, ""Program for N.A.L.s konkurranse om tegninger til 'HUSET SOM VOKSER'. Competition program," undated, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.

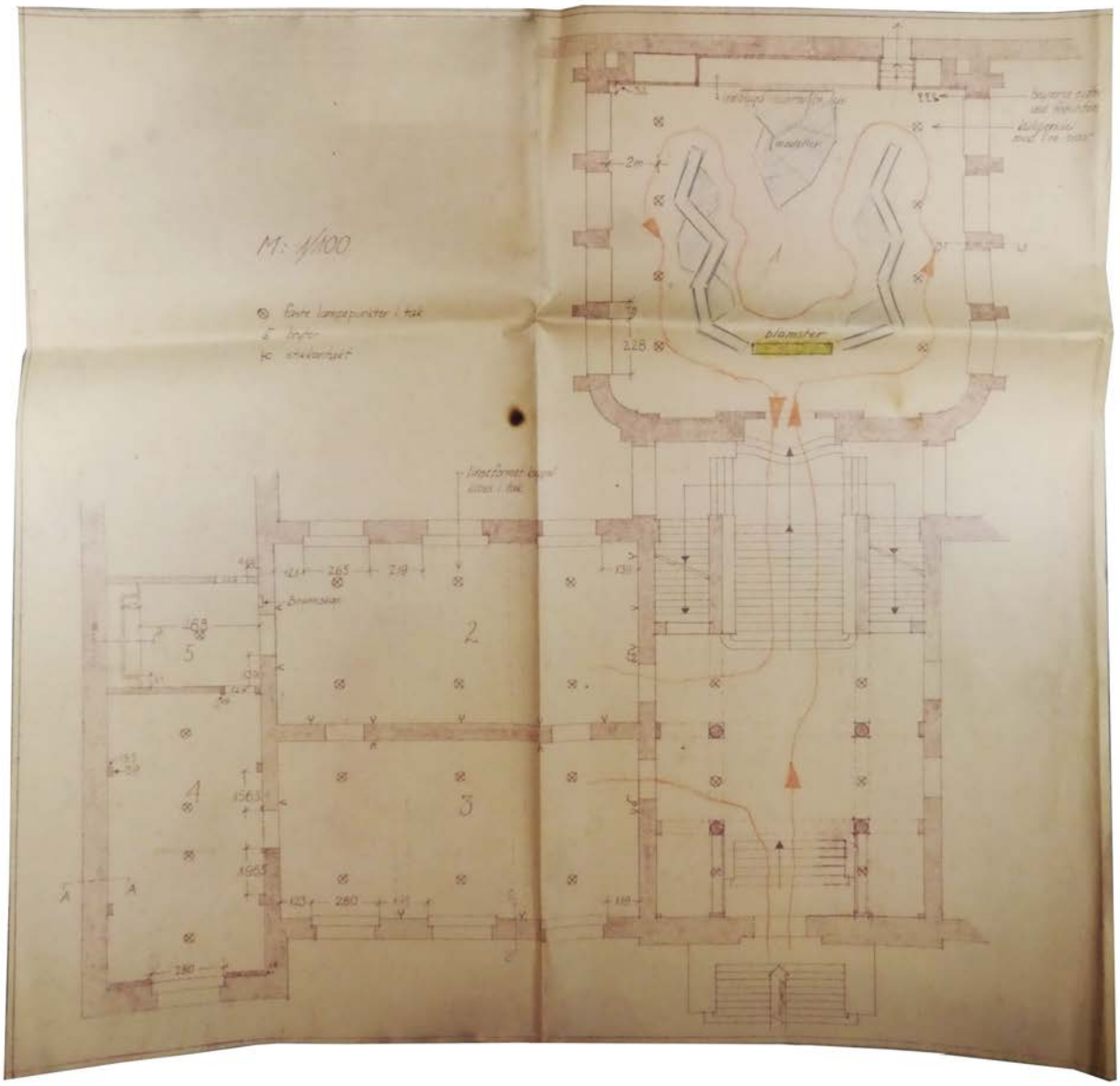

Figure 13 Sketch for the installation design of The Housing Construction, showing the first floor plan of Kunstindustrimuseet. It is hard to attest whether this plan was implemented, although photographic evidence reveals some similarities (notice the folding screens in the main exhibition hall). Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbunds Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

Figure 14 The Housing Construction's *exhibition poster "Blått og rødt", designed by SKHS student Odd Hvistendal. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbunds Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.*

A diverse group of architects contributed to the making of *The Housing Construction.* Perhaps spurred by the 1947 exhibition's inadequate consonance with current developments within the architectural sphere, the exhibition committee chose to include students in the 1948 edition of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition.* "The Course for Crisis-Stricken Architects" ("Kurset for kriserammede arkitektstuderende; henceforth the Crisis Course) was conveniently located in the same premises as Kunstindustrimuseet, the 1948 exhibition's Oslo venue, and student and faculty alike were intensely involved in the making of the show; contributing with tasks ranging from organizing and mounting to advertising and publishing.[120] Students from SHKS (the Norwegian National Academy of Craft and Art Industry; SHKS) and the Crisis Course were invited to participate in a competition on the exhibition's

[120] The jury consisted of the exhibition committee vice principal, architect Karen Brochmann, along with head teachers Arne Korsmo and Arne Vesterlid. Another competition invited students from SHKS' department of advertising to submit proposals for the exhibition's poster. Student Odd Hvistendahl won with the proposal "Blått og rødt" ("Blue and Red").

installation design. A team comprised of architecture students Håkon Mjelva, Svein Bjoland, and Einar Fiane won first prize in the competition, and their proposal predominantly implemented in *The Housing Construction*'s manifestation in Oslo.[121] The students' contributions were warmly applauded Frode Rinnan in his *Byggekunst* review of the exhibition. Yet the most significant fact of the student participation was, Rinnan felt, their inclusion into "the architect's milieu"—clearly insinuated to be located in Oslo.[122]

The Crisis Course was initially established in 1945 to contribute to the national reconstruction by alleviating the pressing shortage of architects, while also supporting students whose education had been compromised by the occupation.[123] Behind the initiative were students at the SHKS in Oslo, aided by prolific architects and NAL members Arnstein Arneberg, Herman Munthe-Kaas and Arne Vesterlid. Architectural education had up until this point been confined to the polytechnic university Norwegian Institute of Technology (NTH) in Trondheim, which only admitted students with top grades. More adventurous prospective architects, or those who didn't meet the requirements to satisfy the restrictive admission process, traveled abroad.[124] The Crisis Course, with its more liberal admission policy, thus opened the architectural profession to a broader scope of students, offering students from various building construction programs supplementary courses in architecture.

The status and scope of architectural education was heatedly discussed in the postwar years, both in the architect's journal *Byggekunst* and in the general media; impelled by widespread critique of the standards of teaching at NTH and the general acknowledgement that there were too few trained professionals to aid in the extraordinary postwar situation. NAL's Oslo chapter (OAF) was particularly vocal in the debate, and organized several meetings on the topic while corresponding closely with

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[121] "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 15 (November 17, 1948): 1.
[122] Frode Rinnan, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," *Byggekunst*, no. 11 (1948): 150.
[123] The course continued to run and expand, and was later known as Statens arkitektkurs (The State Architecture Course). In 1961, it formed the basis for the founding of the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO).
[124] Arnstein Arneberg, Herman Munthe-Kaas, and Arne Vesterlid, "Arkitektkurset 1945," *Byggekunst*, no. 5–6 (1946): 74.

Broderskapet, the NTH architecture student union. In 1948, NAL counted around 500 members, whereof near 300 belonged to the Oslo chapter. Leading voices in OAF feared that the NTH education was subpar, outdated, and inadequate.[125] According to the organization's meeting minutes, the critique of NTH was centered around three key issues: its peripheral location as part of the technical university in Trondheim, far removed from the bustling professional activity in Oslo; its "undemocratic" grade-based admission requirements; and the education's lack of specialization when considering contemporary progress in technological development, new analytical planning methods, and increasingly complicated building processes.[126] Both Oslo architects and NTH students felt the time was ripe for a complete revision of architectural education in Norway. Behind the anxieties surrounding the educational structures lurked, of course, far greater concerns. Participants in in the debate wondered how young minds could be advantageously molded to conform to their expectations of the future professional, particularly when faced with an unparalleled need for construction and projected industrial expansion. How should the profession educate and refine the new generation, thus equipping them with the skills necessary to serve both national needs *and* their profession?

Situated in Oslo, and surrounded by students of programs in construction, arts and crafts, the Crisis Course had abundant opportunities for knowledge exchange. Removed from the polytechnic dominance of NTH, its profile was a breath of fresh air. The Crisis Course students were embedded in a distinctly *practical* milieu, both more artistic and crafts oriented than their peers in Trondheim. When reviewed in *Byggekunst* by architect Frode Rinnan, the diploma projects submitted by the 34 newly graduated architects from the Crisis Course received generally positive evaluations; purportedly displaying

[125] An interpellation from OAF's general assembly in 1948, raised by P. A. M. Mellbye, C. Chr. Berner, and O. S. Platou characterized the NTH education as «exceptionally lousy". Asserting this to be the very moment when Norway was in greatest need of capable professionals, they urged NAL to intervene "in this utmost sad and tremendously embarrassing matter". "Interpellasjon om arkitektavdelingen ved N.T.H.," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 3 (February 14, 1948): 1.

[126] K. H.-H, "Arkitektutdannelsen. Referat fra Oslo Arkitektforenings møte om saken," *Byggekunst*, no. 5–6, tillegget (1946): 9.

a comprehensive understanding of technical detailing and conventional methods for regulations, but also a shift in sensibilities. The path was set towards what would later be known as the "organic" direction in Norwegian postwar architecture, of which vernacularly oriented Crisis Course teacher Knut Knutsen was a leading proponent.[127] Rinnan's review of the Crisis Course diplomas included musings on the importance of education for the profession at large. He professed that understanding of the architectural profession was steadily growing also within the construction trade—not least due to the vast geographical dispersal of architects employed in newly established positions in remote municipalities, towns, and cities. Architecture was no longer a luxury for the few; war and destruction aided in broadening its mission to serve the masses. As can be surmised, the expansion and new direction of architectural education in Norway was a step along the way towards a more comprehensive, relevant, and representative profession. Members of NAL were not only partaking in disciplinary formation during the immediate postwar years; they were disciplining their educational institutions—staking out a new direction that would come to markedly alter the course of architectural production in Norway throughout the twentieth century.[128]

Burnt Sites Regulation and the 'Principle' Sverre Pedersen

Parallel to the critique of the *contents* of the NTH-offered education was also the critique of its *people*. One NTH professor was an object of particularly intense debate in the postwar architectural community: the internationally renowned city planner Sverre Pedersen. In the wake of the war's early destructions on

[127] Frode Rinnan, "Arkitektutdannelsen i Norge. Refleksjoner omkring 'Kurset for kriseramte arkitekter 1945,'" *Byggekunst*, no. 1–2 (1947): 6–7.

[128] Several notable Norwegian architects were among the first generations of students at the Crisis Course, among them Sverre Fehn, Håkon Mjelva, and Geir Grung. They would come to play important roles in Norway's CIAM chapter, instituted in 1947, but launched publicly as Progressive Akitekters Gruppe Oslo Norge (Progressive Architects' Group Oslo Norway; PAGON) in 1950. While PAGON's membership fluctuated, their membership included Crisis Course teacher Arne Korsmo, and Christian Norberg-Schulz who returned to Norway in 1949 after studying under Giedion at ETH Zurich. Espen Johnsen, "Giedion, CIAM og etableringen av PAGON (1947–1950)," in *Brytninger: norsk arkitektur 1945-65*, ed. Espen Johnsen (Oslo: Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, 2010), 66–81.

Norwegian soil, Pedersen was appointed leader of the rebuilding organization Burnt Sites Regulation (Brente Steders Regulering; henceforth BSR). BSR was a state agency active from 1940 to 1955, established to reconstruct the cities and towns damaged or annihilated during the war. Under Pedersen's leadership, the organization rapidly designed a large number of neoclassical plans, predominantly for towns in northern Norway.[129] Although founded by the legal Norwegian Government after the Allied bombings of Norway in 1940, it was quickly put under German supervision. This gave the latter supreme authority to inspect all BSR plans before their implementation, and consequently exert a steadily increasing degree of influence over their design, thus tying the new developments to National Socialist ideology. After the war, BSR's reconstruction plans were heavily criticized. *Byggekunst* published scorching reviews by Norwegian and foreign architects already in 1945.[130] The tone was equally harsh in the general media, as witnessed by newspaper *Dagbladet*'s scorching critique of the BSR plan for Molde. The plans were characterized as being formal expressions of Nazism, and their basis to be "false and falsified."[131] Yet no BSR member was ever convicted of treason in a court of law after World War II. The postwar NAL tribunal was nonetheless critical of what they deemed to be an illegitimate degree of collaboration from the agency's leader, and Sverre Pedersen ultimately suffered a three-year exclusion from the organization.[132]

[129] The reconstruction plans BSR developed during the occupation were revised after the war under Erik Rolfsen's leadership. Due to the dire need for reconstruction, most of them were ultimately constructed. Peter Butenschøn, "Sverre Pedersen - krigen, byplanene og moralen," *Arkitektnytt*, April 7, 2010, https://www.arkitektnytt.no/debatt/sverre-pedersen-krigen-byplanene-og-moralen.

[130] This was largely a result of Harald Hals' exacting disapproval of Nazi collaborators. Hals, who led NAL's postwar tribunal, invited prominent foreign experts to comment on the BSR plans already in 1944, when he was in Swedish exile. See Edvard Heiberg and Tage William-Olsson, "B.S.R. Utenlandske fagfolks mening," *Byggekunst* 27 (1945): 25–29.

[131] "Er dette Molde, Rosenes by?" *Dagbladet*, August 2, 1945, quoted from Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen*.

[132] For a detailed, albeit somewhat unnuanced account in Pedersen's favor, see chapter 6 in Stave Tvinnereim, 355–343.

Figure 15 Aquarelle of Brente Steders Regulering's 1943 plan for the reconstruction of Bodø. Jacob Hanssen, Brente Steders Regulering, Nasjonalmuseet, Arkitektursamlingene.

Figure 16 Bodø in ruins after the German Luftwaffe bombing raids in 1940. Håkon Østensen/Sør-Troms museum.

