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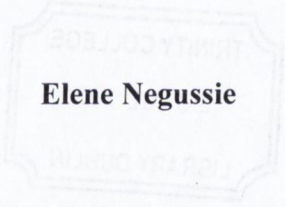
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**Urban Conservation in a Comparative Perspective:  
Dublin and Stockholm**

Volume II

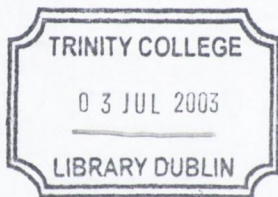
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## **PART III: THE SWEDISH CASE STUDY**

### **CHAPTER SIX**

#### **A CULTURAL APPRAISAL OF CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE IN SWEDEN: STOCKHOLM CITY**

This chapter depicts the cultural context for conservation of the built heritage in Sweden, exploring the impact of cultural and political ideas underlying the approach to conservation policy and legislation. First, it provides a background to changes in the societal context for conservation, major redevelopment and urban change in Stockholm City and fundamental conservation concepts used in Sweden relating to the built heritage. Secondly, it discusses the role of cultural politics in establishing national guidance and criteria for a common approach to conservation of the cultural environment including the built heritage. It provides an overview of how national conservation policy has developed over time by providing a review of cultural-political bills (*kulturpropositioner*), which reflect the official approach to conservation by central government. Furthermore, this is balanced with interview findings for more in-depth insight. Finally, it explores the varying ranges of elements that have been considered worthy of protection in urban environments in Sweden generally, but also with specific reference to Stockholm City.

##### **6.1.BACKGROUND**

Stockholm City has experienced major urban renewal and transformation since the beginning of the post-war period. In this process, urban planning became an important tool for realising political visions for a 'Swedish Welfare State'. This section provides a brief background to the changing societal context and climate for conservation, highlighting key developments in the transformation of Stockholm City in a post-war context. In particular, reference is given to Folkesdotter (1981) who outlines the changing societal context and climate for conservation of the urban built heritage in Sweden reflected in national investigations for urban renewal policy between 1930 and 1980.

Folkesdotter (1981) observes that during the 1930s, discussions on slum clearance came into focus and plans aiming to replace old building quarters were drawn up for many Swedish cities. Government investigations during this time confirmed that mainly pre-industrial buildings, built before the mid-1800s, were considered worth conserving. Anything built thereafter, up until the 1930s, were not regarded as important by the state.

The breakthrough of functionalism, manifested in the Stockholm Exhibition 1930, introduced new planning and architectural ideas underlined with a social ethos. In Stockholm, the main functionalist housing areas were built in the outskirts of the historic urban core and in the inner suburbs. Although several urban renewal plans were adopted for the city, mainly 'point renewal' took place in the central part of the city during the epoch of functionalist building (Andersson, 1997).

Urban renewal investigations from the 1940s suggest that there was something of a reaction to the many plans to demolish the older built heritage. For example, the National Heritage Board maintained that conservation of buildings from the turn-of-the-twentieth century could be important for aesthetic and cultural-historic reasons, as was claimed when a clearance plan for *Östermalm* in Stockholm City was proposed. Financial reasons were also given in support against urban renewal through clearance, mainly from businesses' interests and property owners (Folkesdotter, 1981).

In 1941, a decision was made to build a subway system for Stockholm City. The building of a subway system between 1945 and 1960 played an important role in the creation of a string of new suburbs and the realisation of 'work-housing-centre' towns (*ABC-städer*). In the city core, the subway constituted an important basis for comprehensive urban renewal. The building of the new *Hötorgscity* involved total destruction of the old building stock (Andersson, 1997, 159):

'With the subway system as a battering ram and support from new expropriation legislation a three hundred year old urban structure was ground to dust and – in all senses – a very varying area was indiscriminately demolished in order to make way for the creation of a modern City-centre answering to the needs of business, commerce and administration... *Hötorgscity* – Stockholm's new City-centre complex was opened in the spring of 1959'.

During the 1950s, policy and guidelines on urban renewal through clearance were established for economic and sanitary reasons, as well as for traffic requirements.

Mainly pro-conservation architects and conservation authorities favoured conservation for aesthetic and cultural-historic reasons. Towards the end of the 1950s, the idea of the city centre as a place mainly for housing in combination with offices, retail and services, was replaced with the conception of the city core as a place essentially for retailing. The requirement for new buildings in the city centre to contain 50 percent housing space, in order to receive state subsidies was abolished in 1959. This planning ideal was reflected in town plans made during the 1960s, which emphasised unlimited flows of traffic with a concentration of office and retail space in the urban core (Folkesdotter, 1981).

The 1950s and 1960s were decades of economic growth and a period of great expansion for both Stockholm City and its surrounding local authorities. High population growth and new demands for higher living standards placed the building stock at threat. The 1952 town plan for Stockholm stipulated that all buildings in the city built before 1920 needed to be renovated. Renovation implied demolition and new build as specified in government urban renewal investigations in the 1940s. These plans were not fully implemented due to housing shortage and lack of building materials in the immediate post-war period. Nevertheless, it is estimated that during the 1950s and 1960s approximately 600 properties in the inner city were demolished and replaced with modern buildings (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1976). Hall (1999) describes the renewal of Stockholm's inner city during this period as one of the most radical and comprehensive urban renewal projects around Europe at the time.

During the 1960s, urban renewal through clearance was regarded as the only option to accomplish rational spatial planning solutions. However, the 1960s also witnessed intense public reaction to the widespread demolition of buildings in urban centres. After 1968, there was a shift in the planning approach to the role of the city core, with new town plans emphasising public transport, pedestrian and cycling routes and housing for the inner city. Government reports on urban renewal during the 1970s reflected a shift in approach to urban renewal with support for refurbishment programmes to be drawn up for buildings of cultural-historic value. Arguments for conservation were based on social reasons and the need for historic continuity. It was recognised that conservation of whole cultural-historic environments rather than isolated objects should be the goal. In 1976, a special working-group was appointed to investigate building conservation

matters, resulting in a report entitled ‘Cultural-Historic Buildings – Worth Conserving’<sup>1</sup> (Folkesdotter, 1981).

The 1960s and 1970s were characterised by a planning ideal which favoured large-scale approaches to building in order to solve the national housing crisis. In 1965, the government adopted a ‘Million Dwellings Programme’, which involved plans for the building of one million flats nationally within a period of ten years. As suggested by Andersson (1997, 183-85):

‘The areas in Stockholm which were built during this period are typical products of their time showing clear features of the far-reaching adaptation of their planning and design to building production methods – the span of the building cranes steered the planning, and the single-family house areas were standardized in the same way... The central part of the City also got its Million Dwellings Programme areas through block-sized demolition and renewal work, above all in the Söder area south of the Old Town. But the activity within the City boundaries was at its most intensive in the City or City-centre area. According to yet another City town plan the City 67 plan, demolition was to continue at the same pace’.

Urban renewal in Stockholm during this period gave rise to widespread demolition of historic building quarters in the inner city. However, this wave of demolition ended towards the mid-1970 when major planning deficiencies became evident (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1997) and due to a slump in the economy. During the 1960s and 1970s there was a frequent occurrence of building occupations in protest against demolition. Hall (1999) argues that in the 1950s and 1960s criticism and opposition against the extensive urban renewal was limited to a low number amongst well-established people. However, by the end of the 1960s, there was widespread public opinion and outcry against the demolition of whole building quarters. The protest movement reached its peak with the controversial Battle for the Elms in *Kungsträdgården* in 1971. Hallerdt (1991) notes that growing public opinion against the demolitions of the ‘record years’ eventually infiltrated the political awareness.

The government housing refurbishment programme of 1973-1974 created new opportunities for special loans to support building refurbishment. In Stockholm, an action programme for refurbishment of approximately 40,000 flats was adopted (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1976).

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<sup>1</sup> Kulturhistorisk bebyggelse – värd att vårda (Byggnadsvårdsutredningen, 1979).

Johansson (1997) argues that the Swedish conservation sector was ill equipped in terms of ideology, organisation, expertise and finances and therefore not able resist the forces of modernisation in its destruction of historic built environments during the 1960s and 1970s. However, since the 1970s, interest for cultural environment conservation has increased at all levels. This is reflected in both cultural and environmental politics, town planning and in legislative improvements, as discussed below.

The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by a 'renaissance of urbanism' in both the inner and outer areas of Stockholm City. By the 1980s, the city of Stockholm had been fully built. Increasingly, underused railway, harbour and industrial areas became subject to urban renewal and the building of new housing. The decking over of railway tracks and roads became a solution to finding new space for the building of office and housing. Also, improvements to the existing urban environment came into focus (Andersson, 1997). However, Johansson (1997) suggests that in spite of a major change in public attitudes towards conservation, the building boom of the 1980s demonstrated that conservation of cultural-historic values was still often comprised for the sake of modernisation in spite of improved cultural attitudes. This is due to urban renewal and redevelopment often being seen as instruments for achieving employment and optimism about the future.

### *Ideological Implications for Conservation*

'Successful implementation of conservation is dependent upon controls over land use which are typically associated with the left of European politics, and communist... or social democratic (as in Stockholm) councils have been among the most successful. Although it is the political right that often has the strongest motives for conservation, it is the left that has the most effective means of executing such' (Burtenshaw *et al.*, 1991, 160).

The ideological culture in Sweden has influenced the approach to conservation of the built heritage. Hall (1999) notes that during the twentieth century private property rights were viewed as being subject to the sovereign power of legislators, something which suited functionalist architects' views on the role of planning in the development of society and which facilitated the large-scale approach to urban renewal. Johansson (1997) argues that during the 1960s and 1970s, the most intensive period of urban renewal in Sweden, when a substantial share of the old building stock was demolished, there was little difference in approach to urban conservation between the two opposite sides of the political spectrum. Most local authorities ruled by conservatives and social



democrats alike, favoured redevelopment over conservation. Furthermore, Johansson suggests that the social democrats seemed to embrace redevelopment with greater enthusiasm. However, this changed when urban renewal was placed in a political context, with questions being raised of which groups gained and lost the most from redevelopment. Similarly, Folkesdotter (1981) suggests that up until the end of the 1960s, the interest in urban conservation issues amongst the political parties was weak. In the beginning of the 1970s, political parties, mainly those on the right wing, began to incorporate conservation goals into their programmes. However, the main difference between the conservative and socialist parties lay in their different views on the degree to which the state should play an active role in urban renewal. For example, the socialist parties promoted strong state intervention in urban renewal, with one of their goals being that of creating employment opportunities. Folkesdotter (1981) concludes:

‘The approach to urban renewal and conservation during the post-war period has to a large degree been shaped by the break-through of functionalistic ideas in the 1930s, realised by architects and planners with links to the labour movement. Disregard for buildings from the late nineteenth century... the social pathos of functionalistic architects and the determination to tackle housing-problems through the application of functionalistic planning ideals, accorded well with the labour movement’s goals to accomplish high levels of employment and to improve housing conditions’ (*Ibid.*, 131, trans. mine).

One interviewee explained that the strong position of social democracy and the labour movement affected the approach to conservation negatively in the beginning of the twentieth century:

‘At the turn-of-the nineteenth century, Sweden experienced extensive poverty with many people living in areas suffering from poor conditions. Subsequently, there was the growth of a strong labour movement the goal of which was to build a new society. Unfortunately, this became associated with demolition of the built heritage. This became deeply ingrained in the generation of people growing up during the 1920s, 30s and 40s’ (CP, 2000).

However, it was also suggested that although the socialist forces had a negative impact on conservation of the built heritage during the first half of the twentieth century, this eventually changed to the contrary:

‘The public gained a strong position in society and private property rights became less emphasised. Nowadays, it is often the Left which defends conservation causes in the name of public interest. However, similarly to Eastern Europe, there are to some extent tendencies of people to renounce their individual responsibility, implying that it is a public duty to take care of things and to cover any expenses’ (CP, 2000).

Another interviewee similarly explained that the tradition of socialism and the strong emphasis on the public in Sweden has not always benefited conservation motives. For

example, two decades ago, conservation debate regarding the old central prison at *Långholmen* in Stockholm City, of which some parts dated from the end of the seventeenth century, illustrates the point:

‘The City Museum was fighting for the conservation of the prison buildings, which were considered unique in an international context. However, there was a strong opposition against conservation, mostly from the Social Democrats who considered this to be a monument representing the old, miserable and poor Sweden, the memory of which they were attempting to eliminate. The actual prison was demolished, while the surrounding buildings were kept and converted into a hotel, restaurant, offices and housing. However, in housing-related conservation issues the Social Democrats have in the past usually taken a position for conservation’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Another such political conservation controversy concerned a brewery building, *Münchenbryggeriet*, on *Söder Mälärstrand* (Figure 6.1), which was closed down in the beginning of the 1970s:

‘The Social Democrats which were in power in the City Council at the time argued that it should be demolished and replaced with new housing. There was a strong lobby for conservation of the old brewery and the issue became a determining factor in the 1976 local election. The Conservatives supported the conservation lobby, which may have contributed to their victory in the election. The building was then converted into new uses such as schools and offices. Although the building underwent much alteration its overall impression has been conserved’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).



Figure 6.1: *Münchenbryggeriet* on *Söder Mälärstrand* (Negussie, 2001).

### *Conservation Concepts Uses in Sweden*

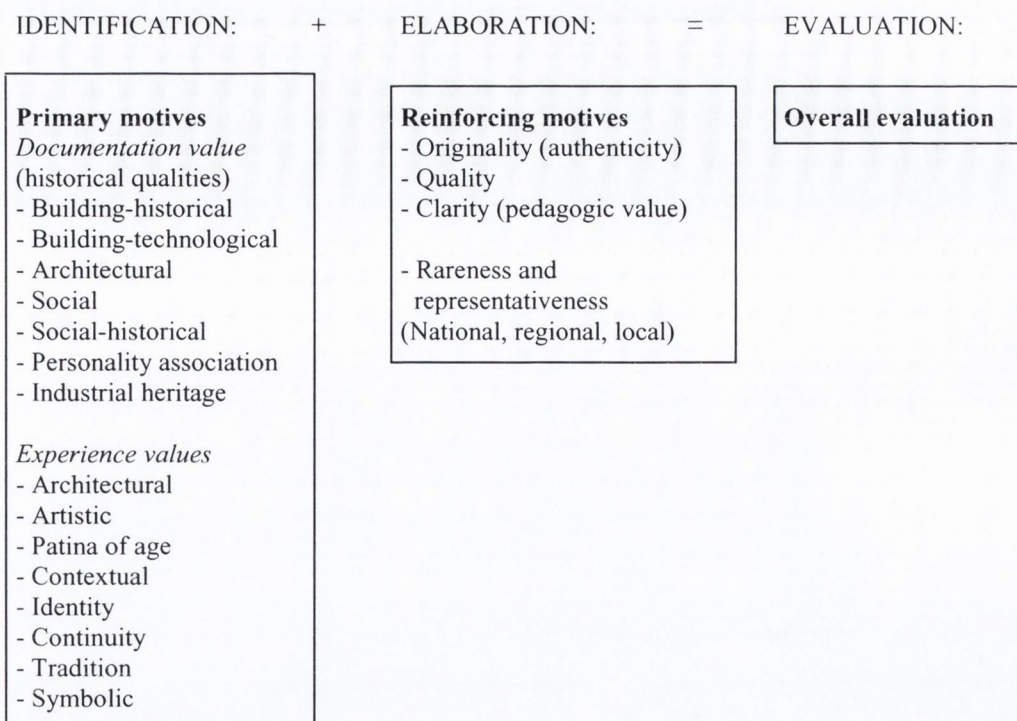
This section introduces fundamental conservation concepts with regard to the built heritage in Sweden. Cultural-historic value (*kulturhistoriskt värde*) is a broad and

traditional term used in both legal and non-legal contexts. Unnerbäck (1998) argues that the concept of cultural-historic value is a rather broad term, and is not by itself sufficient in arguments for conservation and must therefore be supported with a more precise definition. Furthermore, cultural-historic value of the built heritage shifts over time and a building or an environment which at any moment is not regarded as having a cultural-historic value may be re-evaluated in the future. Unnerbäck maintains that while mainly the older built heritage was considered in the light of cultural-historic value in the past, there is currently as much emphasis placed on more recent buildings and built areas. In addition, government policy on conservation has promoted a broad approach to conservation in order for the protected built heritage to reflect a broad representation of the past. This requires a careful approach to cultural-historic evaluation in order to achieve a representative selection of buildings and areas to be conserved.

The Swedish National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*) has established a system for identifying cultural-historic values, describing specific evaluation criteria in order to define such values. Cultural-historic values are classified into different sub-headings, organised within two main categories: documentation value and experience value (Figure 6.2). Documentation values refer to the existing historical evidence that a building provides and can be described more objectively<sup>2</sup>. Experience values consist of qualities that are more difficult to measure and more subjective in nature, *e.g.* architectural, artistic and patina of age values. In addition, there are measurable aspects, which may reinforce an evaluation argument, *e.g.* authenticity and pedagogic values. The evaluation system is used in order to explain why a building is of cultural-historic value and how it should be approached in order that its qualities be safeguarded (Unnerbäck and Nordin, 1995). The evaluation system forms a basis for building inventories, which also involves procedures of motivation and grading of cultural-historic values (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1998).

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<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* building-historical, building-technological and social-historical values.



**Figure 6.2:** Model for the national system for cultural-historic selection and evaluation criteria (Unnerbäck and Nordin, 1995, trans. mine).

The cultural environment (*kulturmiljön*) is a broad concept referring to environments, not only those legally protected, which contain some aspect of cultural-historic relevance and thereby require special consideration. The concept became officially introduced through a cultural politics bill on conservation at the end of the 1980s, and was also established in the introduction paragraph of the Cultural Monuments Act, 1988 (*kulturminneslagen*). Cultural environment conservation (*kulturmiljövård*) refers to measures that aim to protect and maintain the overall cultural environment (Kulturarvsutredningen, 1996). In this study, the official bodies responsible for cultural environment conservation are referred to as the conservation sector (*kulturmiljövården*). The cultural heritage (*kulturarvet*) is an old concept which regained significance in Sweden during the 1990s, embracing a broader perspective compared to the cultural environment. It includes the immaterial as well as the material cultural heritage (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, the concept implies that the cultural heritage is something which is approached consciously, not passively passed on from one generation to another. Furthermore, the cultural heritage is subject to constant re-evaluation (Åsgrim Berlin, 1997).

The definition of building monuments (*byggnadsminnen*) became established as a legal definition for buildings of outstanding cultural-historic value after the introduction of

the 1960 Building Monuments Act. Since 1989, there also exists a special ordinance on state owned building monuments. A cultural monument (*kulturminne*) is a non-legal term which refers to a broad range of cultural objects, including building monuments, archaeological remains and ecclesiastical buildings. Cultural monument conservation (*kulturminnesvård*) refers to measures aiming to protect cultural monuments both legally and financially (Kulturarvsutredningen, 1996).

An area may be declared of national interest (*riksintresse*) e.g. for environmental, cultural-historic and recreational reasons, and must be protected from any changes that involve 'serious damage' (*påtaglig skada*) to the national interest. The term was introduced as a legal concept with the passing of the Natural Resource Act in 1987. The concept of national city park (*nationalstadspark*) was introduced as a legal instrument in 1994 as a result of a government proposal to designate the area of *Ulriksdal-Haga-Brunnsviken-Djurgården* in Stockholm as an urban area of special interest<sup>3</sup> (Kulturarvsutredningen, 1996).

## 6.2. THE ROLE OF CULTURAL POLITICS IN CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE

At central government level, the Ministry of Culture carries the overall responsibility for formulation of national conservation policy and legislation for the built heritage in Sweden. According to Kleberg (1999), modern cultural politics in Sweden has now reached its third phase of development. The first phase was characterised by its acceptance as one political field amongst others. The end of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a change in attitudes towards the place of culture in politics. The first comprehensive Cultural Political Programme of 1974 was the result of a broad discussion in which the central theme involved a general democratisation of culture. The second phase constituted a period of implementation of the political objectives in an increasingly harsher political and economic climate. The 1974 Programme had established an ambitious foundation for culture in national politics, and in public administration, at regional and local levels. However, due to the combination of overly high ambitions, a general change in political and economic climate and a changed role for public authorities, the ambitions of the 1970s were moderate in effect. The

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<sup>3</sup> This is discussed in further in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight.

subsequent comprehensive cultural political programme in 1996, entitled *Kulturpolitik*, was concerned with cutbacks in scope of political goals as well as funding. Finally, the third and current phase of cultural politics constitutes a challenging period of fulfilment of a broadened concept of culture which takes into account the variations between individuals' conceptions of culture and cultural values.