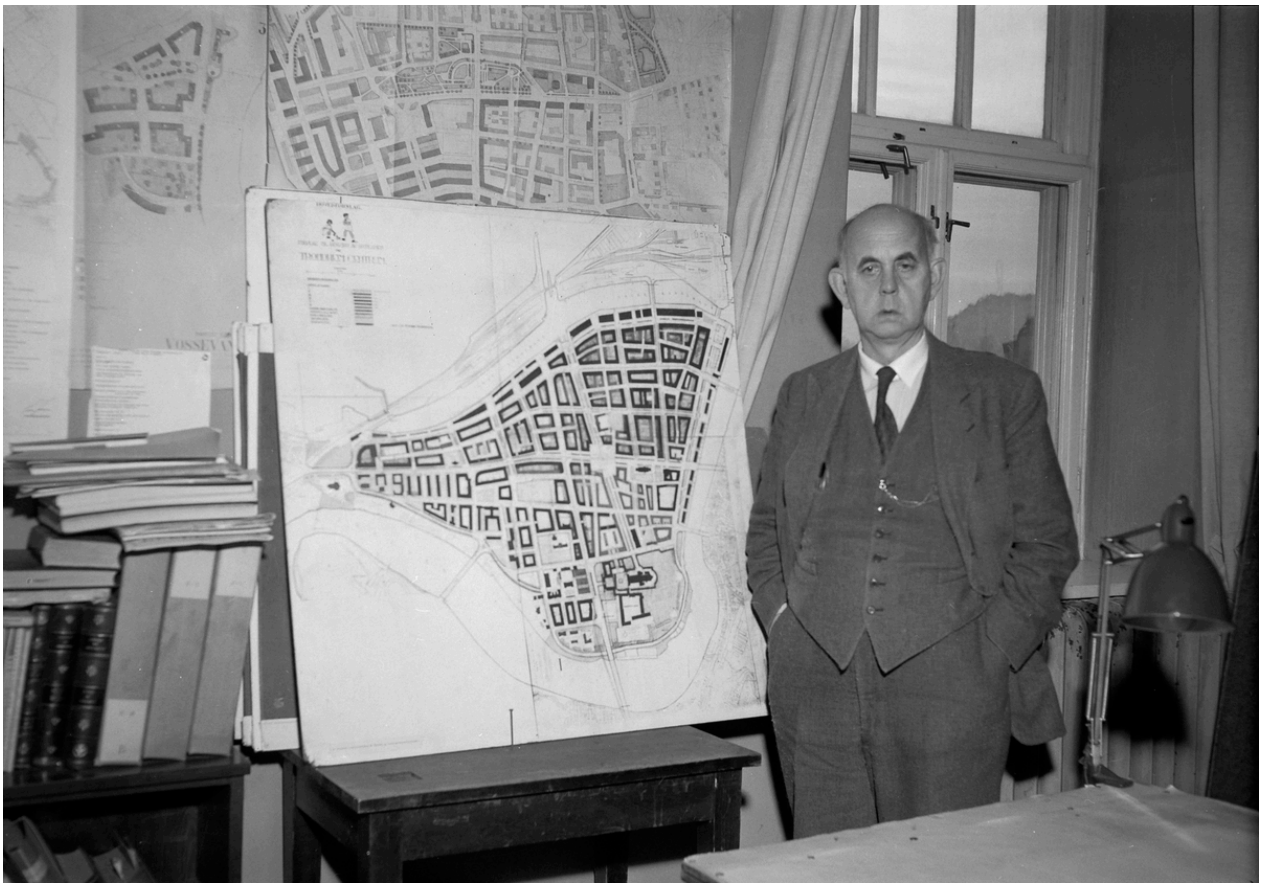

Figure 17 Professor Sverre Pedersen in his NTH office, photographed December 17, 1952. Schrøderarkivet/Sverresborg

After the verdict fell in the case against Sverre Pedersen, his right to teach at NTH—where he had held a professorship since 1920—was called into question. Students returning to NTH after the war were dismayed by Sverre Pedersen's continued presence at the institution. Three main grounds were given for their loss of faith in Pedersen: the wish to conduct an internal purging of employees at NTH, the social environment at the institution, and the students' feeling of loyalty towards the architectural profession as represented by NAL.[133] The architecture students' organization Broderskapet, highlighting Pedersen's deprivation of NAL membership, threatened a student strike if the Ministry of Church Affairs and Education failed to intervene by encouraging the professor to withdraw from office.[134] On January 20,

[133] ""Lukket foreningsmøte torsdag 30. januar kl. 20 i Militære Samfund. Meeting minutes, OAF," January 10, 1947, 3, OAF/D/NTH-saken 1947/NTH-konflikten.
[134] Stave Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen*, 378–83.

1947, the strike was set in motion.[135] The situation was followed with great interest by the architecture community, as NTH was the leading—and, until recently, *only*—architecture school in the country, and ignited ferocious debates in NAL and its local chapters. Minutes from a closed members' meeting in OAF bares a number of different stances on the matter. Many felt hesitant to intervene, while others wholeheartedly expressed solidarity with the student strike and direct contempt for the professor's actions.[136] A core issue was whether the tribunal was an internal matter or not, and the moral and legal rightfulness of employing its verdict as basis for penalties in spheres external to the organization's authority. According to architectural historian Helga Tvinnereim, the processing of Pedersen's case was surrounded by much speculation, rumormongering, and behind-the-scenes power play.[137] The students stressed that it was not the *person,* but rather the *principle* Sverre Pedersen against which they were dissenting.

After lengthy discussions, OAF's governing board decided to intervene in the situation by supporting the student strike. As follows, they sought to elevate the NTH education by arranging an alternative lecture series with architects visiting from Oslo.[138] The lecture series focused on problems relating to the postwar reconstruction, and covered a range of scales and methods.[139] The intervention was presented by OAF as a professional duty. Its board reportedly saw itself honor bound to contribute to the students' continued education, so as to secure a qualitatively satisfactory recruitment to the architectural profession.[140] After a lengthy process, Pedersen eventually took a leave of absence until his suspension

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[135] ""Lukket foreningsmøte torsdag 30. januar kl. 20 i Militære Samfund. Meeting minutes, OAF," 2.
[136] ""Lukket foreningsmøte torsdag 30. januar kl. 20 i Militære Samfund. Meeting minutes, OAF."
[137] Stave Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen*, 356–58.
[138] Frode Rinnan and Kjell Colbjørnsen, "Arkitektstudentene NTH - professor Sverre Pedersen," January 15, 1947, OAF/D/NTH-saken 1947.
[139] Among the participating lecturers were architect Jens Selmer (lecturing on small scale residential housing), Oslo's chief planner Erik Rolfsen (lecturing on urban planning), architect Odd Brochmann (lecturing on housing surveys and interiors), and architect Frode Rinnan (lecturing on modern supplements in residential design). Jacob Christie Kielland, "'Gjesteforelesninger om problemer av særlig interesse for gjenreisningen av de ødelagte distrikter.' Letter to the Principal at NTH," March 3, 1947, OAF/D/NTH-saken 1947/NTH-konflikten.
[140] Oslo arkitektforening, "Letter from the Board of OAF to NAL," January 30, 1947, OAF/D/NTH-saken 1947/NTH-konflikten.

from NAL was lifted January 1, 1949.[141] The tribunal itself was premediated as a *sub rosa* affair, and NAL bid its members to treat it as an "internal, collegial matter."[142] Yet the resulting verdicts were to a varying degree made public, and—as implied in a thunderous statement in NAL's periodical *Arkitektnytt*—unscrupulously used as leverage by architect vying for commissions.[143] Offenses in category 1 (see Chapter 1: "A Romantic Image: *Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1947*", p. 43) were printed in *Byggekunst*, and those in category 2 were transmitted to all NAL members by mail.[144] The NAL tribunal, however confidential its verdicts were intended to be, had severe personal and professional consequences for a number of previously well-respected architects.[145] An example of the systematic discrimination against those penalized in the tribunal is a petition from NAL's governing board of December, 1945, urging the organizers of architectural competitions to restrict participation to NAL members only.[146]

The rebuilding agency was generally embraced after the tribunal's proceedings were concluded, and discredited architects were ousted from the organization. Architect Erik Rolfsen, who had served as

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[141] Stave Tvinnereim, *Sverre Pedersen*, 378–83.
[142] Hals and Hougen, "Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund. Om oppryddingen.," 2.
[143] "Untitled," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 5 (December 12, 1945): 1.
[144] After the tribunal was completed and the court of appeal had examined all complaints, the following architects were excluded from NAL due to their membership in Nasjonal Samling (NS), or associated organizations, such as NAF: Holger Bratlie (Oslo), Leif Egeberg (Oslo), Eirik Eikrann (Oslo), Wilhelm K. Essendrop (Oslo), Holger Chr. Hanssen (Oslo), Tor Hovi (Tønsberg), Sverre Jensrud (Hønefoss), Fred. Minsos (Oslo), Gunnar Montelius (Sarpsborg), Eugen Nielsen (Oslo), Trygve Nissen (Oslo), T. W. Schultz (Oslo), Sverre Madsen (Bergen), Oddvar Tryti (Bergen), Karl M. Dahn (Trondheim), Erling Krogseth (Trondheim), F. W. Rode (Oslo(Trondheim). See Andr. H. Bjercke and K. H. Sinding-Larsen, "Oppryddingen i Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund," *Byggekunst*, no. 7–8, tillegget (1946): 17.
[145] A particularly tragic example is the fate of renowned Bergen architect Leif Grung, who once led Norway's largest architectural practice. Grung accepted several commissions for the occupying forces, among them Adolf Hitler's Kriegsmarine in 1941. According to Møllerhaug, Grung's suicide in 1945 was a direct consequence of the process against him. Grung was initially investigated by BAF's local investigation committee, but the case was soon transferred to the local police. Møllerhaug disputes the legitimacy of the accusations raised against Grung, and in his 2016 biography presents evidence of the architect's innocence and work to sabotage the Nazi occupiers. Møllerhaug is highly critical to NALs handling of Grung's case, even today. When asking for access to the archive folders with information on the tribunal, Møllerhaug was made to sign a non-disclosure, expressively preventing it from being used to possibly clear accused architects' names. For a "true crime" investigation on Grung's wartime activities and the process against him, see Møllerhaug, *Stupet*. In 2016, NAL removed the aforementioned clause from its archives. See Arve Henriksen, "Langt flere norske arkitekter samarbeidet med tyskerne enn hva som tidligere er kjent," *Aftenposten*, May 27, 2016, https://www.aftenposten.no/osloby/i/M3LkK/Langt-flere-norske-arkitekter-samarbeidet-med-tyskerne-enn-hva-som-tidligere-er-kjent.
[146] NAL's newly elected governing board of 1946-1948 decided against working to enforce or promote the restriction in June, 1946. "Begrensing av konkurranser til MNAL," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 12 (June 15, 1946): 3.

construction consultant for the Norwegian government-in-exile during the war, replaced Sverre Pedersen as BSR director in 1945. Rolfsen's leadership freed BSR from the ideological implications tied to the organization's collaboration with the Nazi administration, and greatly affected the agency's methodological, ideological, and formal approaches to planning. BSR had several newly educated architects among their staff, and also provided female architects with greater employment opportunities.[147] In fact 16 % of the state employed architects working with reconstruction projects in North Troms and Finnmark were female[148] Whether this is indicative of a progressive mentality within the agency, or simply

Figure 18 BSR architects working in Honningsvåg. From left to right: Solveig Hanche-Olsen, Kurt Jørgensen, Gunnar Fjermeros, Ola Hanche-Olsen, Ragnar Löwenmark og Kjerstin Lundgren. Kurt Jørgensen, Museene for kystkultur og gjenreisning i Finnmark IKS.

[147] Among the 25 BSR-employed women identified by architectural historian Ingebjørg Hage are Kirsten Sand, Helene Støren Kobbe, Wenche Böckmann, Ina Margrethe Danielsen Backer, Wenche Holtermann, Kirsten Wleügel Knutssøn, Lisa Gjessing, Bitte (Dina) Bergh Sewell, Inger Ullern, Ellen Margrethe Lind Astrup, Sigrid Buch, Kirsten Sjøgren-Erichsen, Else Thorp Larsen, Olaug (Kosberg) Kaasen, Margot Larsen, Anne Tinne Kielland, Else Stensrud, Anne (Midthaug) Myklebust, Siri Friis Jacobsen, Sigrid Solberg Berner, Turid Bernhoff Evensen, Molle Heyerdahl Cappelen. See Ingebjørg Hage, "Reconstruction of North Norway after the Second World War – New Opportunities for Female Architects?," *Act Borealia* 22, no. 2 (2005): 99–127.

[148] The number of female architects increased significantly during the post-war years; from comprising 1.6 % of the profession's workforce in 1936, to 10 % in 1955. In 2000, the percentage of female architects counted 28.5%. Although she does not use commensurable years, Hage maintains that the Norwegian situation was unique when

an opportunity arising due to the time's pressing need for workers, remains unclear. In nonetheless habituated the profession—and its clients—to female voices. Some of these voices were vocal participants in the 1948 exhibition, not only among the audience, but as organizers, speakers, exhibitors, and reporters.[149]

According to an exhibition review in *Nationen*, the 1948 exhibition represented the first public display of BSR's work.[150] BSR's exhibited material included plans, photographs, slides, and models from eighteen towns and villages, among them eight in Finnmark.[151] Photographs might have been a particularly potent medium to convey the architect's efforts and the gravity of the situation. Parts of BSR's display included photographs of Kirkenes, depicting the village in pre-war idyll, total ruination, and finally in its current state of ongoing reconstruction.[152] Inscribed on all plans were statistics concerning the current status of the national rebuilding, with detailed numbers on destruction, reconstruction, and new construction. Sverre Pedersen's name is conspicuously absent from the list describing BSR's contribution to *The Housing Construction,* even in the descriptions of plans where his authorship is firmly established.[153] Whether a strategically conscious choice or not, the labeled authors were either the BSR collectively, or else employees who did *not* receive penalties in the 1945 NAL tribunal. The extrajudicial purge had clearly impacted who were considered respectable members of the organization, and consequently how the organization in turn wished to present itself to colleagues and the general public.

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compared to England. In 1975, only 5 % of English architects were women; in 1997 the number had only increased to 11%. Statistics from Hage, 120–21.

[149] This included exhibiting architects Kirsten Sinding-Larsen, Kirsten Sand, Ingeborg Krafft, and presumably a number of other unnamed BSR architects. Interior architect Liv Schjødt reviewed the 1948 exhibition in *Bonytt*, and gave a public lecture in the exhibition during its run in Oslo.

[150] "Boligreisingen hovedtema på Arkitektenes Høstutstilling," *Nationen*, November 9, 1948. This, however, was a truth with modifications, as archival research suggests BSR's participation in Nordisk Bygningsdag 1946.

[151] Brente Steders Regulering, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling. Kort redegjørelse for B.S.R.'s utstillingsmateriale," November 18, 1948, 1, RA/S-1540/D/Da/L0026/Høstutstillingen 1948.

[152] Thomas Thomassen, "Letter to Brente Steders Regulering from the Chief Planner of Kirkenes," October 16, 1946, RA/S-1540/D/Da/L0026/Høstutstillingen 1948. Jnr. 724/1948.

[153] The reconstruction plans for Molde is among the most illustrative examples.

Figure 19 and 20. Paper materials from BSR's contributions to The Housing Construction. *Top image shows a 1942 model for the reconstruction of Namsos; bottom image shows the reconstruction of Kristiansund—one of the agency's many placards preserved in BSR's archives. Tumbtack holes in the corners of the placards reveals that they were mounted and dismounted several times—likely during the exhibition's travel. Brente Steders Regulering, RA/S-1540/U/Ud/L0001, the National Archives of Norway.*

Geographic Dispersal and Decentralization

When the Labor Party won the majority of the Parliament in the elections during the fall of 1945, official policy dictated that the reconstruction would be more of a *new* construction. The rebuilding of the country became an ideologically motivated issue, and rather than replicating what had been lost, the focus was to build—physically, socially, and economically—a better society founded on an increasingly expansive regulatory regime.[154] The prevailing mentality was marked by a strong sense of solidarity and optimism, but tested by the pressing needs in the war-torn areas.[155] Three motions passed in the Norwegian Parliament in 1946 marked a new direction in the nation's building policies, and conditioned the Norwegian housing reconstruction in the immediate postwar years. According to historian Jon Skeie, the new schemes, while founded on Labor Party policies, were impelled by members of Norsk Forening for Boligreformer, Oslo municipality, and the architectural profession.[156] The Norwegian State Housing Bank (Statens Husbank) funded the vast majority of Norwegian postwar rehousing, thus actively stimulating the housing industry while mitigating the current housing shortage.[157] The enactment of the Expropriation and Building Ban Act (Lov om ekspropriasjon og byggeforbud vedkommende grunnarealer m. v.) granted municipalities the right to expropriate undeveloped areas—or temporarily ban new development—for the purpose of supporting rehousing.[158] The authorization of administrative control would permit rational development of new towns and large housing districts. And finally, the Reconstruction Act (Gjenreisningsloven), of which § 8 decreed that all permanent construction in the war-damaged areas, and the order in which building was to commence, were subject to approval from relevant state departments or

[154] Jon Skeie, *Bolig for folk flest: Selvaagbygg 1920-1998* (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1998), 59–61.
[155] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 46–47.
[156] Skeie, *Bolig for folk flest*, 67.
[157] Statens Husbank is a state-owned housing bank and housing policy agency, founded by the Norwegian government in 1946 as a welfare state initiative. In the postwar years, it financed the construction of 110 000 single family houses built during the period 1946–1953, primarily by offering mortgages in planned houses. Its mission included both construction and reconstruction of dwelling across the country.
[158] Eyvind Alnæs, "Ekspropriasjonslov - byplanlov," *Byggekunst*, no. 7–8 (1946): 89–90.

district architects.[159] The acute need for rebuilding and planning resulted in a legislation written with a certain degree of flexibility; to a large degree transferring administrative agency from governmental to municipal level, thus decentralizing the planning in towns and rural areas.[160] This granted architects an unprecedented (yet temporary) degree of control over the new development and design solutions, giving the newly instated district architects the final say in all countryside reconstruction.[161] The Housing Directorate's centralized control over material quota and building licenses further substantiated their influence.[162] As such, the installation of district architects can be seen as a significant victory for NAL, who had long been clamoring to assert architects' professional dominance in matters related to construction. While the professional title was no longer protected by law, as it had been for a brief period during the German occupation, the district architects held positions of significant power and status within the government apparatus.[163] New tasks, new policies, and new clients—including the state and municipalities—contributed to changing the architect's role and strengthening their societal position.