A government commissioned evaluation of cultural politics in Sweden, translated 'Twenty Years of Cultural Politics, 1974-94'<sup>4</sup> (Kulturutredningen, 1995) has similarly identified three phases of development in cultural environment conservation with regard to overall developments within the conservation sector, as well as specific political directives. The first phase took place during the 1970s. During this phase, emphasis was mainly placed on the physical cultural heritage as a reaction to widespread demolition and insensitive developments in urban areas in the 1960s. The primary goal was the integration of conservation with spatial planning at local and regional levels. The second phase occurred in the mid-1980s, and was characterised by a broadening of responsibilities within the conservation sector to include wider environmental issues. Overall attitudinal change towards conservation was reflected in a conceptual shift from cultural monument conservation (*kulturminnesvård*) to cultural environment conservation (*kulturmiljövärd*) in order to mark a more holistic approach to conservation of the built heritage. There was also recognition of the special relationship between cultural and environmental politics. The third phase dominated the 1990s. During this period, there was recognition of the need for an even broader interpretation of cultural environment conservation, e.g. by connecting material cultural-historic values with the immaterial, placing them within their social and ethnological context. Thus, cultural politics and conservation sector activities in Sweden have gradually developed from a preoccupation with physical preservation of monuments and buildings towards a more holistic conservation approach with emphasis placed on historical continuity and cultural identity (Kulturutredningen, 1995). The same government report concluded that there has been a general shift in the role of the conservation sector in planning:

'The shift from an object orientated to a holistic orientated conservation approach evolved during the 1960s, when a concern for the broader cultural-historic values in the environment was established through the National Spatial Planning System. With the introduction of legislation such as the 'Natural Resource Legislation' (NRL) and the 'Plan and building Legislation' (PBL) in 1987, the role and scope of the conservation sector was

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<sup>4</sup> The original Swedish title is 'Tjugo års kulturpolitik 1974-94: en rapport från kulturutredningen'.

broadened towards guidance and monitoring of co-ordination and interaction with actors from other sectors with relevance to conservation. The role of the conservation sector in spatial planning is increasingly developing towards generating knowledge and evaluating the cultural heritage for application in processes which take place outside the sector itself' (*Ibid.*, 352, trans. mine).

### 6.2.1. Review of Cultural Politics Bills and Official Reports

#### *Background*

The first comprehensive programme for cultural politics in Sweden, introduced in 1974, established a foundation for common goals upon which subsequent bills and legislation on conservation have been based. It laid down a general framework for cultural politics promoting:

- Opportunities for freedom to express opinion;
- Opportunities for individual creativity that connect people;
- Counteraction against the negative impacts of commercialisation on culture;
- Decentralisation of cultural activities and decision-making procedures;
- Consideration for the experience and needs of marginalised groups;
- Safeguarding of artistic and cultural renewal;
- Safeguarding of conservation and revitalisation of the older cultural heritage; and,
- Exchange of cultural experiences and ideas across linguistic and national borders (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

The 1974 Programme for cultural politics reflected a general ambition to democratise culture and make it more accessible to all citizens. With regard to the built heritage the overall objective was to achieve conservation and revitalisation of the older cultural heritage. However, it has been suggested that the programme was rather limited in its interpretation of the cultural heritage:

'What was typical about the 1974 Programme for cultural politics was the recognition of mainly the arts genre and the media issues. Some of the important cultural political key issues were identified and thus considered important. However, what is now being referred to as cultural heritage issues did not form part of the agenda during this time. It was not understood as a sphere of its own and was therefore neglected. During the 1980s and 1990s a discussion based on a (state commissioned) investigation on the cultural heritage resulted in the bringing together of all the different components (which form part of the cultural heritage)' (NCO, 2000).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that cultural politics in the 1970s was based on a modern perspective, which reflected a general ambition to achieve a modern society. The cultural heritage was seen as something negative, retrospective and backward striving:

‘The philosophy of modernism is culturally radical. In other words, culture is perceived as something rational that can be explained in terms of straight and clear intellectual arguments and what cannot be seen does not exist... This implies that processes which cannot be rationalised, e.g. the emotional, are neglected and removed from the agenda’ (NCO, 2000).

On the contrary, a more reflective approach to culture is open to the idea that there may exist unidentified reasons behind certain arguments:

‘It is a relationship where there are no given explanations and where the rational picture is not quite clear, based on a recognition of our own limited individual perspectives... That we may actually dismiss issues on the wrong basis’ (NCO, 2000).

By 1988, specific goals for conservation had been developed and stipulated in a bill entitled ‘Cultural Environment Conservation’ (*Kulturmiljövård* 1987/88:104). The bill included the following goals:

- ❑ Conservation and revitalisation of the cultural heritage;
- ❑ Development which ensures continuity;
- ❑ Promotion of local cultural identity;
- ❑ To deal with threats to the cultural environment proactively; and,
- ❑ Raising of awareness of aesthetic values and historical contexts (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

The goals of this bill did not differ significantly from those laid down in the 1974 Programme. They were rather guidelines of a more specific nature. However, the goal to promote local cultural identity may be seen as a new feature, being a reflection of a growing concern for cultural identity at both national and local levels. In addition, the bill officially manifested a deliberate conceptual shift from cultural monument conservation to cultural environment conservation in order to reflect a wider interpretation and approach to conservation (Kulturutredningen, 1995). The bill also marked a shift away from a time restricted approach to conservation in order to embrace contemporary environments within the conservation agenda (Johansson, 1997). Previously, conservation objectives had concerned only the ‘older’ cultural heritage.

One of the most central goals has been the ambition to decentralise cultural activities and decision-making procedures. This stemmed from the idea that decentralisation is the only means to achieve implementation of policy promoted by the state at regional and



local levels. This has been achieved through the transferring of further responsibilities for conservation matters to regional authorities<sup>5</sup> (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

The 1974 Programme called for a clearer division of responsibility between central state, regional and local authorities. The main legal responsibility for the built heritage has subsequently been transferred to the local authorities, while the regional authorities have been assigned with responsibility for conservation grants. This division of responsibility was based on an already existing organisational structure, with the Swedish National Heritage Board operating at the national level and responsibility for conservation being shared between the county administrative boards and the county museums at the regional level. The former have gradually obtained increased responsibility which forms part of a decentralisation process with delegation of responsibility from the Swedish National Heritage Board to the regional planning authorities (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

*Cultural Politics (Kulturpolitik, prop. 1996/97:3)*

The second comprehensive cultural political programme in Sweden, 'Cultural Politics', was introduced in 1996-97. The overall cultural political goals were similar to those laid down in the 1974 Programme. Regarding conservation of the cultural environment, the 1996/97 bill proposed a continuation of the previous cultural political goals established in 1988. However, the previous emphasis on conservation and revitalisation of the older cultural heritage was replaced with conservation and reuse of the cultural heritage (Kulturdepartementet, 1996). This indicated a more active approach to conservation of the cultural heritage, emphasising that it is something that should be utilised.

The bill also called for a clearer definition of roles and division of responsibility between the various conservation actors, especially between the county administrative boards and the county museums, similar to the goals of the previous 1987/88 Bill. Furthermore, it proposed that funding should be made available to support regional and local bodies in creating opportunities within the conservation sector for unemployment programmes and vocational training courses. It was estimated that during the five year period prior to the bill approximately SEK 700 million (approx. EUR 76,5 million) had been granted for building conservation through such initiatives. This emphasis was a

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<sup>5</sup> See Chapter Seven.

response to tackle high levels of unemployment coupled with a growing interest in the cultural heritage. Moreover, the bill proposed that funding should be made available in order to support the Swedish National Heritage Board in promoting awareness and knowledge of the industrial heritage (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

Regarding the cultural heritage, the 1996/97 bill presented the following definition:

‘The cultural heritage... forms an inevitable part of our culture and identity. It reflects the history of people in a multitude of forms and traces. Nature may also form part of the cultural heritage... Everyone contributes to the formation of the cultural heritage regardless of gender, age, origin, social background, education, talent or occupation. The cultural heritage can be both material and immaterial... It is preserved by institutions such as archives, libraries and museums, and in selected cultural environments... The cultural heritage is not determined by any particular time limits... It is our responsibility to preserve and enrich a multitude of cultural heritage and to pass it on to the next generation’ (*Ibid.*, 126-7, transl. mine).

The government stipulated that state initiatives promoting the cultural heritage should contribute to:

- The lessening of gaps between different social groups regarding conservation and access to the cultural heritage; and
- The strengthening of public interest and awareness of the significance of the cultural heritage.

The bill recognised that the cultural heritage is not neutral and that cultural politics carries a responsibility in disclosing biases related to class, gender and the relationship between urban and rural. Furthermore, it proposed an action programme in order to prevent misuse of the cultural heritage in relation to xenophobia and racism, with the allocation of SEK 1 million (approx. EUR 109, 000) for various projects preventing such obstacles (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

A new feature of the bill was the incorporation of architecture and design as an independent sub-area of cultural politics. The bill suggested that urban design, landscape planning, architecture and design have in the past lacked an integrated approach in Sweden and have not been recognised as important components of cultural politics. The bill proposed the development of a national programme for architecture and design in order to:

- Create good conditions for the development of architecture and design;
- Ensure that quality and aesthetic aspects are not compromised by short-term economic goals;

- Ensure that cultural-historic and aesthetic values in existing environments are respected and conserved;
- Promote interest in high quality architecture and design;
- Ensure that public and publicly sponsored building are exemplary in quality requirements; and,
- Encourage the development of Swedish architecture and design with international co-operation.

With regard to the third point, the bill recognises that new architecture should enrich and renew the existing environment in a way which respects the cultural-historic values of the existing building stock and the overall environmental context. Furthermore, it stressed that this can be achieved through the interplay between innovative architecture, conservation of cultural-historic values and the natural environment (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

In addition, the bill identified a number of achievements within the field of cultural environment conservation since the mid-1970s. It suggested that there had been a shift from an object orientated approach to conservation to a more holistic approach embracing the concept of conservation areas, or environments. Furthermore, it recognised that there had been a significantly widened approach to what is considered worth conserving. Also, since the 1970s the emphasis had been placed on the integration of conservation into physical planning, having led to increased interaction between actors within the conservation sector at various levels, as well as with other sectors. Moreover, it recognised that the shaping of a cultural political agenda in the mid-1970s had made valid the idea that conservation of everybody's cultural heritage should be safeguarded, integrating social and practical dimensions of the cultural heritage with general welfare politics. This had been followed up through various legal Acts on planning and conservation. In addition, the government had supplied funding for the provision of conservation expertise as well as towards conservation grants. In 1977, planning departments at county level were provided with resources to employ conservation expertise, which was to act with the same authority as any other expertise in the regional planning process (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

Furthermore, the bill stated that county council reform had achieved the aims of decentralisation of the conservation sector from central to regional level. In addition, the integration of conservation into spatial planning had largely been achieved, combined with a general growth in public awareness of the cultural, social and economic benefits

of conservation. However, it also recognised that despite the high level of conservation awareness, short-term interests still often prevailed over long-term goals:

‘In spite of the increased level of public awareness of the importance of conservation, it is a fact that cultural-historic values in the environment are still often treated without proper care and knowledge. When long-term cultural-historic interests are weighed against other interests of society, which are perceived to be important in the short-term, they are still often compromised in favour of public and individual exploitation of land and buildings’ (*Ibid.*, 156, trans. mine).

*Cultural Heritage – Cultural Environments and Cultural Objects (Kulturarv – Kulturmiljöer och Kulturföremål, prop. 1998/99:114)*

Succeeding the introduction of the second overall cultural political programme, as described above, a bill entitled ‘Cultural Heritage – Cultural Environments and Cultural Objects’ was introduced in 1998/99, establishing more specific goals for conservation of the cultural environment. The bill included the following goals:

- A protected and conserved cultural heritage;
- A society based on sustainable development with integrated conservation as a driving force for good quality and creative environments;
- Understanding, participation and responsibility for one’s own cultural environment; and,
- National and international solidarity and respect for the cultural heritage of different groups (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

First, the bill called for a proactive approach to conservation with early identification of threats against the cultural environment and its local identity. It recognised that this requires co-operation between various sectors and a systematic analytical approach to societal change and impact on the cultural heritage. Thus, the approach to conservation should be proactive rather than reactive. Secondly, the bill recognised that in order to achieve sustainable development, conservation of the cultural environment must begin with a holistic view of human beings and their environments. Conservation must therefore form an integrated part of every sector in society. In other words:

‘The cultural heritage should be seen as a foundation upon which societies are built and it should constitute a starting point for innovation and necessary change of built structures in urban and natural landscapes. A sensitive and progressive approach to the management of the cultural heritage with its wide range of aspects is a determining factor in the pursuit of achieving sustainable development. A conscious approach to conservation of the cultural environment implies a reduced use of finite resources and a longer life span of investments and installations’ (*Ibid.*, 29, trans. mine).

Thirdly, the 1998/99 bill emphasised that the cultural environment concerns everyone and that responsibility for it should therefore be shared by all. In addition, conservation activities should promote a perspective of societal development by facilitating an understanding of conservation values in ways that engage and stimulate people. Finally, the bill promoted international co-operation and responsibility for the cultural heritage. It called for a conscious and responsible approach to interpretation and use of the cultural heritage, recognising that cultural heritage can be misused through narrow minded and exclusive claims to identity.

The bill also highlighted the need for cross-sector co-operation, recognising the importance of an integrated approach to conservation policy, especially at central political level, since cultural environment conservation is affected by developments within other political spheres besides that of culture. The bill proposed a continuation of the development towards a shared responsibility for the cultural environment through integration and co-operation between various sectors in society. The emphasis on individual responsibility for conservation had previously been established in the Cultural Monuments Act which declared that protection and conservation of the cultural environment is a matter of national interest and should therefore be shared by all. Cross-sector work has been followed up in various bills on, for example, architecture and design, the ecclesiastical built heritage, urban and regional politics, the natural environment, agriculture, forestry, transportation and infrastructure, *etc.* (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

For example, through ‘The Future of Design: Action Plan for Architecture and Design’<sup>6</sup>, the first national action plan for architecture and design was presented. From a conservation point of view, this policy programme stipulated that cultural-historic and aesthetic values should be considered and protected and that short-term economic goals should not take precedence over quality and beauty aspects in the built environment. From a legislative point of view, the programme introduced changes to the Planning and Building Act (see Chapter Seven) in order to impose greater responsibility on local authorities in promoting architectural and cultural-environmental values. Changes were also made to legislation on roads and railway construction to impose greater such responsibilities on the relevant authorities (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

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<sup>6</sup> The Swedish title is ‘Framtidsformer –Handlingsprogram för arkitektur, formgivning och design, 1997/98:117’.

In relation to the ecclesiastical heritage, the government introduced a policy that highlights the importance of co-operation between the Church of Sweden, museums and other public bodies concerned with the cultural environment. This policy has been regarded as important due to the separation of the state and the Church of Sweden in the year 2000 (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

In a bill entitled ‘Development and Justice: Politics for Cities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century’<sup>7</sup>, the government focused special attention to the cultural environment and architectural values in large urban regions. One of the key issues identified was the need to expand the conservation agenda to embrace the promotion of the cultural-historic significance of the more recent building stock, especially built environments from the post-war period. The bill recognised the importance of integrating cultural-historic and architectural values into the overall approach to development issues and their impact on the built environment (Kulturdepartementet, 1999). In Stockholm, the County Administrative Board has initiated a project that specifically addresses the importance of post-war built environments under this programme. The main aim of the project is to establish an information base of post-war buildings and built environments as a working basis for the conservation sector, and to highlight the cultural-historic values within these environments for various audiences.

A bill entitled ‘Swedish Goals for the Environment: Environmental Politics for Sustainable Development in Sweden’<sup>8</sup> reflected recognition of the importance of integrating cultural environment values as part of wider environmental goals. The bill introduced fifteen key environmental goals, of which several include consideration of cultural aspects. Along with these, a comprehensive legislative framework for the environment entitled the Environmental Code (*Miljöbalken*) came into effect in 1999, and is the result of a stricter and wider approach to the natural and cultural environment. The legislation introduced a new concept, cultural reserve (*kulturresevat*), a protective measure which had earlier applied only to the natural aspects of environmental protection (Chapter Seven) (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

Furthermore, the 1998/99 bill identified the areas of agriculture and forestry as potential factors of relevance in achieving a holistic approach to cultural environment

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<sup>7</sup> Utveckling och rättvisa en politik för storstaden på 2000-talet, 1997/98:165.

<sup>8</sup> Svenska miljömål. Miljöpolitik för ett hållbart Sverige, 1997/98:145.

conservation in state politics. Various bills have been introduced aiming to strengthen the cultural environment values in these areas (Kulturdepartementet, 1999). Through ‘Infrastructure for Future Transportation’<sup>9</sup> and ‘Transportation Politics for Sustainable Development’<sup>10</sup> the government introduced transport policy which recognises that both natural and cultural environment interests should be respected and central in any new development (Kulturdepartementet, 1999). Finally, a bill entitled ‘Regional Growth: for Employment and Welfare’<sup>11</sup> has promoted the cultural environment as being central to local and regional identity and a key to creating attractive environments for economic development (Kulturdepartementet, 1999).

In relation to what is worth conserving of the built heritage, the 1998/99 bill proposed that conservation must include a broad range of elements and a concern for everybody’s cultural heritage:

‘The question of what we preserve is crucial since it determines what knowledge we may retrieve about the past. Therefore, it is important to achieve the broadest possible selection of cultural and natural environments, from single monuments to whole areas, from the extraordinary and specifically interesting to the ordinary, traces of dominant cultures as well as the dominated, the abandoned cultural monuments as well as the living cultural heritage. Everyone is entitled to respect for ones own cultural environment and engagement in the way it is used and shaped’ (*Ibid.*, 28, trans.mine).

A new feature of the bill was the proposal for legal protection of place names, mainly under the Cultural Monuments Act. This resulted from various discussions throughout the 1990s, about the importance of protecting and treating traditional place names as an integral part of the cultural heritage, especially in rural areas where they have been threatened due to changes in the postal address system.

Finally, the bill called for legislative improvements for the protection of cultural-historic buildings and built structures suggesting that Swedish legislation for such protection is weak compared to many other countries, mainly due to its detailed and lengthy nature. Based on various reports, it concluded that local authorities do not use their legal powers for protection of the built heritage to the extent that was intended with the introduction of the 1987 Planning and Building Act (Kulturdepartementet, 1999). These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

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<sup>9</sup> Infrastrukturinriktning för framtida transporter, 1996/97:53.

<sup>10</sup> Transportpolitik för en hållbar utveckling, 1997/98:56.

<sup>11</sup> Regional tillväxt - för arbete och välfärd, 1997/98:62.

### *Official Report on the Industrial Heritage*

In response to the need for promotion of awareness and knowledge of the industrial heritage, which the 'Cultural Politics' bill had called for, a government commissioned investigation on how to approach the industrial heritage in politics and in conservation policy-making was established in 1998. The investigation task was to bring forth proposals on how to allocate government spending of approximately SEK 24,5 million (approx. EUR 2.7 million) on promotion of the industrial heritage between 1999 and 2001 (Utredningen om en statlig satsning på det industrihistoriska kulturarvet, 1999).

The government directives emphasised the importance of the industrial heritage to be seen as an integrated part of Swedish society and identity, especially in relation to rapid structural change and transition from an industrial based society to an information society. With reference to the Cultural Politics bill, the directives maintained that conservation should involve the provision of different historical perspectives on the cultural heritage in order to achieve greater knowledge and information about society. This requires an integrated approach with co-operation between different conservation actors. The investigation was to consider the relationship between the built environment, traditions, living circumstances, documented history, objects and production processes. The government also called for a broad discussion on Swedish industrial society, declaring that state efforts should encourage citizen participation in the process of conserving the industrial heritage and in the preservation and development of important cultural-historic values. In addition, special attention was to be given to the democratic functions of the cultural heritage.