An installation in *The Housing Construction*, showing the various bureaucratic steps from start to finish in a building process, harnessed a certain amount of frustration in the press. As rightfully described in *Bonytt*, it enlisted the "trials and tribulations of a prospective builder."[164] Wall to ceiling of a room in Kunstindustrimuseet was plastered with every case document and governmental instance a prospective home owner would have to navigate; a veritable pilgrimage unfolding from the time a client purchased a plot in Oslo until the house was completed and ready for occupation.[165] Representatives from all implicated agencies provided material for the installation, which was finally curated and assembled by

[159] As were buildings founded by The Housing Bank.
[160] Where the municipalities were incapable, the state was, however, granted rights to assume responsibility over various tasks pertaining to the reconstruction. Øivind Pettersen, "Gjenreisningsloven," *Byggekunst*, no. 9–10 (1946): 127–28.
[161] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 59.
[162] Formerly 'Gjenreisings- og boligdirektoratet' (the Reconstruction and Housing Directorate).
[163] "Landsbebyggelsen og planleggingen av småhus," *Byggekunst*, no. 3–4, tillegget (1947): 6.
[164] Liv Schjødt, "Boligreisingen. En Anti-Romantisk Utstilling," *Bonytt* 9, no. 1 (1949): 11.
[165] "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," November 17, 1948, 1.

architects Kirsten Sinding-Larsen, Harald Klem and Ole B. Aasness.[166] A white ribbon meandered between a labyrinthic montage of instructional signs, figures, and reproductions of documents; each representing one of the 15 institutions and officials who would have to sign off on building licenses, Housing Bank loans, allocation of building materials, and so on.[167] Although the installation was meant to pedagogically illustrate the building process, the success of its propagandization was dubious. Home-building was clearly not an effortless venture. "One must have a strong back to carry this load," a visitor to the exhibition was heard saying with a certain amount of trepidation.[168] *Dagbladet*'s reporter went even further in his negative characteristics of the current situation—and of its articulation in the exhibition—proclaiming the installation to be a "spiritual torture chamber" enough to cause a nervous breakdown.[169]

The 1948 exhibition easily reads as NAL's contribution to the ongoing debate on housing quality and production—spurred by recent media debate and the fact that in 1948, only seven percent of residential housing in Norway were designed by architects. Indeed, some objects on display in *The Housing Construction* were used expressively to warn against the layman's building ventures; among them a "strange freak" of an apartment, drawn without a stairway.[170] Built and planned projects were displayed to amass support for the profession's work, thus stimulating private and public commissions. This was done chiefly by a parallel display of architectural projects with pragmatic and graphically striking statistics, showing how the profession was working to solve society's pressing problems, but also—and most importantly—why the architect was *essential* to achieving the very best solutions.[171] The future was the modern home; where families displaced and dissolved by the war would recuperate and regain stability.

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[166] "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," 2.
[167] Han., "Fra tomt, gjennom 15 'vesener' til ferdig hus," *Morgenbladet*, November 10, 1948.
[168] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år."
[169] Even, "Avstumpet," *Dagbladet*, December 3, 1948.
[170] "Vi har plakater mot Colorado-billen - vi trenger dem også mot stygge hus," *Dagbladet*, November 13, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948.
[171] Architect Kristen Bernhoff Evensen developed the graphic representations, assisted by architects Per Cappelen and Magnar Bremseth. Students from SKHS produced the installations. "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948," November 17, 1948, 2.

Gone were all artistic affectations; the architect was propagandized as a critical coordinator in the rebuilding of the country. NAL sought to equip the general public with the necessary skills to understand the tasks at hand, while simultaneously claiming agency and recognition as a sociopolitical actor.

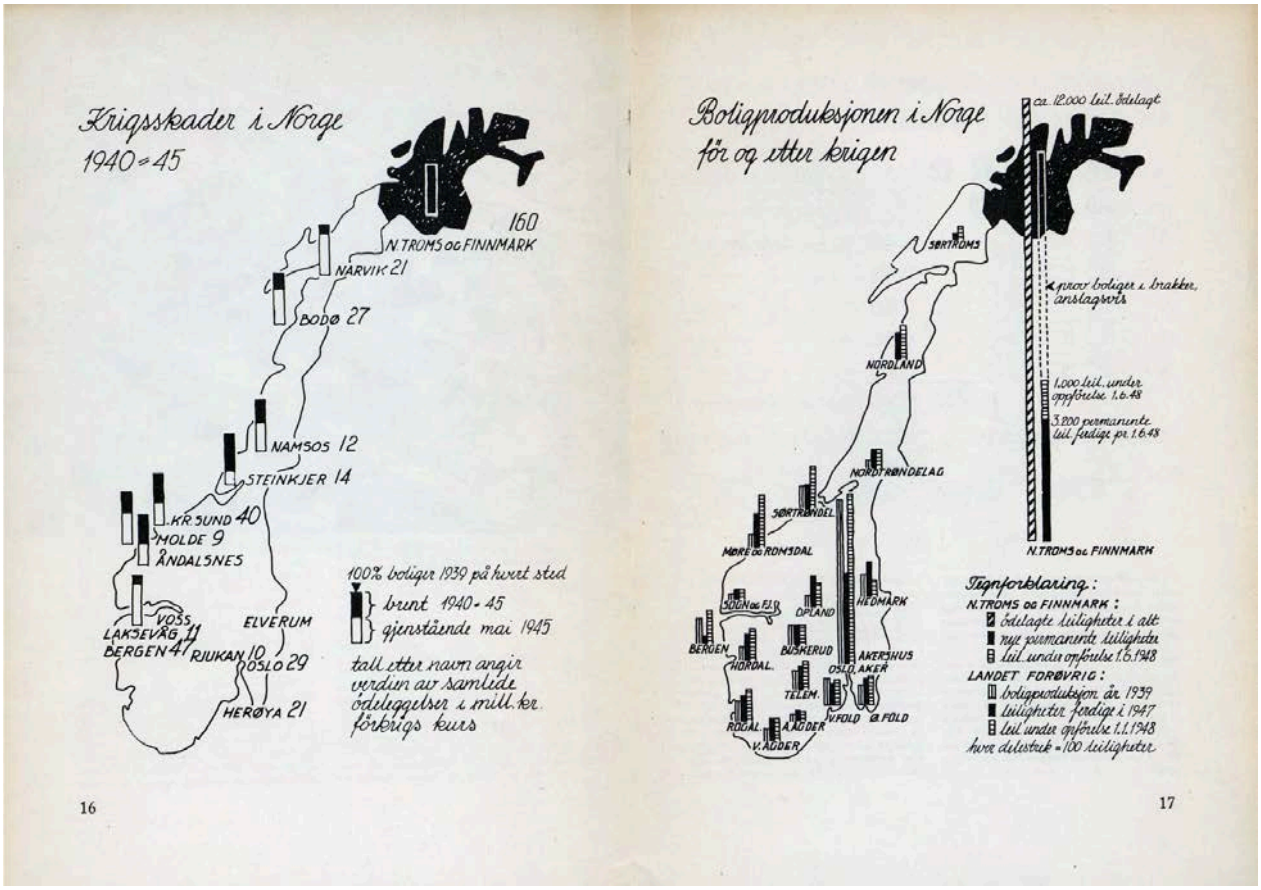

Figure 21 The national map figured frequently in the exhibition's statistical material, and also in its catalog. The diagram on the left shows war damage in Norway 1940–1945; the figure on the right shows the national housing construction before and after the war. Pages from Olav Platou and J. Jervell Grimelund, eds., Boligreisingen *(Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1948).*

The national map was a recurring organizing figure in *The Housing Construction*, and filled the multiple purpose of situating, condensing, or showing the nation-wide destruction and problems related to reconstruction. Displayed materials hailed from every corner of Norway, and spanned from single-family houses to regional plans. Schemes dealing with the reconstruction of war damaged areas dominated the exhibition, but it also included projects located in areas of the country where population growth or developing industries caused vigorous building activity, such as the capital city of Oslo. Models of reconstructed towns and new housing developments were placed in the center of the folding screen

arrangement in Kunstindustrimuseet; physically and thematically representing the exhibition's core.[172] The presence of the state agencies Burnt Sites Regulation and the Housing Directorate was a given in this context, and architects in both organizations contributed to the exhibition with a substantial body of materials. This included models, town plans and photographs, but also a large number of pattern drawings for model houses. These drawings did not only document what was under construction, but pointed towards new criteria for modern living; a foreshadowing of the solutions and standards that would come to dominate Norwegian housing in the next decades, as the nation—which would in the late 1960s begin an unimaginably profitable oil venture in the North Sea—cemented its position as a welfare state founded on social democratic principles.

By 1948, there was a pronounced want of architects and skilled craftsmen across the country. Nowhere was this deficiency as evident as in northern Norway, where the German retreat and use of scorched earth tactics in 1944 left large areas in total ruination. A 1946 dispatch from postwar BSR director Erik Rolfsen, addressed to all NAL members, encouraged them to send every person who could be spared to the north—even if it would be at the expense of other assignments.[173] Norwegian architects were drawn between two courses: the allure of private practice in cities, and the moderate and rational assignments provided by BSR and municipalities in the country's peripheral districts. As enticing offers of stimulating assignments—and high salaries—began coming in from private practices in Oslo that had resumed normal activity after the war, it was difficult to uphold professional interested in the rebuilding efforts. Not only was there a material deficiency; current conditions necessitated a rationalization of architects' time and efforts. District architect Kirsten Sand, writing from the remote island Skjervøy in Nord-Troms, appealed to the "so-called aesthetical sensibility" when stating that it was precisely there, in northern Norway, that architects were most needed. As few architects had ever worked in the rural

[172] "Overproduksjon av småleiligheter, underproduksjon av større," *Dagbladet*, November 8, 1948.
[173] Erik Rolfsen, "Letter from BSR director Erik Rolfsen to NAL members," March 13, 1946, OAF/P/Medlemskorrespondanse 1938-1947/Medlemsfortegnelser.

districts and small towns before the war, she felt their presence and professional aptitude were necessary to cultivate an understanding of what architects actually *do*.[174] A previous appeal, written by Sand a mere year after the liberation of Norway, was published in *Arkitektnytt* February 1945. Sand remorsefully noted that the scarcity of architects in the north had resulted in a plethora of subpar housing, drawn by uneducated "byggeledere" (construction leaders) who "have no inhibitions derived from honorific obligations. They can draw houses as dictated by people's desires."[175] These unfortunate desires often included garish imitations of functionalist architecture,[176] inept detailing, and lack of sensitivity to local typology. Architectural tasks in the districts were many and varied, encompassing every typology necessary to reestablish normality. Sand, and many colleagues with her, feared that large areas of the country would be left to the vices of entrepreneurial amateurs if architects neglected to support the reconstruction and claim their professional domain.

As emphasizing by *The Housing Construction*'s exhibition committee, Norway's distinct geography presented a set of very particular complications. For example, the distance traversed when moving cement from the production facilities at Slemmestad outside of Oslo to the war-ridden municipality Finnmark in northern Norway is comparable with moving the material to the Mediterranean.[177] A diagrammatic map of Norway showed that all transport north of Lønsdal was dependent on the sea route—and practically every sawmill and manufacturer of builders' supplies was located in the south.[178] The geographical distribution of housing development was richly illustrated in the statistical material, showing that while big cities such as Oslo and Bergen were allocated a proportionally adequate material quota, they struggled to complete constructions. Statistics on display showed logistical

[174] Kristen Sand, "Letter to Eyvind Alnæs from Kristen Sand," March 19, 1947, OAF/P/Medlemskorrespondanse 1938-1947/Medlemmer 1947. My translation from the Norwegian.
[175] Kirsten Sand quoted in Eyvind Alnæs, "Arkitekthjelp til Nord-Norge," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 8 (February 13, 1945): 3–4.
[176] The slightly pejorative abbreviation "funkis", as written by Sand, is commonly used in Scandinavian countries to denote stylistic imitations of functionalist architecture that fail to implement the direction's ideas and ideals.
[177] Reference.
[178] Dancke, *Opp av ruinene*, 11.

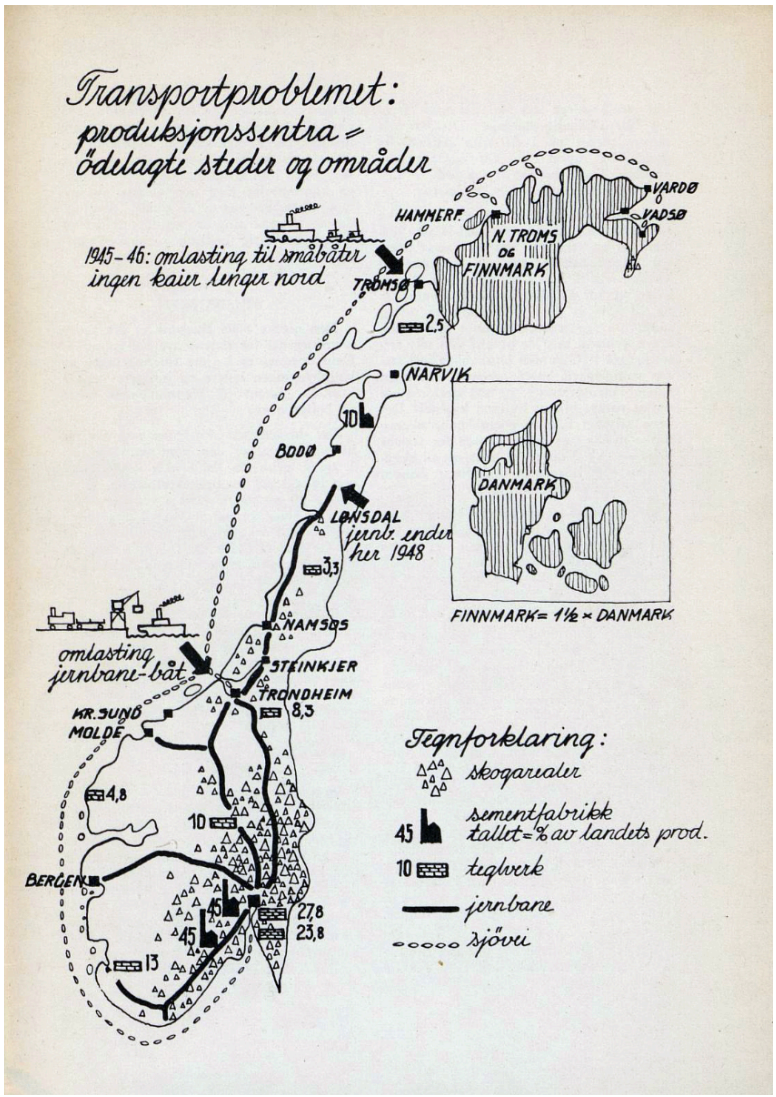

Figure 22 "The transportation issue", as shown in The Housing Construction*'s exhibition catalog. The callout on the right-hand side of the diagram shows Denmark,and was intended to facilitate comprehension of the magnitude of the destruction in Nord-Troms and Finnmark – the northernmost parts of the country, shown in hatch. Pages from Olav Platou and J. Jervell Grimelund, eds.,* Boligreisingen *(Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1948).*

difficulties, escalating construction costs, and illustrated the acute shortage of materials. It also directed attention towards shortcomings in governmental planning in light of the demographic development, such as the increased rate of teenagers preferring academic over vocational studies. Graspable comparisons and statistics were used present the factual problems delaying reconstruction, and purportedly not intended as "critique or excuses."[179]

Prefabricated housing was seen as a possible solution to the rehousing of northern Norway in 1945, but dismissed by the government already a year later.[180] Not due to the method's inadequacy or unpopularity, but because transportation of the building elements from production facilities in the south of the country proved expensive and irrational. According to Guttu, standard designs for model homes ("typetegninger") were seen as the better alternative for cost-efficient and rapid construction, while

[179] "Overproduksjon av småleiligheter, underproduksjon av større."
[180] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 91–95.

simultaneously providing a certain pre-approved quality for the largescale building development.[181] Model homes developed by architects in the Housing Directorate were easily realizable, adaptable, and guaranteed funding by The Housing Bank. The pattern types proved immensely successful, and allowed the state-employed architects to set a clearly defined measure for what was considered appropriate housing standards. Near 34 000 drawings from the Housing Directorate's 1948 collection, the majority of which conformed with local dialectics and building traditions, were sold over a ten-year period.[182]

"The tulip fields in Karasjok," read the headline of a 1948 article in newspaper *Verdens Gang,* positively dripping with sarcasm.[183] On a mission to inquire into the reconstruction of Norway's farthest north, journalist Vegard Sletten reported from the front, and was evidently not impressed with the architects' ventures in Finnmark, a county bordering Finland and Russia. With overt distrust in the young architect planning the reconstruction of the village Karasjok—"a female", as revealed repeatedly throughout the piece—the journalist ridiculed the numerous displays of ineptitude and lack of adherence to the local population's need resulting from the "architects' hegemony".[184] The anecdotal proofs of architects' irrational incompetence were many, most incredibly among them perhaps the abovementioned tulips. In a scarcely populated part of the country with harsh and cold climate, the abovementioned architect had proposed a flower garden in the middle of a roundabout, in which an indigenous Sami person—fully equipped with reindeers and a tent—was to be on display among his peers "like another curiosity." According to Sletten, architects planned and designed after their own heart's content, with little regard to spare for local vernacular tradition, inhabitants' preferences, or existing settlements. The piece reads as a polemic against the architectural profession at large, and the architects' license particularly, depicting the reconstruction as a "monument over the professional ignoramus."