While the government directives indicated ambiguities regarding the industrial heritage as, on the one hand a phenomenon of the past, and on the other as an important part of Swedish identity, the industrial society remains a valid concept that captures much of contemporary Swedish society. Thus, the industrial society, and heritage, is not limited to a particular period of time.

The investigation report stated that the stock of designated building monuments in Sweden may be seen as an indicator of the approach taken to the industrial heritage in the past. It was identified that industrial structures built for the purpose of industrial manufacturing constituted only five percent of the total numbers of building monuments, without any representation from the post-1930 period. Although this figure



had increased significantly after 1995, it was suggested that the stock of designated building monuments reflected cultural heritage with uneven representation, *e.g.* in terms of class, gender and marginalised groups.

The report concluded that the definition of cultural heritage varies and is determined by the choices of different actors. Therefore, a government campaign sponsoring the industrial heritage must promote a broad societal discussion emphasising the democratic functions of the industrial heritage. The report suggested that there is a lack of discussions on democratic and equality aspects of the cultural heritage (*e.g.* representation of different social groups), which needs to be addressed by conservation bodies. Furthermore, while the conservation sector and experts have for long been working with the task of defining and interpreting what the cultural heritage constitutes, there is a need for further engagement of citizens regarding their views on history and identity (Utredningen om en statlig satsning på det industrihistoriska kulturarvet, 1999).

#### 6.2.2. Evaluation of Cultural Politics and Conservation Developments: Findings from the Interviews

This section explores opinions and perceptions, expressed by interviewed conservation and planning officials, on the implications of key conservation objectives and developments in cultural politics.

##### *From 'Cultural Monument' to 'Cultural Environment' Conservation*

As discussed above, a conservation bill from 1987 manifested a conceptual shift from the official use of cultural monument conservation to cultural environment conservation as a concept, in order to mark a change from an object orientated to a more holistic approach to conservation of the built heritage. According to Biörnstad (1990) the introduction of cultural environment conservation as a concept within the conservation sector summed up developments over a twenty year period placing conservation as an important factor in cultural, environmental and regional politics. Wetterberg (1992) argues that the validity of such a shift depends on the meaning embodied in the concept of 'environment' (*miljö*). For Wetterberg, there has been a shift within the conservation sector from preoccupation with individual monuments, to wider geographical contexts, *e.g.* from buildings to built-up areas. However, conservation of larger geographical

areas may imply a concern mainly for larger objects, rather than for actual environments which implies a deeper and more structural meaning. This argument, was supported by the interviewed County Conservation Officer who explained:

‘Cultural environment conservation became a relevant concept when Swedish society began to look at conservation through the eyes of planning and through the integration of conservation values with other issues of land-use planning. Unfortunately, the conservation sector has been ill equipped with the right knowledge and expertise to achieve a holistic approach (to conservation). In reality, it has usually implied that a number of objects have been tied together into an environment (or area) without any real functional links’ (CCO, 2000).

A similar approach was taken by the County Museum Officer who also attached a deeper and more structural meaning to the concept of cultural environment. It was suggested that there has been an improvement in the overall approach to conservation, through a shift from a preoccupation with individual cultural monuments and objects to a concern for protection of larger geographical areas. However, the implication of cultural environment conservation as a more structural concept has not been achieved:

‘On a practical level, people still work with narrowly defined geographical areas rather than with wider structural contexts. However, this is not negative in relation to the concept of cultural monument conservation’ (CMO, 2000).

The same informant also noted a significant advantage of cultural environment conservation as a concept in that it facilitates a better understanding of places: ‘the advantage is that it provides a good working basis. It facilitates an understanding of coherent environments and how they should be managed in the planning process’ (CMO, 2000).

Another interviewee observed that the main reason for the shift towards cultural environment conservation was a result of people having seen whole areas being demolished in the 1960s, and, consequently:

‘What became important was the overall context which was a result of the devastating effects of the planning ideals which prevailed during the 1960s, when conservation of the cultural environment was usually regarded as irrelevant’ (CP, 2000).

Figure 6.3 portrays one example of the frequent demolition of historic buildings in Stockholm’s inner city during the 1960s.



**Figure 6.3** Stockholm citizens watching buildings in the *Hästryggen Quarter* of central Stockholm quarter being demolished (af Petersens, 1960, Stockholms Stadsmuseum).

Another informant similarly suggested that the conceptual shift was mainly a result of the large-scale approach to building in the 1960s and 1970s, involving widespread demolition of buildings in urban cores, combined with the introduction of a national physical planning scheme in the 1970s (*fysisk riksplanering*) which aimed at integrating conservation with physical planning:

‘It was partly due to the great exploitation in the 1960s and 1970s... It was not enough, anymore, to say that here are five burial grounds and there is one valuable church... What became important was the entirety... that they (different objects) could not be weighed against each other. It is also due to the national physical planning scheme, which ended in 1974. Although little had happened at a planning level, the programme-making phase was dynamic and most local authorities drew up master plans with special implementation programmes. It was recognised that the cultural landscape was not about *a building plus an ancient ruin*, but what linked them together, the actual structures. On this point, we are still behind. Our ‘environments’ are normally only enlarged objects, although they contain more components now than before’ (CMO, 2000).

Thus, it was due to the experience of the large-scale building of housing and transport networks, combined with the introduction of the national physical planning scheme, with attention being drawn first to specific objects and then eventually to whole areas:

'People began to refer to *cultural environments*. However, at the same time, it was decided that the Cultural Monuments Act (of 1988) would still be called the Cultural Monuments Act... The idea was that the wider conservation interests should be achieved through the Planning and Building Act (of 1987), something which has never really worked that well' (CMO, 2000).

One of the interviewees who had been directly involved in formulating cultural politics at the time of the conceptual shift explained:

'It was partly because the concept of cultural monument conservation was perceived as something obsolete... Conservation is not about retaining some old monuments, but something which forms an integrated part of everyday life. The concept of monument conservation brings associations to something without a link to the present. That is the reason why we introduced a more dynamic concept. Simultaneously, there were environmental forces at play which sought to achieve a more holistic approach to the environment, so it became quite natural to start referring to cultural environment conservation' (NCO, 2000).

Nevertheless, the interviewed representative from the Stockholm City Museum suggested that the occurrence of a conceptual shift from cultural monument to cultural environment conservation, has been exaggerated:

'In practice, such a shift does not really mean anything. It does not matter what something is called. In the early days, it was called cultural monument conservation... but the Stockholm City Museum was concerned with conservation of whole environments already then. This was not a problem. There is a notion of a shift *from monument to environment* in the approach to conservation, but from the Museum's point of view, there has not been such a sudden shift. We (Stockholm City Museum) have never worked with monuments exclusively for as long as I have been here (since the 1970s)... Even before that... take the Old Town for example... although there are many valuable individual buildings in this area, its value as an entirety has been known to authorities in Stockholm all along. The same applies to other areas' (LCO, 2000).

According to Nordin (1997) the conflict between conservation of monuments versus environments by the conservation sector in Sweden, has somewhat confused the message of how conservation should be approached. In many cases aspirations to conserve the entirety has implied that many individual features have been lost. What must be recognised is the justification for a concern for both monuments and environments simultaneously. However, conservation at these different scales requires a different approach to what conservation implies.

As explained by one of the interviewees, there will always be differences in opinion on how and to what extent conservation should be achieved, *e.g.* overall achievement of conservation versus strict preservation of all features and aspects:

‘There has always been a discussion on whether the pearls should be preserved to 110 per cent, or whether the entirety should be preserved to 80 per cent. However, I think it is important with an approach to conservation which considers the entirety... I do not think that such an approach jeopardises other conservation aspects’ (CP, 2000).

*From ‘Conservation and Revitalisation’ to ‘Conservation and Reuse’ with emphasis on Cultural Identity and Historic Continuity*

As discussed above, up until the 1970s, the overall approach to conservation of the built heritage in cultural politics emphasised conservation and revitalisation of the older cultural heritage. Cultural politics has gradually developed its overall conservation goals and focus to that of conservation and reuse of entire cultural environments, with an emphasis on cultural identity and historic continuity. This reflects a shift to a more dynamic approach to conservation. The practical experience and outcome of this and the way in which these issues have been approached by actors in the conservation sector will now be addressed.

Interview findings suggest, that ‘revitalisation’ represents a more static ‘museum’ approach to conservation, while ‘conservation and reuse’ reflects a more dynamic and practical approach:

‘It is easier to conserve and reuse, than to conserve and revitalise. The latter is associated with a greater financial cost. It is more related to a museum approach to conservation where old buildings are used for exhibitions *etc.* While conservation and reuse is more about utilisation and integration. It is important that conservation is not reduced to something which you enjoy only on Sundays, by way of going out looking at something which has been revitalised. That is the way I perceive it’ (CP, 2000).

Another interviewee similarly explained that:

‘A museum approach to conservation sterilises the cultural-historic continuity. In most cases, conservation through reuse is the best option, although a museum approach to conservation may be useful when you want to illustrate, for example, an old building technique’ (CCO, 2000).

One interviewee suggested that the idea of conserving and revitalising the older cultural heritage is questionable since the concept is based on a limited modern interpretation. Thus, one needs to ask whose culture it concerns. For example, if it concerns a heritage belonging to the past it implies that it is something which is obsolete:

‘The preoccupation of cultural politics with revitalisation of the cultural heritage of past times implied that something had to be dead, or obsolete, which in turn suggests that conservation is irrelevant to everyday life. That it concerns something which you

occasionally go to visit... and say how interesting and outstanding... It implies that something is distant to you. However, if you look at the cultural heritage as something which concerns you and your everyday life, whether you think about it or not, and that it is important to approach it consciously since man is a cultural being, then the task is to ask how you make use of your cultural heritage. Do you misuse it in order to isolate yourself from others by suggesting that is yours and this is mine?' (NCO, 2000).

From this perspective, reuse of the cultural heritage also concerns ideological aspects of how conservation is approached. Another interviewee explained that the discussion of revitalisation versus reuse had been a result of negative perceptions towards conservation as a hindrance to development:

'The rise of a discussion on conservation and adaptive reuse was due to the perception of conservation as something which halts development. Thus, it was a way to declare the cultural heritage, or the cultural environment as something that is not obsolete, that it can be rightly and beneficially utilised' (CMO, 2000).

Nevertheless, it was also suggested that in practical terms the significance of the political discussion on conservation and reuse had been overemphasised, similarly to the perceived exaggeration regarding a clear shift from monument based to environment based conservation:

'The promotion of the idea of adaptive reuse of buildings has been overly emphasised... Most buildings in Stockholm are used. It is not as if we have a lot of empty buildings for the sake of exhibiting the past. All these big phrases have had little relevance for Stockholm City. However, if you speak to the National Heritage Board they would probably say that it has been very important' (LCO, 2000).

With regard to cultural identity and historic continuity the interviewees did not extensively elaborate on this. Nevertheless, it was suggested that:

'It is difficult to define the concept of cultural identity, it can even be dangerous. I think most people would agree to that. I would rather argue for a recognition of the need for cultural links to the past' (CMO, 2000).

The same interviewee explained that there have been diverging opinions on what historic continuity means, also within the central conservation organisation:

'Even the National Heritage Board would have based arguments for conservation of, for example, an industrial building, on its well preserved original features, while other buildings would have been considered of less cultural-historic importance because they had been exposed to too much alteration. However, you may actually suggest that what characterises industrial buildings is their actual change over time, that is how I would define historic continuity. Dynamic change is also an important element' (CMO, 2000).

### *The Need for Integration of Cultural and Environmental Politics*

As discussed above, national policy reflects attempts towards integration of environmental and cultural politics in order to facilitate a more integrated approach to conservation of the cultural heritage. The 1970s witnessed general environmental awakening in Sweden like in many other nations. The Ministry of the Environment was formed in the late 1980s, followed by the forming of the Ministry of Culture shortly afterwards under a conservative government regime. Prior to this there existed a Cultural Environment Conservation Section within the Department of Education. Its functions were then transferred to the Cultural Heritage Section with the forming of the new Ministry of Culture. It has been suggested that there has been somewhat of an overlap of the responsibilities between the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Culture, which sometimes results in confusion regarding their roles in cultural environment conservation:

‘We are working on two different political tracks, one cultural and one environmental. The risk of this is that the (cultural environment) conservation sector becomes isolated in between these two. At a political level, there is often a confusion of whether it is the Minister of Culture, or the Minister of the Environment who is responsible for cultural environment conservation. The consequence may be that nobody takes responsibility for it. This is a problem and therefore attempts have been made to couple the two areas. However, the risk of integrating cultural with environmental politics is that we may lose our cultural standpoint and become purely environmental. (From a cultural point of view) you may look at the cultural heritage as something which takes place in people’s minds. Environmental politics, on the other hand, is quite spatial and scientific in its approach’ (NCO, 2000).

One interviewee who favoured an integrated approach suggested that an integration of cultural and environmental politics would equip the cultural environment conservation sector with greater force. However, it was explained that the National Heritage Board has sought to segregate itself from other sectors in order to distinguish its role as a cultural-historic conservation agency:

‘One of the main obstacles at stake in the past has been that the National Heritage Board has attempted to promote itself and the conservation sector (in isolation), rather than to co-operate (with the environment sector). In the 1970s, there were attempts to achieve closer co-operation between the Environmental Protection Agency (*Naturvårdsverket*) and the National Heritage Board. Then there was a tendency towards an isolated promotion of the cultural conservation sector. There was a perception that it may otherwise become absorbed by the environmental sector. However, a working-group (*Tvärs*) has recently been commissioned to investigate the matter. Thus, a standpoint on this will have to be made. However, I think that many within the conservation sector have not even familiarised themselves with what the newly introduced environmental goals will imply for the cultural environment conservation sector’ (CMO, 2000).

### *Cultural Politics: Out of Touch with Reality?*

Although the 1974 cultural political programme introduced a comprehensive agenda of progressive political goals and formed a basis for subsequent bills on conservation, it has been suggested that cultural politics has failed to embrace the relevance of the external contexts, e.g. manifestations of public reaction to redevelopment through protest actions. In other words, cultural politics in Sweden is progressive, but at the same time, there have often been gaps between policy and what takes place at ground level. This was especially the case during the 1970s, when two simultaneous processes occurred: a democratisation of culture at political level and widespread demolition of inner city built environments. Central authorities and politicians were out of touch with what and how people felt about the modern transformation of urban cores. The following quotations capture and demonstrate the case:

‘Many significant events took place during the 1960s and 1970s in terms of environmental thinking. Not only from the natural perspective but also from a cultural point of view. One of the main symbolic events was the Battle of the Elms (*Almstriden*) in *Kungsträdgården*. Although it was mainly radicals who were actively involved, climbing the trees and so on, there was also broad popular support for it. Thus, the people who actually occupied the elms expressed what a lot of Stockholm citizens felt at the time, including those who would not be inclined to demonstrate, and less so to climb trees, namely that the politicians were mismanaging their cultural environment in an almost contemptuous way. There was no regard amongst the elected representatives for the ownership people felt for their cultural heritage and environment. Instead, they were preoccupied with the idea that they were modernising and improving society, in the happy post-war spirit. What they did not understand was that they were actually violating something that is important to people. This is indeed a cultural political issue. However, when the first attempts were made to formulate what was to be called the state’s strategy for cultural politics, it became evident that while the state was formulating a political agenda, events such as the Battle for the Elms took place. Nevertheless, those who were involved in the drafting of cultural politics did not understand the cultural political relevance of this. It was an act of an almost inexcusably short-sighted approach to politics’ (NCO, 2000).

Figure 6.4 illustrates the occupation of the threatened elm trees in *Kungsträdgården* in central Stockholm in 1971, an event which became known as ‘The Battle for the Elms’ (*Almstriden*). The event became a symbol for a change in attitudes towards conservation manifested by public outcry and protest against demolition and redevelopment. The poster on the building reads ‘Man is dead – Long live the lucrative machines’,<sup>12</sup> depicting a skeleton hanging from one of the trees. The City of Stockholm had at this stage experienced widespread demolition and redevelopment in the inner city. The Battle for the Elms became a symbol for the halt of the destruction in urban centres and

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<sup>12</sup> *Människan är död – Länge leve de lönsamma maskinerna.*



a general change in climate and attitudes towards conservation. Figure 6.5 depicts the same site thirty years later.



**Figure 6.4:** Occupation of the elm trees in *Kungsträdgården* (af Petersens, 1971, Stockholms Stadsmuseum).



**Figure 6.5:** Stockholm citizens and visitors enjoying a break under the controversial elm trees at the ‘Teahouse’ in *Kungsträdgården* thirty years later (Negussie, 2001).

Furthermore, as suggested by the same informant:

‘A decentralised decision-making system was established as a goal for cultural politics and efforts were made to democratise culture. However, it was not recognised that in reality the opposite was happening, namely, that we had established a political planning culture and an exploitation culture which was preoccupied with depriving people of what they perceived as their cultural heritage. It was not realised that a democratisation of culture is also about the cultural heritage which exists in the environments that people live in’ (NCO, 2000).

### *Changes Beginning to Occur*

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a reaction against the modern post-war approach to urban environments, mainly as a result of widespread demolition and large-scale redevelopment of urban centres. Consequently, there was a gradual expansion of the environmental movement, which helped capture the relevance of the cultural aspects:

‘The changes occurred gradually. Care for the cultural environment became increasingly important during the 1970s and 1980s. The cultural heritage became legitimate and recognised as an important part of culture. However, cultural politics is still divided into a multitude of spheres, for example, cultural heritage and media issues’ (NCO, 2000).

The same interviewee suggested that the reason for the change towards greater understanding of conservation in cultural politics was a general maturing of ideas and the advancement of the environmental sphere:

‘It was partly due to the maturing of ideas. If something is important enough, a democracy is usually capable of capturing important flows of ideas. It was also due to the general development of the overall environmental issues. I remember when the Environmental Protection Agency was established in the mid-1960s and the Ministry of the Environment in the end of the 1980s. Today we take these departments for granted, although they are actually quite recent developments’ (NCO, 2000).

## 6.3. WHAT IS WORTH CONSERVING IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT? A TEMPORAL APPROACH

This section explores the varying ranges of elements that have been considered worthy of protection in urban environments in Sweden generally, with specific reference to the city of Stockholm. It illustrates that what we choose to conserve is determined by broader systems of political and cultural ideas and values. It discusses notions of a progression of conservation values through time and the way in which such temporal attitudes have progressed. Furthermore, it also explores the validity of the idea of a shift from a monument orientated to an environment based approach to conservation. In

addition, it discusses the embracing of the modern built heritage as a new focus for the conservation sector in Sweden and how this has been manifested in Stockholm.

The way in which redevelopment and conservation of the built heritage is approached, is determined by specific notions prevailing in society at a particular time. Such notions change over time and this is reflected in the approach to what we choose to conserve and how to achieve this. Englund (1997) raises the questions of how such notions affect conservation in contemporary Sweden, and the extent to which people's value systems shift between different generations. For example:

- ❑ What are the implications of the scepticism found in a generation which remembers the time when many city cores were transformed through large-scale modern urban renewal and during the implementation of the 'Million Programme'<sup>13</sup> in the 1970s?
- ❑ Are the decision-makers of today fully able to appreciate architectural values of buildings from the modern epoch, *e.g.* the 1950s and 1960s?
- ❑ Is the younger generation of the 1960s overly concerned with conservation, to the extent that they oppose any change of modern built environments, thereby contradicting the very idea of functionalism?
- ❑ Finally, is a new generation arising which will end up less conservation minded in order to create something of its own?

These issues were addressed in the interviews undertaken for this study. The following is based on opinions expressed by the interviewees on the varying ranges of elements which have been considered worthy of protection in the urban environment of Stockholm City and the degree to which these have changed through time.