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[181] Guttu, 95–96.
[182] Ibid., 97.
[183] Vegard Sletten, "Huset på tvert - tulipansenga i Karasjok," *Verdens Gang*, September 27, 1948.
[184] The architect's name is never disclosed, but it is likely Lisa Gjessing Andersen, who conceived of the reconstruction scheme for Karasjok before they were further developed by Per Lingaas, BSR. Brente Steders Regulering, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling. Kort redegjørelse for B.S.R.'s utstillingsmateriale," 3.

Figure 23 The reconstruction of Honningsvåg, photographed by BSR architect Ola Hanche-Olsen, 1946-1947. Museene for kystkultur og gjenreisning i Finnmark IKS.

In many instances, the rebuilding activities of BSR and state-employed district architects provided a first meeting between architects from Oslo and people in the districts. When district architects were sent to lead the reconstruction in 2945, they were given the task of drawing houses for "a populace with customs and conditions that were largely unfamiliar to them".[185] According to *Bonytt* reporter Liv Schjødt, "the southerners" were initially met with a great deal of skepticism from the local population, but collaboration across societal divides eventually fostered mutual trust and understanding.[186] These encounters between experts from the south and the victimized population in the north were implicitly illuminated by the 1948 exhibition, as their built outcomes—architectural 'outpost' ventures designed for the working classes—figured prominently in the display. Every county was assigned their section, and

[185] Schjødt, "Boligreisingen. En Anti-Romantisk Utstilling," 12.
[186] Schjødt, 13.

Figure 24 The 1948 exhibition's trajectory.

architects across the country contributed with drawings for model homes. *The Housing Construction's* 1948–1949 circulation to remote corners of Norway in turn *inverted* this trajectory. Following its Oslo premiere in November 1948, the exhibition was successively sent on a one-year tour of Norway, exhibited in every town and city where local NAL chapters were willing to organize. The Oslo-based initiative—showing (predominantly city-based) architects' articulation of the current situation —was consequently exhibited in small towns and cities across the country. This brought architectural discourse to the districts

and—in some cases—exhibiting architects' endeavors in the very loci for which they were planned.[187] The earliest initiative to resume NAL's dissemination of architecture in the form of traveling exhibitions is, perhaps, an appeal authored by architect Johan Lindstrøm in 1947. Actively participating in the rehousing of Northern Norway, Lindstrøm saw the need to educate and enlighten the general public—particularly those in rural areas of the country, who were often reluctant to accept help from (peremptory?) metropolitan architects.[188] The appeal called for "nationwide propaganda" to improve countryside building culture, in the shape of "one or several traveling exhibitions." Petitioning architects to disseminate of Northern Norway, Lindstrøm saw the need to educate and enlighten the general public—particularly those in rural areas of the country, who were often reluctant to accept help from (peremptory?) metropolitan architects.[189] The appeal called for "nationwide propaganda" to improve countryside building culture, in the shape of "one or several traveling exhibitions." Petitioning architects to disseminate material illustrating useful and easily comprehensive rehousing plans, landscaping solutions, and transformations, along with "propaganda" against the current and impractical trends that seemed to dominate the rural reconstruction, Lindstrøm largely foregrounded the 1948 exhibition's contents and purpose.

King Haakon VII of Norway figures prominently in the newspaper coverage of the 1948 exhibition, and presumably added to NAL's self-induced pressure to present an appealing—and convincing—public display.[190] Through strong leadership, perseverance, and encouraging speeches, the King had grown to become a revered national symbol to the Norwegian resistance movement during the war. April 10, 1940, the day after the German invasion of Norway, King Haakon refused to cede to the

[187] The travel route went as follows: Oslo (November 1948), Namsos (April 1949) Trondheim (May 1949), Steinkjer (May 1949), Bodø (June ? 1949), Vadsø (June–July 1949), Kirkenes (July 1949), Vardø (July 1949), Honningsvåg (August 1949), Hammerfest (August 1949), Alta (September–October 1949), Mo i Rana (October 1949), Bergen (October–November 1949), Drammen (December 1949).
[188] "Landsbebyggelsen og planleggingen av småhus," 5.
[189] Ibid.
[190] King Haakon VII, former Prince Carl of Denmark, was elected monarch by the Norwegian parliament following the 1905 dissolution of Norway's union with Sweden.

Figure 25 King Haakon VII with Jens Sødring during the opening of The Housing Construction *in Oslo, November 7, 1948. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbunds Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.*

German demand to appoint Vidkun Quisling prime minister of Norway.[191] Following a period residing in unoccupied northern Norway, the Royal Family and the legal Norwegian government were evacuated to Great Britain June 1940. From exile, King Haakon spoke to the Norwegian people—many of whom hid illegal radios following the 1941 Nazi confiscation of radios owned by the general populace—through regular broadcasts in Norwegian by the BBC Overseas Service. The popular King was thus a highly esteemed guest to the NAL exhibition—not only as the executive leader of the Government, but as an emblem of independence, progress, and national values. His presence greatly enhanced *The Housing Construction*'s public dissemination, and must be perceived as a recognition of the architects' efforts in the ongoing reconstruction.

[191] Vidkun Quisling was the leader of the Norwegian National Socialist party Nasjonal Samling (National Gathering).

Reviews and mentions in NAL's own journal *Byggekunst* and bulleting *Arkitektnytt* shows that the organization was overall pleased with the outcome of *The Housing Construction.* The pride in the exhibition subsided somewhat in the final stretch of the exhibition tour. A group of Swedish architects visited Norway during the fall of 1949, interested in seeing both the 1948 and 1949 editions of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition. The Housing Construction,* having made its round across the country, was at the time on display in Bergen. When asked for advice on whether a visit to the exhibition merited a Bergen trip for the Swedish architects, BAF, the Bergen chapter of NAL, concluded that "the material is somewhat tattered, and its installation is furthermore rather compact (due to lack of space), so we are in doubt about recommending it to the fastidious Swedes (!)."[192] NAL secretary general Josef Jervell Grimelund further went on to "neither encourage nor discourage" the journey, claiming the rehousing to be unassuming, the statistics to be diagrammatic, and the overarching theme of the exhibition to be of little relevance to the Swedes. When asked to send the 1948 material to an exhibition in Sweden, *Norsk kulturuke* (Norwegian week of culture), NAL's governing board similarly refused on grounds of it not being "representative."[193] The exhibition was, as follows, not a bid for recognition within professional circles internationally, but targeted towards the domestic audience—those who lived under the conditions that conditioned the architects' current production.

Consolidating Power

NAL was (and still is) a member organization. Architects had been members of interest groups since the mid-nineteenth century, with subdivisions in organizations ranging from the engineer-dominated Polyteknisk forening (founded in 1852) to the artist-driven Kunstnerforeningen (founded in 1860).[194] Den

[192] J. Jervell Grimelund, "'Arkitektututstillinger i Bergen og Oslo'. Letter to Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund," November 3, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30. My translation from the Norwegian.
[193] Herman Semmelmann, "'Ad "Arkitektenes høstutstilling".' Letter to NAL," March 3, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.
[194] Brochmann, --*disse arkitektene*, 20.

Norske Ingeniør- og Arkitektforening was established in 1874, as a joint endeavor between architects and engineers. As indicated by Brochmann and sociologist Ragnhild Skogheim, the architects might gradually have felt less than naturally affiliated with the engineers, as interests often diverged and engineers generally outnumbered the architects.[195] The number of practicing architects across the country grew around the turn of the century, which saw the emergence of several local architects' groups in larger Norwegian cities. Not until 1911 did Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund (NAL) emerge as a nationwide organization for architects exclusively. With a constituting board meeting August 1, 1911, NAL's national board was installed as a central organ for its local chapters.[196] Its purpose was to coordinate and administer internal issues, and promote the profession's interests to the government, to related professional associations, and to the general public. While "architect" was not a licensed title in Norway, NAL posed certain prerequisites for admission into the association, concerning both education and practice. Any member could title themselves MNAL[197], which was to serve as a guarantee for their ability to assume professional responsibility for any building assignment.[198]

NAL made several structural changes in the postwar years, wishing both to consolidate the association's power and to secure adequate disciplinary standards among its members. NAL's statutes of 1935 stipulated that applications for membership were to be considered by the organization's local chapters, according to their respective directives, before being treated by the national governing board.[199] A discussion on the prerequisites for admission led to a revision of the central organization's bylaw §16 in 1946, stating that all prospective members would have to "have a degree from NTH or a school of equal status and a minimum of three years' approved practice."[200] This was a definite curtailing when compared

[195] Brochmann, 21; Skogheim, "Arkitektene," 90.
[196] Brochmann, *--disse arkitektene*, 26–30.
[197] Medlem av Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund (Member of the Norwegian Association of Architects).
[198] Brochmann, *--disse arkitektene*, 30.
[199] Sinding-Larsen, K. H., "P. M. ang. krav om praksis for å bli medlem av NAL.," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 20, Enclosure 1 (October 15, 1946): 1.
[200] Underline included in original citation. "Generalbeslutningen høsten 1947," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 3 (February 1, 1947): 1.

to the local chapters' previous requirements. Certain voices within NAL advocated for implementing a grade-based system, comparable to that of the Royal Institute of British Architects, so as to grant students and recently graduated architects the opportunity to actively participate in the professional community.[201] When weighed against the collective interest of the NAL membership, however, the concern for the younger generation came to nothing.

As discussed in this chapter, the postwar reconstruction led to an increased geographical dispersal of architects across Norway, which in turn moved architects based outside of the largest cities to revisit an earlier initiative to establish new local NAL chapters. Already in 1935, NAL furcated by adding Stavanger Arkitektforening (SAF) to its body of local chapters, which up until then had counted Oslo Arkitektforening (OAF), Trondheim Arkitektforening (TAF), and Bergen Arkitektforening (BAF).[202] The vast distances between these chapters and the absence of official NAL representation in great areas of the country complicated NAL's administrative tasks, and was by some perceived as a professional—and perhaps even democratic—problem. It deprived peripherally situated architects of a sense of belonging to the architectural community, and made it difficult for them to obtain support from NAL in cases pertaining to local issues.[203] A number of NAL members were reassigned local affiliation with the establishment of three new branches in 1946: Agder Arkitektforening (AAF), Vestfold- og Telemark Arkitektforening (VAF), and Møre og Romsdal Arkitektforening (MAF).[204] The new chapters greatly enhanced NAL's representation in the districts, and created stronger local communities. New tasks led

[201] Sinding-Larsen, K. H., "P. M. ang. krav om praksis for å bli medlem av NAL.," 5–6.
[202] As of October 15, 1946, NAL counted a total of 449 members. The vast majority were affiliated with OAF (308 members), and the remaining membership was distributed across BAF (61 members), TAF (69 members), and SAF (11 members). The establishment of new local chapters would greatly affect these numbers, particularly decreasing OAF's membership count. "P. M. ang. evtl. opprettelse av nye lokalforeninger. Landsstyret 27/9.1946," 1.
[203] "P. M. ang. evtl. opprettelse av nye lokalforeninger. Landsstyret 27/9.1946," 2–3.
[204] The establishment of two chapters north in the country—Nordland Arkitektforening (NAF) and Finnmark- og Troms Arkitektforening (FAF)—were also suggested, but not implemented in 1946. NAL would, however, continue to expand, and as of 2019 counts 14 local chapters.

Norwegian architects to broaden their scope and province with ventures into parts of the country that had previously been peripheral to the architects' city-based sphere.

The Emerging Faces of the Post-War Professional

BSR's employment of young and female architects (among them the aforementioned Kirsten Sand; incidentally the first woman to complete architectural education in Norway[205]), the NTH student uproar, and the newly established Crisis Course in Oslo, points towards a generational shift in Norwegian architects' professional community—as is clearly visible by the many and diverse voices represented among the exhibition's contributors. As much of the reconstruction had commenced before the end of the war, several of the projects on display in *The Housing Construction* were authored by BSR, where authorship was generally designated to the agency collectively. The majority of plans developed by BSR were completed after the end of the war, even if the agency's leadership—and aspects of their designs—were strongly contended and subject to public and professional debate, most notably in the first post-war edition of *Byggekunst*. The collective signature might further explain why BSR were represented in *The Housing Construction* with reconstruction plans for at least sixteen towns.[206] Even works led by Sverre Pedersen figured prominently in the display, despite the former BSR leader's suspension from NAL.[207]

In his *Morgenbladet* review of the 1948 exhibition, architect Guthorm Kavli asked: "does this exhibition give a full overview of Norwegian architecture today, and if so—where does the Norwegian

[205] Elisabeth Seip, "Kirsten Sand. Arkitekt for Sin Tid," *Nordlit*, no. 36 (December 10, 2015): 61, https://doi.org/10.7557/13.3697.
[206] n. a., "'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948. Liste over materiell for vandretustilling.' Inventory for the 1948 travelling exhibition.," n. d., RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.
[207] One example is the plan for the obliterated center of west coast town Molde, designed by Pedersen in 1940 but subject to German supervision. Most BSR plans were revised after the war, although their ready availability—and the pressing need for construction—predominantly led to their implementation. *The Housing Construction* displayed BSR's town plan and photos, along with illustrations of individual buildings designed by the district architect and architect Stenersen.

architects stand?"[208] Kavli felt that the works submitted by the building cooperative OBOS, and the Housing Directorate, gave the best grounds for an answer to these questions. While few of the projects displayed in *The Housing Construction* showed stylistic innovation, original ideas, or monumentally impressive designs, the sober tasks created by the war had left a "healthy" and "permanent" mark on Norwegian architecture. *The Housing Construction* was an unostentatious reportage of the concrete efforts publicly and privately employed architects had undertaken in service of the rehousing. Norwegians pride themselves that "dugnad"—a word used to describe voluntary and collectively executed work—is a particularly Norwegian undertaking. And indeed, the exhibition *The Housing Construction* was often described in those terms: a collaborative effort supported by the Housing Directorate, district architects, BSR, building societies, NAL members, and students. The three cooperative building societies OBOS, Aker Boligbyggelag and Bærum Boligbygelag contributed to the exhibition's funding with a total of 1 000 kroner.[209] As can be seen by the exhibition inventory, a large portion of the contributions were submitted by municipal and governmental agencies, or by building coops—not by architects in private practice. BSR figures most prominently among these groups, underlining the collective effort—and anonymous face—of the emerging post-war professional.

[208] Guttorm Kavli, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling," *Morgenbladet*, November 18, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1948.
[209] Grimelund, J. Jervell, "'Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1948.' Letter to Axel Kollerud," October 8, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30. This translates roughly to 22 000 kroner in today's value.