### 6.3.1. A Gradual Progression of Conservation Values through Time

The interview material indicates that there has been a gradual transformation of attitudes towards what is considered worth conserving in the built environment. Since societal ideas and values of what is worth conserving change over time, it is especially

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<sup>13</sup> The Million (Dwelling) Programme refers to an ambitious State-programme which involved the building of one million dwellings between 1965-1974 in order to solve the national housing crisis.

important that the conservation sector, or various conservation bodies and professionals, look beyond the currently accepted norm of what is considered worth conserving:

‘There have always been shifts in appraisal of the built heritage. During the Renaissance, for example, attention was drawn to Greece, and during the eighteenth century, it was the Chinese influence. I think this is something that has always existed, it will and should continue to exist. However, it is important that the conservation sector itself is able to look beyond this, something which has not always been the case. Not too long ago people wanted to demolish the Old Town. Nineteenth century buildings were then considered ‘rubbish’. Now the debate concerns *Sergel’s Torg*<sup>14</sup>. This is where the role of the conservation sector to place the cultural heritage in a historical context comes in. Today, the focus is on how to restore modernism. We are beginning to realise that time has to pass (before a certain type of buildings are appreciated). Such temporal shifts in appraisal may indeed be something good, but they should not compromise other epochs or values. Nevertheless, I think it should always be possible to demolish buildings as long as they are replaced with something of better quality. That was the mistake made during the 1960s, namely that so much bad architecture replaced something which had been greater’ (CP, 2000).

A similar view was expressed by a second interviewee who emphasised that the conservation debate regarding the modern built heritage during the 1990s and onwards, especially the mass production approach to building during the 1970s, is not unusually progressive:

‘It is a gradual progression that leads to a sudden realisation that a certain period is legitimate from a conservation point of view. In the 1970s, for example, conservation of buildings from the functionalism era became a topic of debate. I think that we have always been 30-40 years ahead before we looked back on something, and this is normal. However, as soon as a new category is discovered it becomes obvious that the conservation sector itself sometimes lacks historical depth and perspective. The discussion today, regarding conservation issues in relation to the ‘Million Programme’ from the 1960s, is not unusually progressive. In fact it is rather normal. I think that during the 1940s, buildings dating from the turn-of-the-century were debated in a similar fashion. There comes a certain point when it is time to look back on the past, and as concerns the ‘Million-Programme’ we have now already passed that point. This has always been the approach of the conservation sector, although there is now a tendency to promote it as unusually innovative and progressive’ (NCO, 2000).

Such a progression of ideas and evaluation is reflected in the current work undertaken by the Stockholm City Museum. While the role of the City Museum in conservation has remained the same over time, its emphasis has varied over the years:

‘At an early stage, the concern was conservation of the Old Town, and the buildings of the eighteenth century. Then it was *Malmarna*<sup>15</sup> and the nineteenth century buildings. Today, the emphasis is on the large amount of buildings outside the inner city. It is now more about the large masses of buildings. A large proportion of the City Museum’s monitoring

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<sup>14</sup> A modern square located in central Stockholm (*also discussed below*).

<sup>15</sup> The Old Town is situated on the small island of *Stadsholmen*, where Stockholm first evolved. *Malmarna* constitute the areas north and south of the Old Town, which became part of Stockholm as a result of Royal donations of land in the Seventeenth century, and where further town-development occurred.

work still concerns the older built heritage. However, the scope of its work is widening' (LCO, 2000).

Finally, the following quotation illustrates how developments in conservation awareness over time have also led to a re-evaluation of how to approach individual building exteriors and interiors:

'Approximately thirty, or forty years ago, principally all facades were approached with sandblasting. It was considered easier compared to having facades full of decorative render. Facades were approached in a way that would not be accepted today. Then came a wave of realisation of the value of old buildings. In the mid-1970s, when the conservation wave replaced the demolition wave, people began to paint old buildings in all sorts of colours that the buildings had never had before to make them stand out, and plastic paint was used which was ill suited for old buildings. With regard to this, much progress has been achieved. Property owners are often well aware of the value of their old buildings and are interested in advice on what paint to use and so on. During the conservation wave (in the 1970s), emphasis was placed on the facades, while interiors were handled with little care. Old kitchen interiors and fireplaces were gutted. While there has been a shift in the approach to the older built heritage, such qualities are still being ripped out when buildings from the 1930s, 40s, and 50s are refurbished. This is a current problem' (LP, 2001).

Figures 6.6 and 6.7 portray buildings in the Old Town of Stockholm, once threatened by demolition plans and urban renewal. The entire Old Town is today considered to have a significant cultural-historic value, not only by the Stockholm City Museum, and is regarded as a top priority conservation entity.



Figure 6.6: Alley in the Old Town of Stockholm (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 6.7:** Quarter of the Old Town, Stockholm (Negussie, 2001).

### 6.3.2. From 'Monument' to 'Cultural Environment Conservation'?

As discussed above, there has been a general change in attitudes towards conservation in Sweden, reflected in a shift from an object orientated approach to a more structural 'environment'-based or 'area'-based approach to conservation. According to Wetterberg (1992), the idea of a shift from an object-orientated approach to an interest in whole environments has become somewhat of a 'cliché' frequently used within the conservation sector. Wetterberg argues that the idea was used in different contexts long before the concept was captured in formal politics in the late 1980s. For example, there have been earlier periods when conservation has formed part of wider political and social ambitions to achieve entirety and continuity in society. This was the case during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, this changed with the arrival of the strong modern influence during the 1930s. During this period the conservation sector became more concerned with individual monuments, up until the late 1960s, when once again emphasis was placed on conservation of whole environments.

For Wetterberg, the validity of a shift from an object to an environment-based approach to conservation depends on the interpretation of the ‘environment’ as a concept. He suggests that there has been a shift within the conservation sector from pre-occupation with individual monuments, to wider geographical contexts, *e.g.* from buildings to built areas. Furthermore, there has been an ‘objectification’ of larger geographical areas, and from this perspective there has been a continuing development from an object to an environment orientated approach within the conservation sector in Sweden. Thus, conservation of larger geographical areas may imply concern for larger objects, rather than for environments, which attaches a deeper and more structural meaning.

The following quotation from an interview with a local planner illustrates the effects of the limited scope of conservation in Stockholm City, during its most intense urban renewal period:

‘In the mid-twentieth century, the conservation sector was mainly concerned with the extraordinary. It was given that castles and churches were valuable. When the New Stockholm City was planned it was mainly *Klara Kyrka* and the *Central Station* that were considered worth conserving; the rest of it could go. This approach to conservation has changed. Although the City Museum was opposed to what was happening already then, the experts have also changed their outlook in that they speak more about conservation of the cultural environment, rather than of cultural monuments. Thus, the entirety has become more emphasised amongst the experts. Gradually, the view of the general public has then also developed. At the initial stage of the wide-scale demolition in the inner city, many Stockholm citizens probably agreed to them at first. However, then there was a major shift and the ‘Battle for the Elms’ (*Almstriden*) became a symbol of that shift in attitudes, that people had had enough’ (LP, 2001).

Figure 6.8 illustrates the limited approach to conservation during the building of the ‘New Stockholm City’ in the 1960s and 1970s.

Furthermore, the same interviewee explained that the reason why the wide scale demolition of buildings took place had more to do with a shift in attitudes towards what is considered worth conserving rather than a shift in working approach:

‘The conservation of cultural-historic buildings were dealt with similarly to now, but they were evaluated differently. Few buildings in Stockholm City were considered to be of any value. Inventories were made just like today, but it was concluded that most of it (the building stock) was worthless. The process of q-designation <sup>16</sup>of buildings was similar, but nobody wanted to use such instruments because they were not considered to be of any great value. That is why it went the way it did (the wide scale demolition) (LP, 2001).

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<sup>16</sup> The local planning instrument for protection of cultural-historic buildings (see Chapter Seven).



**Figure 6.8:** Buildings worth conserving during the building of the New Stockholm City: the rear of the Central Station to the left and *Klara Kyrka* in the middle (Negussie, 2001).

### 6.3.3. Consensus Regarding Conservation of the ‘Older’ Built Heritage

Bedoire (1993) argues that in Swedish cities there has been a shift away from the idea that conservation concerns an élite group of building objects to the embracing of area conservation. Furthermore, in many places all of the old building stock has become accepted as worth conserving, as a result of the drastic transformation of many cities during the post-war period. Bedoire refers to the built heritage dating from after the 1950s as ‘half old’, suggesting however that the contemporary conservation challenge concerns built environments from the 1960s and 1970s. The interviewees supported the view of a consensus regarding conservation of the older parts of the built heritage in contemporary Stockholm. Thus, the main issue of debate today is conservation of modern built environments. For example,

‘There is consensus regarding the value of the older parts of the built heritage, while the modern has become the challenge. It is not a challenge anymore to argue that a building from the eighteenth century should be conserved. Nobody deliberately sets out to demolish such buildings unless there are specific technical or economic reasons. It is not an ideological problem anymore’ (LCO, 2000).

Another interviewee suggested that there is consensus regarding buildings older than 50 years:



'We have achieved consensus in that all buildings older than 50 years are considered worth conserving. Conservation is not only about castles and churches anymore, but also about the more simple buildings and the entirety. The whole inner city is considered to be of 'national interest'. Today the concern is the more recent architecture such as *Sergel's Torg* and the 'Million Programme'. Psychology plays an important role in this and we have a similar situation as to when people wanted to demolish buildings that reminded them of the 'poor' Sweden. What people thought then was that they had grown up in cramped houses without any running water and, therefore, they wanted to see it go, instead of recognising that there were other qualities in those quarters. The same thing is now happening with the 'Million Programme'. There are attitudes that nothing is good about these environments and that they should be demolished. Not everything was good about it but not everything was bad either. *Sergel's Torg* may not be the crown of the creation, but it may be the most important example of planning during that time period in Stockholm City. The adjoining *Hötorg City*, is a few years older than *Sergel's Torg* and has been embraced by the 1950s-revival (Figure 6.9). The buildings are considered trendy and it is now accepted that they should be conserved. However, the more recent built heritage is still too close, there is not enough distance for a proper evaluation, neither amongst the experts nor the general public' (LP, 2001).



**Figure 6.9:** *The Hötorg City* (Negussie, 2001).

While there is consensus regarding conservation of the older built heritage one of the interviewees recognised that new attitudes could arise after a long period of consensus regarding conservation of the built heritage, which may give rise to a less conservation minded regime. It was suggested that there are signs of aspirations to create something new amongst the younger generation, especially architects, who themselves have not experienced the earlier decades of large-scale urban renewal.