3. The Worker as Actor and Audience: *Industri, Bolig, Velferd* 1949

Pre- and postwar continuities permeated many spheres of Norwegian culture. As remarked by design historian Kjetil Fallan, "the foundations for the welfare state that would develop after the war were laid in the late 1930s, following the social reforms introduced by the first long-lasting and stable Labour Party government that came to power in 1935."[210] Yet war had acted as a catalyst for the modernization process, and the final exhibition launched by the architectural profession coincided with a post-war reconfiguration of national identity—evident particularly in new state-commissioned welfare and housing projects. *Equality* was the core value in postwar Norway's social democracy, reflected by the intensified efforts to improve and equalize the living conditions of the working class.[211] The shared political program 'Fellesprogrammet' (the 'Common Program'), formulated in 1945 as a welfare program with aims to secure labor, social security, and healthcare for all across social divides, was emblematic of a national shift in mentality: from class struggle to collaboration.[212] Intended to introduce a regulated mixed market economy, its implementation entailed governmental regulation of resources, production and consumption. Technocratic planning and strong governmental directives led to rapid industrial advancements in the period following World War II, and launched Norway as a modern and industrialized country.[213] The governing Labor Party aspired to change the country's economic and industrial infrastructure, and was particularly intent on supporting export, energy production and heavy

[210] Kjetil Fallan, *Modern transformed: the domestication of industrial design culture in Norway, ca. 1940-1970* (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and technology, Faculty of architecture and fine art, 2007), 14.
[211] Largely due to the hegemony of the Norwegian labor party, Arbeiderpartiet, which led the government continuously from 1935 to 1965. Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år," 44.
[212] 'Fellesprogrammet' was established to promote collaboration across party lines, and was initiated by the country's four dominant parties. Its realization represented a radical shift in economic policy, driven by a social democratic political hegemony, strong unions and interest groups, and the emergence of new professions. Anne-Lise Seip, *Veiene til velferdsstaten: norsk sosialpolitikk 1920 - 75* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994), 143–45.
[213] Rune Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, Pax-bok (Oslo: Pax, 1998), 221.

Figure 26 Unidentified control room. Photography on display in the 1949 exhibition. Unknown photographer, Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

industries. Planning of the built environment, in Norway as in other welfare state nations, was among the principal instruments used by the government to accelerate economic redistribution and secure social welfare for the population.[214] Not least because this involvement included the reconstruction and development of national industries, architecture and the welfare state would come to be intrinsically codependent. Architecture had become one of the central operative strategies behind the realization of an industrialized welfare state society.

[214] Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, and Dirk van den Heuvel, "Introduvtion," in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, ed. Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, and Dirk van den Heuvel, First edition (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 1–2.

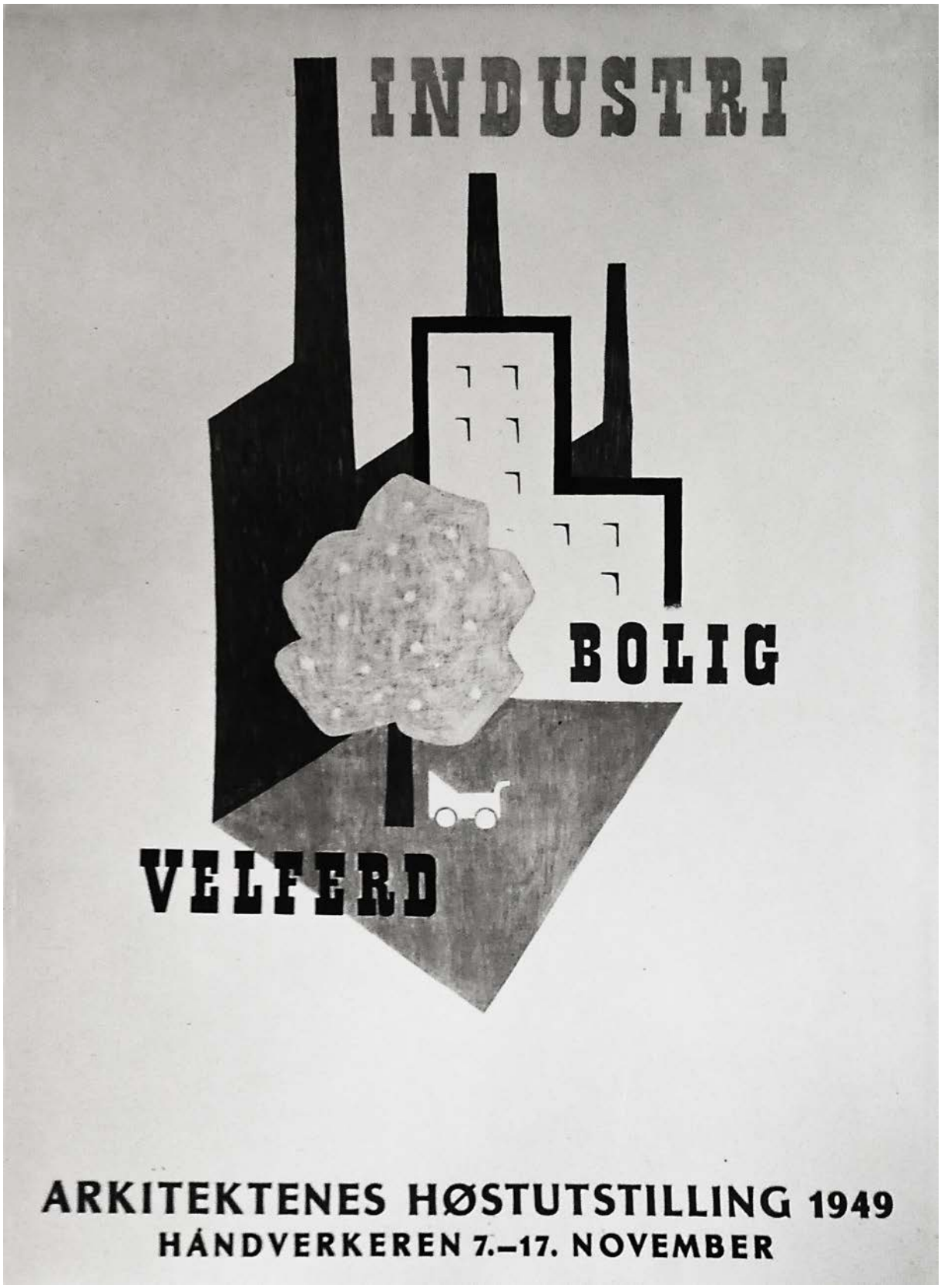

Figure 27 Poster for the 1949 exhibition Industri, bolig, velferd. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

In Service to the Industry

Last in the exhibition series *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* was the 1949 edition *Industry, Housing, Welfare* (*Industri, Bolig, Velferd*). A lesson was clearly learnt from the 1948 edition *The Housing Construction*, for NAL's exhibition committee once again chose to focus on a topic of significant societal interest. As dictated by its title, the exhibition's overarching theme was the architectural profession's contribution to the reconstruction and development of national industries. Within this context, the show displayed what had been built or projected in the three short years that had passed since the liberation, but also included projects completed before the war. Attention was not exclusively directed towards production facilities. Industry was portrayed as a cogwheel in the nation's machinery, and with that, as more than mere market-driven production. It would provide jobs and enhance national economy, but its sustenance depended on having the needs of the labor force met. Industry was, as such, an integral entity in Norway's partially regulated network of societal institutions, which also comprised welfare and housing. As a result, the 1949 exhibition displayed not only a variety of factories, but also worker's dwellings, community centers, and public parks built to support industrial development, its local communities and its workforce. In short: all projects pointing towards and supporting the "completely industrialized society."[215] Society was progressing, aided by industrialization, and the architects were eager to present themselves as a profession "in service to the industry."[216]

Industri, Bolig, Velferd opened November 7, 1949, in the Oslo venue Håndverkeren.[217] Lively American jazz tunes reverberated through the exhibition premises, with a playlist that included Duke Ellington's "The Girl in My Dreams Tries to Look Like You", Louis Armstrong's "I've Got a Heart Full of

[215] Guttorm Kavli, "Arkitektene og industrien," *Morgenbladet*, November 18, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.
[216] Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1949," Letter, undated, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.
[217] A venue owned by Oslo Håndverks- og Industriforening (The Oslo Association for Crafts and Industries).

Rhythm," and the Boswell Sisters' "Rock and Roll."[218] Whether a conscious choice or not, the soundtrack must have contributed to an atmosphere of excitement and festivity; bringing a taste of America—synonymous with glamour and modernity—into the Norwegian architects' portrayal of the nation's industrialization. During its two-week run in Oslo, around 8000 visitors were confronted with a visual-material rhetoric bearing a strong imperative for them to be engaged and identify with the project of postwar modernization.[219] Envisioned as a sweeping social stimulator, the exhibition mirrored the state's focus on the *worker* as the central actor in society. As the dominant political parties had reached consensus across party lines to secure welfare for all, the architects' face to the world was one of a

Figure 28 Photograph from the 1949 exhibition on display in Håndverkeren, Oslo. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

[218] Unknown author, "Musikken på arkitektutstillingen," undated, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.

[219] This was roughly double the number of visitors to the 1948 edition of *Arkitektenes høstutstilling, The Housing Construction*, when it was exhibited in Oslo. "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 10 (November 24, 1949): 1–3.

profession *united* in their will and ability to give material form to these ambitions. If people's identities are tied to the buildings they reside, then architecture in all its forms and typologies would, from now on, answer to all classes of the community. Current mentality stated that people should not only live well but work well. And indeed—if statements made to the press are to be believed—the owners, managers, and workers in the industrial sector were the exhibition's intended audience.[220]

As he had a year before, NAL president Henrik Nissen spoke at the opening of the 1949 exhibition, claiming that the marriage between architects and industry was a blossoming romance; that a meager 20 years had passed since the industrial sector began using architects to develop their building complexes.[221] Denying the sentiment that architects were occupied exclusively with the artistic and ornamental, Nissen resolutely proclaimed that the architectural profession was characterized by its superior coordinative skills. The purpose of the exhibition was "not only to persuade the industry to employ architects, but to secure actual commissions for the architects."[222] By underlining the advantages gained by sensitive adaptation to landscape and terrain, and the generative power of well-designed environments, NAL's president infused the industrial commissions with an architectural potential of great national interest.

Continuing in the tracks of its forerunner, the 1949 exhibition showed the architect as civil servant in a coherently projected vision of postwar society. According to NAL president Henrik Nissen, a chief motivation behind the exhibition was, once again, to increase the public understanding of the architects' contribution to the shaping of everyday life—in the domestic sphere, in the workplace, and in leisure.[223] As

[220] Bolo, "Arkitekten er byggets administrator," *Morgenposten*, November 7, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.
[221] Bolo. As pointed out by the newspaper article's author, this statement must be taken with a grain of salt. Many industrial complexes were built by the aid of architects throughout Norway in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and represent a rich and significant contribution to the nation's architecture.
[222] "Vakre fabrikker er ingen fremtidsmusikk," *Dagbladet*, November 7, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949. My translation from the Norwegian.
[223] "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling bør bli 'publikumsutstilling,'" *Morgenbladet*, November 8, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.

in the other Nordic welfare states, the postwar housing development in Norway was politically supervised, and can therefore reveal prevailing political paradigms.[224] Although NAL initially had seemed unable to grapple with the war's destruction, it was eventually perceived as a profitable *tabula rasa* for certain influential architects within NAL who were able to deploy current governmental directives to solidify their power through technocratic planning. Historian Rune Slagstad characterizes the Norwegian "Labor Party State" as a knowledge regime, through which relatively new professions solidified their legislated power as technocratic experts on their respective fields.[225] This had a pronounced effect on the architectural community, as leftist "architect-engineers" rose to power within the government apparatus. Architect Erik Rolfsen enjoyed two high-ranking positions in the postwar years, first leading the rebuilding agency Burnt Sites Regulations (BSR) in 1945–1947, before serving as head of city planning in Oslo 1947–1973. When working on the reconstruction of northern Norway, Rolfsen was saw the great need for educating the general public on the benefits of starting from scratch; of the benefits to be gained from constructing rational towns that were liberated from the restraints and conventions of cultural heritage.[226] As Oslo's head of city planning, Rolfsen's attitudes further evolved. He spearheaded the capital's extensive urban renewal projects, in which a number of old settlements and districts were cleared out to make way for new and rational developments. Although these projects were undertaken after *Industry, Housing, Welfare,* the exhibition nonetheless emulated currents that would come to have an immense impact on the developments of postwar society.

The 1949 exhibition had three sections: a main section devoted to the title theme, a "general" section for freely submitted projects,[227] and a section devoted to the housing competition "The Growing

[224] Nils-Ole Lund, "Housing in Scandinavia, 1945–85. Architectural Ideologies and Physical Organization," *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research* 5, no. 2 (January 1988): 65, https://doi.org/10.1080/02815738808730152.
[225] Slagstad, Rune, "Arbeiderpartistaten - maktens bruk og misbruk," *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift*, no. 1 (1996): 12–13.
[226] Ibid., 25–26.
[227] Among the objects on display in the "general section" were models of some of the most important public buildings of the time. Knut Knutsen's model for the new Norwegian embassy in Stockholm, Erling Viksjø's proposal

Figure 29 From the 1949 exhibition's "free section". Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

House" ("Huset som vokser"). Around fifty industrial complexes hailing from every corner of the country were included in the exhibition. Large and detailed models of new or modernized factories dominated the display in Håndverkeren, many of which were power plants, transformers, and other facilities associated with electricity generation. If judging from the newspaper coverage and their accompanying illustrations, the models depicting industrial facilities in impressive scenic landscapes were most striking to the public eye. These models were ordinarily submitted by the architect, but also in many instances on direct loan from the companies who had commissioned their building, indicating that they constituted a heterogeneous collection of architectural objects that were not necessarily made for public display. All

for the new high-rise government building, and a model of the winning proposal for the NTH University expansion—made especially for the occasion—were popular features in the 1949 exhibition.

objects were mounted according to authorship during *Industry, Housing, Welfare*'s run in Oslo, apart from material relating to Mo i Rana, which was grouped together.[228] As a result, the totality of the material—models, photographs, drawings, slides, and installation design—created a new context for the exhibited projects. Rather than representing autonomous and singular buildings, their thematic juxtaposition constituted a cross-section through modern society—as envisioned by the Labor Party government, and corroborated by the architects.

NAL members were invited to submit material for evaluation with their respective local NAL chapters, who sorted the wheat from the chaff before forwarding their preselection to the centralized exhibition committee.[229] While the local committees were free to assess material at their own discretion, the main committee encouraged them to follow certain loosely defined guidelines, such as a preference for floor plans in scale 1:100.[230] When preparing for the Oslo edition of the 1949 exhibition, the committee were first and foremost interested in models, and encouraged architects to reach out to their commissioners to secure loans for the exhibition "in the company's own interest."[231] In letters circulated to the companies whose facilities would be on display, the exhibition committee solicited their cooperation in procuring exhibition material that would "make a sympathetic impression on the visitors", as "an appealing factory will automatically awaken the desire to learn about the company, its nature, size, number of officials and employees, what it produces, and the volume of its production, measured in quanta or value."[232] The different companies were consequently—but for a monetary compensation—invited to present their work in descriptive placards that would accompany the models and drawings, to "with

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[228] "'Høstutstillingen 1949'. Inventory for the traveling exhibition.," Undated, 6, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.
[229] The exhibition's main committee, appointed by NAL, consisted of architects Jens Sødring (chairman), P. A. M. Mellbye (vice-chairman), J. Jervell Grimelund, Jonas Hidle, Harald Klem, and Jens Fr. Bödker.
[230] Jens Sødring et al., "'Arkitektenes høstutustilling 1949.' Letter to the boards and exhibition committees of local NAL chapters," September 1, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.
[231] Jens Sødring et al., "'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.' Vedlegg til 'Arkitekt-Nytt' nr. 8/1949," September 14, 1949, 2, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.
[232] Jens Sødring and Jens Fr. Bödtker, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949," October 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.

greater force than ever imprint the enterprise and its products into people's consciousness."[233] The enticing tones of the letters were clearly meant to secure funds and administrative support through promises of publicity, but also sell the idea of what was to be gained from being associated with architects. If a company's building was included in the exhibition, they could potentially earn recognition for more than their produce. For the contemporary architect was not only capable of beautiful designs. She was in the vanguard of the movement working to improve society; the master coordinator of social progress. "Architects found cities in the country," read the headlines of a *Verdens Gang* reportage, before continuing: "They brighten and turn green the surroundings of Norwegian factories. And conceive of plans, efficiency, and humanity in the industrial development."[234] NAL's projection into society had clearly had its intended mesmerizing effect on this particular journalist, who agitated for the absolute necessity of using architects in the development of industries.

The Federation of Norwegian Industries' Office for Rationalization (Industriforbundets rasjonaliseringskontor; IRAS) had their own small stand at the exhibition. IRAS was a consulting agency established in 1928 to advise companies—industrial and otherwise—on ways to rationalize their operations.[235] The agency was externally oriented, and part of their mission consisted of educational work in which they disseminated results from their studies of how workplaces functioned. In *Industri, Bolig Velferd,* IRAS was a foreign—but welcome—element. Perhaps solicited to give the audience an increased understanding of the complexity of architectural commissions within a regulated and scientific society, IRAS presented a brief overview of the preparatory work architects had to master when undertaking planning and construction on a large scale. *Byggekunst* reviewer Carsten Boysen regretted IRAS' scant representation in the exhibition, wishing it had shown a closer examination of the many exchanges

[233] The format and material properties of these placards were given by the exhibition committee. Many companies accepted the prompt, among them Tandberg Radiofabrikk (Tandberg Radio Factory), Norsk Motor- og Dynamofabrik (Norwegian Motor and Dynamo Factory), and Christiania Spigerverk (XXX).
[234] "Arkitektene grunnlegger byer i landet," *Verdens Gang*, November 7, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30. My translation from the Norwegian.
[235] Knut Hald, *Norges industriforbund 1919-1969: kort historikk* (Oslo: Norges Industriforbund, 1969), 79–81.

architects had with other experts throughout the course of a building process.[236] A view 'backstage', Boysen felt, would foster a sense of participation among the audience.

Figure 30 IRAS' stand in the 1949 exhibition. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

The previous edition of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition, The Housing Construction*, had established the principles upon which NAL sought to continue their exhibition practice, in order to "further strengthen the architectural profession's position in people's consciousness."[237] Nevertheless, the committee for the 1949 exhibition *Industry, Housing, Welfare* pragmatically stated that the most important aspect of any future exhibition was to present the public with a rich selection of *high-quality* architecture, so as to "cement the still young tradition while simultaneously striking the yearly blow for the

[236] Carsten Boysen, "Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949," *Byggekunst*, no. 12 (1949): 197.
[237] Sødring et al., "'Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.' Vedlegg til 'Arkitekt-Nytt' nr. 8/1949," 3.

profession's vital interests."[238] Eager to facilitate the blue-collar public's understanding of the exhibited projects, the 1949 exhibition committee furthermore urged architects to submit clear and simplified drawings.[239] As indicated by their desire to present material that would be legible and appealing to the nonprofessional visitors, the architects were keenly aware of their intended audience. More than merely showing the existing state of affairs, this was an exhibition set on cultivating the man in the street.

A Traveling Exhibition

Like its two precursors in the exhibition series, *Industry, Housing, Welfare* traveled across the country in the year following its Oslo premiere.[240] The planning of the 1949–1950 exhibition tour was, as it had been the previous years, an unmethodical process. Only one day after Håndverkeren closed its door to the public, NAL's secretary general Josef Jervell Grimelund sent a dispatch to all local NAL chapters, inquiring about their interest in hosting the exhibition.[241] The exhibition committee was eager for a more rational travel route than the one traversed by the 1948 edition of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, which had been planned *en route.* As a result of the lack of organization, the 1948 exhibition *The Housing Construction* was still touring the country in November 1949. NAL consequently had *two* exhibitions on display simultaneously, thus creating a certain amount of confusion among audience and organizers alike. While a *Verdens Gang* article, published on the occasion of the exhibition opening in Oslo, ascribed the dual tours to the public's interest in the architects' societal engagement, correspondence in the NAL archives tells

[238] Sødring et al., 3.
[239] Sødring et al., "'Arkitektenes høstutustilling 1949.' Letter to the boards and exhibition committees of local NAL chapters."
[240] The premise for its travel was that no cost should befall NAL. Local NAL chapters were responsible for covering insurance and travel costs from the previous host venue. J. Jervell Grimelund, "Letter to local NAL chapters and architect groups. 'Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1949,'" November 21, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30. Jnr. 1605/23/11/49.
[241] Local chapters in Drammen, Mo i Rana and Trondheim had already professed interest in organizing local shows. Grimelund.

another tale.[242] The ambition to plan in advance had proven to be unachievable. As is attested by numerous letters and telegrams, the route of *Industry, Housing, Welfare* was continuously developed throughout 1949 and 1950, largely dependent on local host institutions and their ability to procure venues.

Figure 31 The 1949 exhibition's trajectory. The exhibition travelled from Oslo to Drammen, Trondheim, and Mo i Rana. Scattered evidence suggests it might also have visited Bergen, Molde, and Namsos.

[242] "arkitektene grunnlegger byer i landet," *Verdens Gang*, November 7, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.

Although several local NAL chapters had expressed an interest for *Industry, Housing, Welfare*, the 1949 circuit included only four stops: Oslo, Drammen, Trondheim and Mo i Rana.[243] The tour—while having fewer stops than its predecessor—was a tremendous success with the audiences. Although no other venue could rival Oslo's 8000 visitors, Drammen's exhibition saw 500 visitors during the course of one week, and the show in Mo i Rana was seen by 500 paying visitors in addition to several school classes.[244] This was an astonishing number when compared to the town's modest population of around 4000 people. Models were only sent on tour in exceptional cases, as they were deemed too difficult to transport. Large photographs, however, were included as substitutes for the missing and "most interesting" models.[245] The exhibition's tour made possible a convolution in time and space as the representations of projects, initially shown in Oslo for a largely metropolitan audience, were brought "home" to the sites of their

Figure 32 and 33 Still shots from Filmavisen's broadcast reportage of the 1949 exhibition, showing images of the Mo i Rana model. Filmavisen 10 November 1949, NRK.

[243] Scattered evidence in the NAL archives suggests that the exhibition might also have visited Bergen and Stavanger, but I have not been able to procure sufficient verification.
[244] Per Pihl, "'Ang. høstutstillingen 1948.' Letter to NAL," December 13, 1948, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.
[245] Grimelund, "Letter to local NAL chapters and architect groups. 'Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1949.'"

recent or impending construction. One such example was the town plan and new industrial buildings of Mo i Rana.

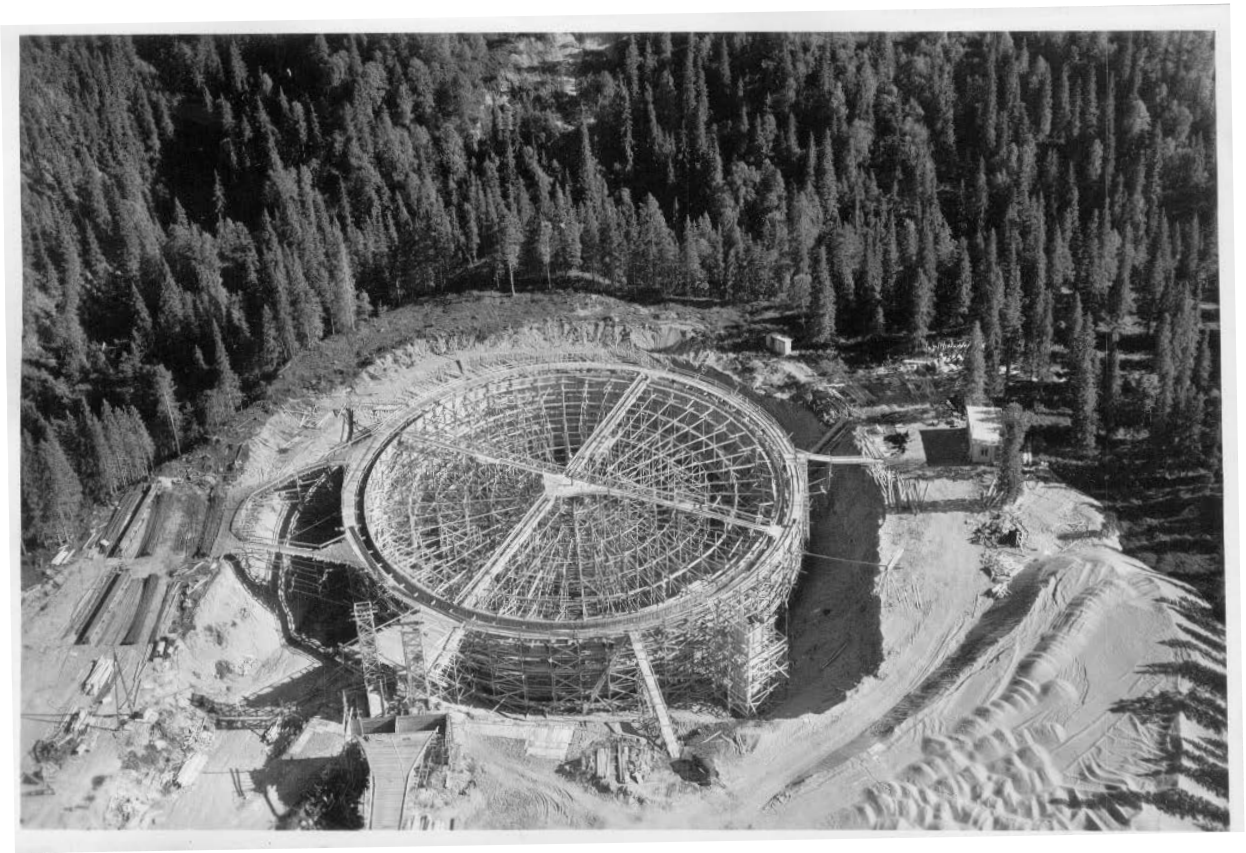

Figure 34 The Norske Jernverk *gasometer under construction, Mo i Rana, 1952. Vilhelm Skappel Widerøe, Helgeland Museum.*

During the exhibition opening in Mo i Rana on May 24, 1949, head architect Lars Li expressed his belief that recently erected company towns, like the one he currently addressed, would come to stand as extracts of the postwar building traditions, not least due to the rapidity of their construction.[246] Several projects on display in *Industry, Housing, Welfare* showed new factory towns built around the growing industries erected to secure a livelihood for the postwar generation. An impressive model of the *new* town of Mo i Rana received particular attention in the press, both here and during the exhibition premiere in Oslo. Architect Preben Krag was responsible for Mo i Rana's (as of 1949, not yet implemented) town plan, which—according to a *Morgenbladet* review—was the only Norwegian post-war example of top-down

[246] "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling i Sentrum en fulltreffer," *Rana Blad*, May 26, 1950, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949.

coordinated town planning. The architect was depicted in the newspaper with the model of his new town, portrayed as a modern-day King Cristian IV as he reached out his hand, pointing to the epicenter of the town's forthcoming expansion.[247] An entirely industrialized community of functionaries and workers had emerged from the coherent urban development of Mo i Rana due to the establishment of A/S Norsk Jernverk.[248] The town, inhabited by 1800 people before the war, was projected to accommodate a population of 15 000 in a community built around the new national iron works. The Mo i Rana developments perfectly illustrated Norwegian architects' engagement with the industrialization of postwar society, and was reportedly included in *Industry, Housing, Welfare* not merely for its modernist aesthetics, but as an illustration of the what could be achieved when architects, engineers, and planners worked together to generate interdisciplinary solutions.[249]

While Mo i Rana might have been a particularly demonstrative case, other projects included in the 1949 exhibition were equally impressive. Some of these enjoyed a fruitful integration with the installation design, where the displayed projects, commissioners, construction materials, and curation formed a didactic synthesis. Upon entering the exhibition venue in Oslo, the first thing meeting the eyes was a wooden full-scale framework. Illustrating a fraction of a single-family house under construction, it symbolized "Huset som vokser." The mock-up house was covered with an aluminum roof construction delivered by Norsk Aluminium Company (Naco), hung in wires from the ceiling, clad with asbestosscement sheets. The different scales represented in *Industry, Housing, Welfare* coalesced with this spatial installation, which quite literally encompassed both industry, housing, and welfare. Naco's impressive model of the Aluminum factory at Høyanger—4 meters long, 1,5 meters wide, and 2,4 meters in height—was exhibited inside "Huset som vokser," surrounded by walls on three sides to provide

[247] King Christian IV of Norway and Denmark (1699–1746) was famously responsible for the rebuilding of Norway's capital city after the devastating fire of 1624. The city, formerly and presently known as Oslo, was named Christiania in the King's honor. A statue of the King, on Stortorget in Oslo, portrays him pointing to the ground on the place where he, according to the tale, exclaimed "This is where the city shall be raised."
[248] Kavli, "Arkitektene og industrien."
[249] Kavli.

additional display surfaces.[250] Situated at the base of a looming ravine, the model depicted both landscape, factory and workers' housing. Scales were inverted as the Høyanger model, depicting a colossal industrial reality, was exhibited within the confines of a near full-scale representation of the domestic. The model display thus mirrored the building complex as a mediator between architects and commissioners on one hand, and the profession and the public on the other.

Figure 35 "The Growing House" mock-up installation in Industri, Bolig, Velferd. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

[250] Jens Sødring, "'Referat fra ekstraordinært møte.' Minutes from a special meeting in the exhibition committee," October 29, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.

Figure 36 Still shots from Filmavisen's broadcast reportage of the 1949 exhibition, showing images of the Høyanger model. Filmavisen 10 November 1949, NRK.

The Growing House

The great want of architects led NAL's governing board to advocate for a strict embargo on open architectural and planning competitions in 1946.[251] They felt that only tasks of the greatest societal importance could justify the immense effort associated with competitions—efforts that were direly needed in the ongoing reconstruction. Yet something seemed to have changed by 1949, whether it was external developments or changes internal to the organization. A section of *Industry, Housing, Welfare* was devoted to an open competition titled "The Growing House" ("Huset som vokser"), which called for

[251] "Arkitektkonkurranser," *Arkitektnytt*, no. 12 (June 15, 1946): 3.

model homes based on rational and flexible typologies. Actively continuing the conversation from the 1948 exhibition, the competition sought concrete solutions to the ongoing housing shortage. Due to exceedingly high building costs, government-dictated regulations, and a lack of construction materials, the crisis was still nowhere near resolved.

The backdrop to the "The Growing House" competition was a Parliament resolution of April 5, 1949, which placed provisional restrictions on the highest permissible size of newly constructed housing units.[252] Another factor that likely contributed to the wish to organize and publicly display professional solutions, was the famous "Selvaag debate". Engineer Olav Selvaag entered the public debate on housing quality with much bravado already in 1945, actively critiquing current building policies and housing construction. He wrote a widely publicized open letter to the Norwegian Parliament in 1948, claiming that the dramatic housing shortage could be attributed to outdated legislation and the governments' preferential treatment of public developments. Private contractors and commissioners, Selvaag claimed, could build more rationally and cost efficiently.[253] Eager to prove his point, the engineer went to great lengths. In 1948, he demonstrated how new technical solutions could mitigate the housing shortage by building a model home at Ekeberg in Oslo. The light timber framework construction challenged prevailing government directives, built with less insulation, reduced ceiling heights, and simplified constructions. The building process was a public spectacle—on some days, up to 5 000 people visited the construction site, and around 65 000 had seen the house before its completion in January, 1949.[254] Many architects were ferociously critical to Selvaag's proposed model homes, claiming the construction and spatial solutions to be subpar. Selvaag's enormous success with the public must, nonetheless, have inspired NAL to enter into the fray with possible solutions of their own—drawn by architects and adhering to current regulations.

[252] Guttu, "'Den gode boligen': fagfolks oppfatning av boligkvalitet gjennom 50 år."
[253] Skeie, *Bolig for folk flest*, 78–91.
[254] Skeie, 87–88.

Figure 37 People waiting in line to enter Selvaag's model home in Oslo. Unknown photographer, Byhistorisk samling, Oslo Museum.

NAL saw the need for small houses that could be constructed under the current conditions, pressed as outlined above, while allowing for expansion over time—once permitted by regulations and economy, or necessitated by additions to the family.[255] The aim of the competition was clear: to amass proposals for "rational, affordable, and pleasant" single-family homes. In the competition's call for submissions, the exhibition committee compared this specific architectural need to the difference between "tailor-made" and "ready-made".[256] Architects had in the past focused their efforts on customizing for the individual need; today, the key disciplinary challenge was designed more or less standardized solutions for the masses. Not every person in need of housing could afford the tailor-made, at least not within current

[255] Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, ""Program for N.A.L.s konkurranse om tegninger til 'HUSET SOM VOKSER'. Competition program."

[256] "Arkitektkonkurransen om 'Huset som vokser,'" undated, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30.

Figure 38 The "The Growing House" jury. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

economic climate, and providing the starving market with well-conceived and adaptable alternatives was appealing to NAL. Patterns for new model homes would supply the market with a much-needed commodity: inexpensive and modest homes that met the basic needs of family life, while allowing for later expansion. The competition program placed clear restrictions on the architects. Drawings would have to comply with current jurisdiction, all within an area of maximum 80 m^2 for the houses' initial building phase and 130 m^2 *after* expansion.[257] The competition «created» their own clients—and by extension revealed their perception of the Everyman—by defining and responding to their professed requirements. The "The Growing House" competition jury consisted of architects Kaare Holbæk-Hansen, Arne Pedersen, and Per Solemslie, and housewives Leonore Hagen (supplanted by Ragnfrid Hovind during the

[257] Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, ""Program for N.A.L.s konkurranse om tegninger til 'HUSET SOM VOKSER'. Competition program."

jury's deliberations) and Rakel Seweriin (supplanted by Kirsten Brunvoll during the program development).[258] The latter two were invited by NAL as representatives for two large women's groups; Leonore Hagen for The Norwegian Housewife Association (Norges Husmorforbund) and Rakel Seweriin for The Labor Women's Office for Domestic Science (Arbeiderkvinnenes Husstellkontor). From the makeup of the competition program, which stressed the need to create a rational and satisfying environment for the housewife, it is clear that the women in the jury had a decisive impact on the competition's scope and criteria for evaluation. While the competition called for reflections on new forms of living, its strong emphasis on the housewife's working conditions—and the selection of jury members based on gendered and vocational criteria—shows that while women were making their entry into professional circles, the envisioned future for the everyday family was still formed by convention.

The jury sorted the submitted proposals into three categories: houses that were to be constructed in two or more stages; two-story houses where only the ground floor was to be furnished in the first phase; complete construction at the outset, with a section of the house reserved for rental.[259] The submissions were then ranked in three classes; the best solutions chosen for further development (class I), projects displaying substantial ideas yet found wanting in execution (class II), and proposals deemed inadequate in their approach to the assignment (class III). Only projects in class I and II were exhibited in Oslo, and consequently part of the exhibition tour. [260] The 62 submitted proposals, whether based on step-by-step construction or gradual inhabitation, were in totality relatively modest and conventional single-family

[258] Norges Husmorforbund (founded in 1915) was a highly influential Christian conservative group with 30 000 members before the outbreak of the Second World War, while Arbeiderkvinnenes Husstellkontor (founded in 1947) had ties to the Labor party movement. Both organizations, while on diametrically opposite sides politically, worked to edify and propagandize, and were proponents of rationalization and modernization in the domestic sphere. A main source of inspiration for both organizations were the experiments and research undertaken by the Swedish women's organization Hemmens forskningsinstitut (The Domestic Research Institute). See Gro Hagemann, "Drømmekjøkkenet: Ettertanker om kjønn og modernitet," in *På kant med historien: studier i køn, videnskab og lidenskab tilegent Bente Rosenbeck på hendes 60-årsdag*, ed. Karin Lützen and Annette K. Nielsen, 1. udg., 1. opl (København: Museums Tusculanum, 2008), 79–81.

[259] Leonore Hagen et al., "Juryens uttalelse," October 31, 1949, RA/PA-1005/D/Db/Dbg/Dbgc/L0011/122.Huset som vokser.

[260] "'Høstutstillingen 1949'. Inventory for the traveling exhibition.," 6.

houses, based on traditional wooden constructions. Newspaper coverage of the 1949 exhibition shows a vivid public interest in the competition's results, and drawings of several projects were disseminated widely. Although the press reviewed the competition entries with great enthusiasm and reported a vivid interest from the public, the jury's deliberations and private correspondence reveal a certain

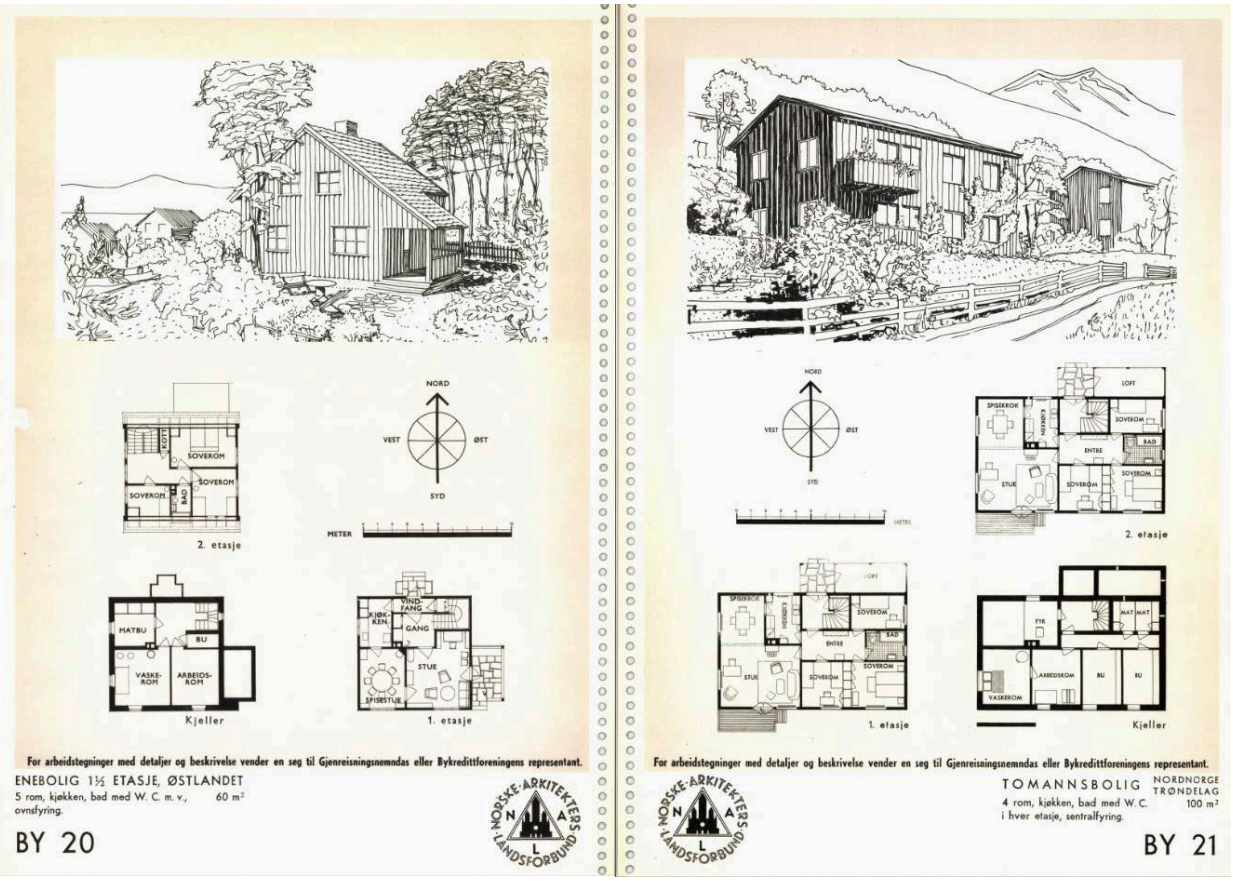

Figure 39 Pages from NAL's 1940 catalog of pattern drawings. Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, Norske hus for land og by (Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1940).

disappointment in the unimaginative and often repetitive proposals.[261] The architectural competition, often envisioned as a marketplace of ideas and a laboratory for experimentation, ultimately failed to present ideas that convincingly articulated the definitions of modern living. At least modern living as pictured of by the jury; where families were small, autonomous entities with conventionally anticipated needs and behaviors.

[261] Hagen et al., "Juryens uttalelse."

Blueprints of the best competition submissions were intended for commercial sale, instructing the enterprising—and possibly growing—family in how to build their own expandable home for a modest cost. 62 proposals were submitted, predominantly by young architects. Out of the 62, the jury found seven to be worthy of further development, intended to be gathered in a pattern book published and sold through NAL.[262] The pattern book was meant to supplement the market's growing and "differentiated" demand for readymade construction drawings, as earlier kindred publications—like NAL's own *Norske hus for land og by* (1940)—was out of stock, or else hard to precure.[263] It was NAL's hope that the results of the competition, if successful, would enable a wider segment of the population to build and live in houses drawn by architects. This, in turn, was seen as a possible contribution to the elevation of the country's building culture.[264]

As the competition had no prize money, nor any promise of concrete commissions, part of the competition's allure might have been the publicity associated with its timely theme. Guests to the exhibition were invited to vote on their favorite proposal, on the grounds of appearance *or* the solution of the floor plan, and added to the sense of event and spectacle. Admissions tickets to the Oslo show had a dual function, as they were designed as voting slips. The visitors who voted for the most popular submission were entered into a lottery, with an award of 100 kroner. NAL initially wished the prize to be a house, prefabricated from drawings of the "winning" proposal and ready for erection, but this idea was

[262] The seven "winning" proposals, ranked in class I, were authored by architects Eilif David-Andersen ("Brudeparets skål"); Alv Erikstad ("Vi selv"); Ola B. Aasness ("Kjernehus"); Kjell Brantzeg, Molle Cappelen, Per Cappelen, and Harald Ramm Østgaard ("Epitelcelle"); Kjell Brantzeg, Per Cappelen, and Harald Ramm Østgaard ("Leieboer"); Esben Poulsson ("Gro"); Gunnar Fjermeros, Oddvar Midttun, and Bernt Sottum ("Mañana"). I have been unable to procure evidence to confirm whether or not the competition eventually resulted in such a publication.

[263] *Norske hus for land og by* was published already in September of 1940, and was according to architect Odd Brochmann (who was responsible for the publication's perspective drawings) the clearest example of NAL's wish to support those stricken by the war. Around 50 pattern drawings for single family houses in towns and districts were represented in the publication, each developed by a different architect. Brochmann estimates a sale around 4-5000 copies, but points out that the actual number of houses constructed is unknown. Brochmann, *--disse arkitektene*, 54. See also Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, *Norske hus for land og by* (Oslo: Norske arkitekters landsforbund, 1940).

[264] Henrik Nissen and J. Jervell Grimelund, "Letter to NAL members and aspirants," August 18, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30.

eventually abandoned. The lottery nonetheless gave laymen a chance to directly participate, and—perhaps—installed within the public a feeling of "responsibilisation".[265] Soliciting and rendering visible the audience's voices might incite them to form opinions, which could in turn potentially lead to action. While the ballot can hardly be termed a disempowerment of the architect-as-expert, its presence in the exhibition—and the widespread broadcast of its results—show that NAL might have considered the fulfillment of people's needs and wants a morally legitimizing exercise. As noted by historian David Kuchenbuch, people's needs were considered as "biological imperatives", and as such economic potentials, in the architectural discourse of the period. [266] Yet within a welfare state society where the state is responsible for providing services such as housing, Kuchenbuch points out, these needs are only perceptible when actively made visible. Architects could therefore make good use of articulated needs, as it "put [architects] in a powerful position as mediators between the entitlement to a better life for the individual on the one hand and societal interests on the other". [267] However little effort it represented, the ballot granted the general public agency within the conventionally professional domain, thus rendering visible—if not their needs per se—then at least their wants. The votes cast at the Oslo exhibition revealed the public's preferences to correspond closely to the jury's verdict, with four of the seven jury-acclaimed proposals achieving top rankings in the ballot.

Although photographic documentation on "The Growing House" reveals a relatively modest display in terms of exhibition design, this section of *Industry, Housing, Welfare* was suggested by NAL

[265] Drawing on philosopher Michel Foucault's concept of Governmentality, historian Ylva Habel asserts that architectural exhibitions "entail responsibilisation of their audiences through fosterage." Installing subjects with a sense of power will in turn force them to act. Ylva Habel, "The Exhibition Modern Leisure as Site of Governmentality," in *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State*, ed. Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (London: Black Dog, 2010), 122–33.
[266] David Kuchenbuch, "Footprints in the Snow: Power, Knowledge, and Subjectivity in German and Swedish Architectural Discourse on Needs, 1920s to 1950s," in *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State*, ed. Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (London: Black Dog, 2010), 160.
[267] Kuchenbuch, 160.

Figure 40 Drawings from the "The Growing House" competition on display. Fagsaker, Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund Archives, The National Archives of Norway, Oslo.

secretary general Josef Jervell Grimelund for its potential public appeal. Grimelund had the expressed intent to capitalize on the public's current interest, while simultaneously "instigating a new side of NAL's work for its members' welfare."[268] Indeed, the lottery's profit—after the costs of the forthcoming publication had been covered—was intended to fund the Norwegian Architects' Support Fund (*Norske Arkitekters Støttefond*), for colleagues who, for one reason or other, were incapacitated and unable to work.[269] The competition would thus not only continue NAL's efforts to promote professional expertise in the ongoing rehousing efforts, but also promote intradisciplinary solidarity—"not by scrounging for

[268] Esben Poulsson's submission "Gro" was themost popular, followed closely by Eilif David-Andersens "Brudeparet's skål".[268] J. Jervell Grimelund, "Arkitektenes Høstutstilling 1949," March 23, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling B30. Jnr. 370/49/7.1.

[269] Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, ""Program for N.A.L.s konkurranse om tegninger til 'HUSET SOM VOKSER'. Competition program."

money, but through collegial work efforts."[270] Yet the pattern book never came into being. Three years after the competition was concluded, Grimelund explained that the proposals were "partially unfit for the intended purpose, partially rendered irrelevant by current developments, and the project has therefore suffered a slow and silent death."[271] The ambition of creating a collegial support fund nonetheless shows a shift within NAL similar to ongoing societal developments, with heightened awareness of equity, welfare, and solidarity.

The End of a Young Tradition

The Architects' Fall Exhibition series ended with *Industry, Housing, Welfare,* and was last shown in Mo i Rana in May, 1950.[272] The exhibitions had formed the conceptual container that united the materials on display into a temporal collection. These bonds ceased to exist once the exhibition tours were completed, and the material was dispersed. The question of why the relatively successful exhibition practice concluded remains unanswered. One can speculate whether the organization of the exhibition to celebrate Oslo's 900th anniversary, in 1950, fettered the architects' time and resources to such an extent as to render the annual exhibition superfluous; perhaps even exhaustively demanding when comparing impact to efforts invested. The end of the exhibition series interestingly coincided with the unspoken demise of another, and arguably more impactful, apparatus for architectural exhibitions: the so-called Permanent Collection. As described in Chapter 1, the Permanent Collection was a national assembly of architectural drawings and models with remarkable international trajectory during its widespread circulation in the 1920s and

[270] Nissen and Grimelund, "Letter to NAL members and aspirants."
[271] J. Jervell Grimelund, "'Huset som vokser.' Letter from Grimelund to Valdemar Hansteen," November 1, 1952, RA/PA 1005 NAL, D/Db/Dbg/Dbgc/L0011. jnr. 1756/52/E122.
[272] In a notice in *Byggekunst*, a fourth exhibition is mentioned in the same breath as *Arkitektenes høstutstillig*: the 1952 *Arkitektur for idrett, sport og friluftsliv* (Architecture for Athletics, Sports, and Outdoor Life). As this was organized on the occasion of the 1952 Oslo Winter Games, and the *Byggekunst* notice is the only reference I have found to place it within this heading, I have chosen not to include it in the thesis. See Eyvind Moestue, "Presidentskifte i NAL," *Byggekunst* 34, no. 4, tillegget (1952): 17.

30s. Lending suggests that the eventual demise of the Permanent Collection, after its final appearance at the *New York World's Fair* of 1939, can partially be attributed to an "exhibition fatigue". She portrays the Norwegian contribution to the World Fair as "marked less by architectural ambition than by a pragmatic and political desire to present the needs and achievements of a modern social democracy."[273]

After its arguably most significant show, at Kunstnernes Hus in Oslo, 1931, part of the Permanent Collection was sent on a two-year tour and exhibited in towns across the country.[274] Harald Hals, one of the most active curators of the Permanent Collection and former head of the Oslo planning department, wrote several letters to NAL's board in the immediate postwar years, bidding them to take responsibility for the future of the material that—at the time—represented the remainder of the collection.[275] Hals had personally acquired several of the models, and had—by his own volition—cataloged, conserved, and secured a depot for the material.[276] Questions of ownership convoluted the decision, as NAL was unable to ascertain which artefacts had been *gifts*, and which were only intended for temporal loan.[277] Yet Hals' persistent insistence eventually saved the Permanent Collection by when it was included in the Oslo Municipal Model Collection. As early as 1934, Hals had proposed the establishment of a Norwegian museum of architecture, with reference to the Permanent Collection as an intended "contemporary core".[278] With Hals' continuous efforts to collect and preserve, the model collection had as of August 1948 grown to include between 500 and 600 objects.[279] Wistfully alluding to his solitary exertions to fund an

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[273] Lending, "The Permanent Collection of 1925," 12.
[274] Ibid., 10.
[275] The models were, at the time of Hals' writing, stored in the basement of Roald Amundsensgate 4, in the offices of Oslo Reguleringsvesen. A forthcoming repurposing of the locale rendered the collection's future whereabouts a matter of greatest urgency. Harald Hals, "Letter from Harald Hals to the Board of NAL," October 10, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30, jnr. 1353/12/10/49.
[276] Erik Rolfsen and Erling Stenstadvold, "'Vedr. modellsamlingen i Roald Amundsens gate.' Letter from Oslo reguleringsvesen to NAL," September 27, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30, jnr. 1272/28/9/49/F.1.
[277] J. Jervell Grimelund, "Modellsamlingen i R.A.4. Letter from Josef Jervell Grimelund to Harald Hals," September 29, 1949, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30, jnr. 1288/11/49.
[278] Lending, "The Permanent Collection of 1925," 1–2. Hals' ambition was not realized until 1975, with the founding of Norsk Arkitekturmuseum, today consolidated with the Norwegian National Museum.
[279] Harald Hals, "Letter from Harald Hals to NAL," August 17, 1948, RA/PA-0311/F/L0004, Folder "Mest brev m .a. papirer vedr. boligspørsmål? Ca. 1945-1953."

architectural museum, Hals hoped to receive support for his plan "sooner or later."[280] The trajectories of the Permanent Collection and *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* converged in 1949, when architects participating in the *Industry, Housing, Welfare* were asked to donate or lend their models to the Oslo Municipal Model Collection after the Oslo exhibition had closed its doors on November 30, 1949.[281] A number of the projects on display in all three editions of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* were eventually deposited in the Oslo Municipal Model Collection, including the model of Mo i Rana, made by the renowned female model maker Mina Heiberg. Several models and drawings authored by BSR, depicting the reconstruction and town planning in Northern Norway, were donated to the collection in 1950.[282] [283]

As Lending has shown, one of the incentives behind the Permanent Collection was to offset the costs and efforts associated with organizing exhibitions; creating a flexible framework and collection of objects that could readily and rapidly be adapted to any architectural exhibition.[284] Even if under the auspices of NAL, there is curiously no evidence to prove whether NAL put the Permanent Collection into use when organizing *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, neither as collection nor as principle. In an apparent state of severe amnesia, or perhaps rather suffering from a strategically selective memory, Josef Jervell Grimelund echoed the Norwegian architects' lament of 1925,[285] when petitioning the Foreign Affairs Department to fund a representative collection of Norwegian architecture intended for international

[280] Hals' ambition was finally realized with the founding of Norsk Arkitekturmuseum, established by NAL in 1975. It is now a part of the Norwegian National Museum.
[281] Harald Hals (?) and Oslo kommunale modellsamling, "Letter to architects exhibiting at Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949," November 17, 1949, RA/PA-0311/F/L0004, Folder "Mest brev m .a. papirer vedr. boligspørsmål? Ca. 1945-1953."
[282] Johs. Th. Westbye, "Letter from Johs. Th. Westbye to BSR," February 18, 1950, RA/PA-0311/F/L0004, Folder "Mest brev m .a. papirer vedr. boligspørsmål? Ca. 1945-1953."
[283] A number of BSR models and boards are as of winter 2018 stored in an underground basement depot at the Oslo City Archives. The boards were likely made for *Nordisk Bygningsdag* 1946 in Copenhagen, but some of the models were possibly exhibited at *The Housing Construction.*
[284] The lament was uttered by architect Georg Eliassen, who regretted Norwegian architects' failure to participate in international exhibitions. Mari Hvattum and Mari Lending, eds., "Model Temporalities," in *Modelling Time: The Permanent Collection 1925-2014* (Oslo: Torpedo Press, 2014), 3–4.
[285] Hvattum and Lending, 21.

exhibitions in 1951.[286] Without any reference to the Permanent Collection, Grimelund regretfully noted the Norwegian architects' absence from the international exhibition circuit, and justified his request by stating that it would enable the founding of "a permanent collection of architectural material for later exhibitions internationally."[287]

With *Industry, Housing, Welfare* as the concluding chapter of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition,* NAL provided a performative space in which authority and agency was examined, displayed, and convoluted—for architects and audience alike. While the political climate in Norway was dominated by concerns of quantity and economy, architects' professional efforts also influenced policies. As such, NAL's participation in the reconstruction of civil society entailed a kind of statecraft. The architect was promoted to be more than mere designer; she would be the administrator and coordinator of all professionals involved in the establishment of the new national industries.

[286] The prelude to this request was an invitation from L'Union Internationale des Architectes (UIA) to participate in an international architectural exhibition in Rabat, Morocco, in September 1951. J. Jervell Grimelund, "'Norsk avdeling ved internasjonal arkitektur-utstilling.' Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," April 28, 1951, RA/PA 1005 NAL, Dae 11, Arkitektenes høstutstilling 1949, B30, jnr. 636/51/F.1.
[287] Grimelund.

Conclusion: Articulating in the Public Eye

Introducing a lecture by the celebrated architectural historian Sigfried Giedion in 1948, the leader of the Oslo Association of Association of Architects (OAF) shared the following sentiment: "Norwegian architects are exceedingly philosophical. But while they do an awful lot of thinking, they never divulge the results. One might suspect there is something to gain by saying certain things out loud."[288]

Despite the abovementioned complaint, uttered at the zenith of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*'s trajectory, the exhibition series was a decidedly public broadcast. Initially assembled as a counterpart to the art exhibition *Statens høstutstilling*, each edition successfully answered the series' initially intended purpose: to publicly disseminate architectural works designed by NAL's members. Yet the degree to which the different exhibitions were illustrative of the association—a member organization comprised of individual architects, but representative of the profession as a whole—varied greatly. Over the course of its three editions, *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* touched upon three key problematics that were all, directly or indirectly, brought on by the devastating effects of World War II. Norwegian architects were confronted with—and to variable degrees responded to—the problematics of modernity, of their encounters with the public, and of the profession's societal role. The interplay between these problematics was expressed in each of the three exhibitions treated in this thesis.

The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947, expressively intended to show the artistic sides of the architectural profession, was NAL's first—albeit somewhat feeble—attempt to enlist public support and recognition. Representing architecture as an autonomous art was clearly important to leading voices within NAL, who feared that the profession was losing prestige at a moment in time when most architects were occupied with the pressing tasks that emerged in the wake of World War II's cataclysmic destructions. Caught between the still vague contingencies of modernity and the nation's problematic—yet

[288] The newly appointed leader of OAF was architect Erik Rolfsen, the influential leader of BSR in the postwar era. Quoted in Editor's note, "Arkitekturdebatten," *Byggekunst*, no. 10 (1948): 135. My translation from the Norwegian.

highly treasured—cultural heritage, the profession staged a show that resided in an *artistic sphere* far removed from the concerns of the average Norwegian. As Norwegian architects grappled to understand how they could recuperate from the war, they constructed a public image that ignored the current situation altogether. This led to a certain amount of self-exoticization, as the objects on display in *The Architects' Fall Exhibition 1947* often displayed romanticized images of national heritage. The status and scope of "Norwegianness" was thus a pressing question, but manifested itself in different ways internally and externally to NAL. The organization, like much of society at large, was consumed with the wish to purge itself from the foul-smelling associations of Nazi collaboration. The profession's internal discourse was consequently marked by struggles with architects' wartime undertakings, while its public image was constructed from a lineage of lessons learnt from history. Both discourses were engaged in to legitimize the profession, resulting in a conglomerate appearance in the public sphere: of the architect as aesthetician rather than builder.

The 1948 exhibition *The Housing Construction* differed from its predecessor in a number of ways, the most important of which being its clear thematic delineation. Focusing explicitly on the ongoing reconstruction and rehousing, the exhibition addressed a topic of highest contemporary relevance. As such, NAL's exhibition apparatus was reconfigured following a different tactic. The projects on display were not idealized or ideal conceptions. Supported by statistical material, the projects on display formed an overview of the profession's concrete contributions to solve the ongoing housing shortage. Housing *quality* was a primary concern for the profession, sought to be ensured through standardization and the widespread of pattern drawings across the country—demonstrated in the 1948 exhibition, and evidenced by large number constructed housed. The exhibition was dominated by projects from architects working in the war-torn districts, who often facilitated the first encounters between skeptical local populations and the profession, and contributed greatly to NAL's public outreach. Yet architecture was an expertise culture, and the eagerly edifying architects were often talking *at* people, as much as they were talking *to* them. By spreading information of *where*, *how* and *why* the architect worked, NAL sought to defend itself

against the widespread criticism that saturated the current popular discourse. The architect was represented as a fixer of problems, not a highbrowed aristocrat removed from society. Individual authorship moved to the background as the profession showed an increasingly united front—often displayed without individual signatures, but rather working collectively within state-funded rebuilding agencies.

Industry, Housing, Welfare, the final edition of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, was occupied with questions of modernization and industrialization. The exhibition reveals a transition from modernity as a cultural question to that of a nation state project, and members of the architectural association came to emulate values identified with the Labor Party hegemony of postwar Norway. Although NAL's rhetoric emphasized the worker as society's principal actor, and the organization certainly sought to edify and engage them, the exhibition series' final manifestation exposes a shift in focus within the professional organization. NAL did not seek to elucidate how people should live per se, but strategically sought to find ways to remain competitive within a vast and rapidly escalating society. Affordable and flexible housing would provide dwellings for workers *en masse*, while the well-designed industries in which they worked improved their living conditions—and by extension supporting the welfare state by increasing the nation's power of consumption. Apart from a few exceptions, the presentation of architecture "in service to the industry" was primarily concerned with securing large-scale commissions, and displayed little concern for the people who were affected by the implementation of their grand schemes. The architect was represented as the administrative expert who would guide Norway into becoming a prosperous modern society—a society driven by the technocratic planning characteristic of the welfare state.

Some architectural historians have conceptualized the architecture exhibition as an "integral part of the production of architecture"; a laboratory for experimentation, or a "real before the real".[289] In the case of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* series, however, it is a question of imaginaries rather than reality.

[289] See for instance Florian Kossak, "Exhibiting Architecture," in *Curating Architecture and the City*, ed. Sarah Chaplin and Alexandra Stara, AHRA Critiques (London ; New York: Routledge, 2009), 117.

While parts of what the exhibitions were dealing with were certainly "real", they were more of an assembled bricolage of thematic variations than they were an instrumental testing ground for utopic visions. Precisely this is also what makes the exhibitions, despite their rather modest physical manifestations, a valuable case study: they show the hopes and aspirations of a profession that was struggling to find its way into—and place within—a future yet unknown. They were not only responding to wartime destruction and postwar recuperation, but was also fueled by NAL's anxieties about the profession's societal role and adequacy when constrained by and confronted with external pressures.

The Architects' Fall Exhibition series was never intended for international display, nor targeted primarily towards the architectural community. Whether displaying quixotic projects from a long-lost and venerated past, or the pragmatic results of dire material need, *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* gave NAL a locus in which the organization itself could set the premises and curate conversations. When comparing the figures iterating the circulation of the three editions (see figures 9, 24. and 31; pages 37, 74, and 94), the 1948 exhibition's tour—with fourteen successive stops—succeeded the others by a landslide. The 1947 and 1949 exhibitions' travel routs were confined to the relative south of the country; closer to NAL headquarters and the professional nucleus in Oslo. These disparities can largely be attributed to *The Housing Construction*'s local relevance, but also to the presence of architects working almost exclusively on rehousing and reconstruction plans in the districts. The three travel routes uncover NAL's investment in public discourse *outside* professional constraints, since the more vigorously an exhibition travelled, the better it facilitated conversations across social spheres. Consequently, the travels expose a profession not only concerned with intradisciplinary discourse, but directly addressing, enabling, and edifying the public. Relations between the public and the exhibitor was a continuously negotiated process, driven by NAL's self-conscious vying for popularity and recognition. Public dissemination and response would, in turn, *discipline* the profession.

While always highly self-aware, the architects entered the performative space of the architectural exhibition with steadily growing confidence as their exertions for disciplinary domain and agency came to

bear fruit. When seen together, the exhibitions constitute a microcosm that produces a clear historical arc in which the profession becomes less engaged with, and further detached from, the individual. In a sense, the profession became increasingly removed from the personal scale throughout the course of the exhibition series. For although NAL might have steadily solidified its power and articulated its mission, the exhibitions and their surrounding discourse shows that the profession's concerns rapidly came to tie themselves to higher levels of reality. From understanding how the singular professional could express certain artistic ideals, the exhibition series transitioned into a collective effort in the service of the *people*, before taking on the macro professional behaviors of the profession within an increasingly industrialized and modern society. Architects had become actors within the public welfare sector, and with that—at least for the moment—perhaps lessened their role as artistic agents.

Historical portrayals of modern architecture often privilege dominant figures who cultivated an international clientele. These accounts fall short in the case of the Norwegian postwar reconstruction, as the historical moment was marked by a number of diverging tendencies, professional actors, and audiences. The three long-forgotten exhibitions that constituted *The Architects' Fall Exhibition* are completely omitted from the historiography of Norwegian architecture. I nonetheless argue that they provide a lens through which to expatiate on where the discipline resides and its continuously negotiated relationship to the public. Architectural exhibitions were seen as important tools for propaganda and dissemination, and subliminally potent sites for the formulation of professional identity. Through the short but energetic life of *The Architects' Fall Exhibition*, NAL implicitly launched a revived and more specialized professional practice.

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"Vi har plakater mot Colorado-billen - vi trenger dem også mot stygge hus." *Dagbladet*, November 13, 1948.

Collections and Archives

I initially tried to constrict the archival research to materials dealing directly with the *Arkitektenes høstutstilling* exhibition series. While the majority of these findings are held in NAL's archive in the National Archives of Norway, the fragmented pieces bound together in this thesis were given richer detail, local color, and personal details, when consulting other archives. It soon became apparent that other stories were at play, driven by the same organizations and actors. The process led me to visit the following archives, denoted by the abbreviations used in the footnotes, where their precise locations are referenced:

- HH/OM: Harald Hals I's personal archives, Oslo Museum, Oslo, Norway.
- OAF: Oslo Arkitektforening (the Oslo Association of Architects), Josefines gate 34, Oslo, Norway.
- OBA: Oslo byarkiv (the Oslo City Archives, Maridalsveien 3, Oslo, Norway.
- The Oslo City Archives
- RA/PA-0311: Harald Hals I's personal archives, the National Archives of Norway, Sognsveien 221, Oslo, Norway.
- RA/PA-1005: Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund archives (the Norwegian Association of Architects), the National Archives of Norway, Sognsveien 221, Oslo, Norway.
- RA/S-1540: Brente Steders Regulering (Burnt Sites Regulation), the National Archives of Norway, Sognsveien 221, Oslo, Norway.