'There is a consensus regarding up to at least 1950, almost everyone agrees to conservation of the older built heritage. However, this was not the case in the earlier days, when anything old was considered worthless, with the exception of churches and other landmark buildings. People had a different vision of the future in those days and they wanted to create something new. The new generation of today, including the younger architects, have not been part of this experience and may similarly conclude that there is now a need for

further change. You can actually feel such attitudes hanging in the air now. I have been privileged to be part of a generation which began its pursuit of conservation in the worst condition possible, which then gradually improved and stabilised. But there is a sense now that there are those who may want to do something different than to conserve. At the same time, there are those who now have a quite broad approach to conservation. I remember people's attitudes in the 1970s, when nobody understood why it was important to conserve works of carpentry, for example, with the exception of a small group of experts. Today, this is something that is taken for granted. Fireplaces, carpentry and plaster works are all promoted as special values by real estate agents, while in the past people considered such attributes terrible and said 'let's modernise'. It was all similar to how people today perceive buildings from the 'Million Programme' (LCO, 2000).

#### 6.3.4. The Growing Debate on Conservation of the Modern Built Environment

An issue of *Kulturmiljö* in 1996, a conservation journal published by the Swedish National Heritage Board, was dedicated to the theme of the modern built heritage reflecting a growing interest and concern for its conservation. A brief review gives an introduction to expert conservation opinion in Sweden.

For example, Rudberg (1996) discusses the controversy of the modern building stock that represents failures, as well as important values like any other architectural period. While it may be questioned whether it is legitimate to promote conservation of a building style of which the designers advocated that architecture should reflect its own time, alteration and eradication of this heritage would result in a 'historical building vacuum' (*Ibid.*, 3).

Wegraeus (1996) suggests that it is a challenge to recognise the qualities in what is 'half old', while it is easier to appreciate something that is either brand new or old enough for new generations to re-evaluate previous standards and ideals. He notes that *Strandvägen*, which is today one of the most fashionable eighteenth century boulevards in Stockholm City, was considered worth demolishing by politicians in the 1960s. Thus, there is a risk of repeating the mistakes of earlier decades if the twentieth century building stock is neglected. Wegraeus asserts that the modern built heritage reflects not only architectural values, but also the value systems, ambitions and aspirations that prevailed in society at the time of its building. In response to this, the National Heritage Board had, by 1996, participated in the making of conservation television programmes (e.g. '*K-märkt*') and in arranging conferences to promote the modern built heritage. Recognising that the number of designated modern buildings under national legislation is quite low, by the mid-1990s, there had at least been debate and discussion regarding conservation of some major modern buildings in Stockholm. Wagraeus also highlights

that the difficulties attached to maintenance of modern building materials have opened up a new field of conservation research.

Simonsson (1996) suggests that although a large proportion of Sweden's building stock was developed during the post-1930 period this is not reflected in the stock of legally protected buildings. In 1996, approximately 50 of 1400 registered building monuments in Sweden dated from the 1920 and onwards. Few of these were from the 1940s, 50s and 60s. Of the 1700 (*approx.*) cultural-historic 'areas of national interest', only 35 of these were modern built environments. However, no similar overview existed for protection of modern buildings through the use of local planning instruments. Simonsson concludes that extensive inventories are required in order to provide a basis for proper legal protection of the modern built heritage (*Ibid.*).

In Stockholm, the City Museum, which is responsible for inventories of the built heritage, has increasingly become engaged in inventory work of modern buildings and environments. During the 1980s, inventorying of the 'half old' building stock of the outer parts of the city was undertaken. In the 1990s, built environments from the 1950s became a focus. However, up until the mid-1990s, few buildings from the post-1960 period had been included in the inventorying work (Råberg, 1996). Råberg argues that the greatest challenge from a conservation perspective involves how to approach the large-scale housing areas built in the 1960s and 1970s under the 'Million Programme', mainly in the outer parts of the city, which constitute the most characteristic examples of building from this period (*Ibid.*).

According to Vidén (1996) generalising statements and the negative image of these housing areas have implied that actual architectural qualities have been neglected. The approach to refurbishment in these areas has thereby often been inconsiderate to existing qualities. Furthermore, Vidén argues that these 'problem' buildings and environments have become the new conservation challenge. The repetitions of forms, the flat roofs and the concrete environments, qualities which characterise the buildings from this period, may need to be changed for technical reasons or out of a concern from the people who live there (*Ibid.*).

The interviewees were asked to explain the reasons for the growing concern over modern built environments and how conservation is being approached in terms of implementation in Stockholm. For example, in response, one person noted that:

‘Quite a lot has happened during the last five or six years. The ‘tax office building’ (*Skattehuset*) illustrates a good example (Figure 6.10). A visit was recently paid to it by the Conservation Department of the County Administrative Board and people have now begun to take pride in it after it was explained *why* it looks the way it does. In the past, it has had a different symbolic value. It has mainly been associated with concrete and taxation. The Swedish series of TV programmes, ‘*K-märkt*’, has also contributed a great deal to raised levels of awareness, combined with a general nostalgia of the 1950s and 1960s. There is popular awareness of modern buildings, not only amongst the exclusive circles of architects, such as Docomomo<sup>17</sup>, and a general notion that this is part of our history. The professional conservationist has a role in educating people how to see values that they would not normally see’ (CP, 2000).



**Figure 6.10:** *Skattehuset*: a modern building proposed for building monument designation (Negussie, 2001).

Another interviewee similarly suggested that the debate on the modern built heritage has been intense from the mid-1990s onwards. It was explained that it was partly triggered by various attempts to improve post-war built environments through alteration works:

‘There was a perception that the adding of bells, towers and bays to buildings, and painting them pink, would improve their physical appearance. Many such alterations took place

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<sup>17</sup> Docomomo is an international organisation working for the conservation of the modern built heritage.

during the 1980s and 1990s, before the conservation sector had become involved in this process. Today the discussions form part of a state programme which attempts to address these issues. It is being proposed that the existing values of these environments should be respected, thus making this debate meaningful. However, the situation is almost ridiculously comparable to that of the 1960s. I remember older colleagues of mine who could not understand why turn-of-the-century built environments should be conserved. It was claimed they smelled of cabbage soup and represented the slums and that they should all be demolished. Today, we are able to understand this reasoning a bit more, since we are saying almost the same: that these large-scale modern environments are dreadful... I have noticed that the younger generations have a more positive picture compared to those who remember when these areas were being built. Some of it was considered good architecture, but many were also upset by the large-scale approach to building, something that remains an issue. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that these areas were expressions of their time, and from a cultural-historic perspective they are evidence of a time characteristic approach to urban planning' (LCO, 2000).

One interviewee explained that the reasons why the modern built heritage has come into focus is similar to when the first ancient monuments associations were established in 1859, namely because people see something which has been part of their identities disappear:

'It is the same now, when 35-40 year olds are faced with the demolition threats of *Sergels Torg*. It is their history that is being lost. Another reason is that there have been hostile attitudes towards the post-war built environment. However, many people have lived in these environments and it is now being recognised that they are not so bad after all. This has been coupled with an international debate reflecting the same issues' (CMO, 2000).

Another interviewee illustrated this point with an example of a building which was being demolished at the time of the undertaking of this study:

'What is arising from *Sergels Torg* is how we look at the cultural heritage which is only 10-30 years old. The question is now what will be worth conserving from the 1960s, 70s and 80s? *Liljeholmen*, an industrial area similar to *Hammarby Sjöstad* will be transformed into a new residential area within the next few years. It contains a massive building at the waterfront from the 1960s, *Vin och Sprit Centralen*. The business moved out long ago and this building will be demolished. However, the City Museum argued that it had a significant cultural-historic value reflecting the 1960s, and that it should be retained as offices for example. However, the developer and the politicians wanted to create new housing and the view of the City Museum was dismissed. It is these types of buildings that are presently under demolition threat' (LP, 2001).

Figure 6.11 depicts the former 'Wine and Spirits Central' dating to the 1960s, prior to its total demolition due to the building of new housing in one of Stockholm's industrial areas subject to extensive urban renewal.



**Figure 6.11:** Part of the Wine and Spirits Central in Liljeholmen undergoing demolition when the photograph was taken (Negussie, 2001).

Approximately 80 per cent of the built environment in Sweden dates from the post-war period. In Stockholm, a project has been initiated by the County Administrative Board, which specifically addresses the importance of post-war built environments (*Storstadssatsningen*). The main aim of the project is to establish an information base of post-war buildings and built environments as a working basis for the conservation sector, and to highlight the cultural-historic values within these environments for various audiences. The project forms part of a government programme, as discussed above, entitled Development and Justice: Politics for Cities in the 21st Century (bill 1997/98:165). According to the interviewed County Conservation Officer:

‘It is important to identify the cultural-historic values in time and to eliminate the bad reputation that some of these areas have acquired in order to provide the public with a more varied idea of the last 50 years of building. This is also important in terms of sustainable development, that buildings which may work should not demolished’ (CCO, 2000).

Another interviewee explained that the project could have a significant effect on how buildings built under the ‘Million Programme’ are to be approached:

‘If the project is utilised and if engagement with the local authorities succeeds, then it is a signal that the ‘Million Programme’ is of significance, that it is something worth protecting, not only the buildings from this period but the entire planning culture’ (CMO, 2000).

Furthermore, it was suggested that up until recently it had been legitimate to disregard the ‘Million Programme’ in conservation discussions at policy level:

‘The discussion at policy level came in at a late stage, only in the last couple of years. I remember when the question about the ‘Million programme’ was first raised at one particular County Administrative Board. People were laughing and thought it was ridiculous... and all these alterations, building of new balconies and attempts to give them a post-modern touch. People are not able to see the values in them. It is only during the last four to five years that the conservation sector itself has begun to look at it as something valuable. Many still do not take it seriously. However, the state has taken a standpoint which is important’ (CMO, 2000).

*Sergels Torg* illustrates an example of the debate on what to conserve of the modern built heritage in contemporary Sweden. Located in central Stockholm, the square forms part of a major redevelopment scheme, which transformed the inner city during the 1960s and 1970s. The scheme involved large-scale demolition of historic buildings, with the replacement of a modern square and modern building complexes, including seven high-rise buildings. The square has been associated with social problems and generated extensive planning debate in the City Council during the 1990s, with different views ranging from those who wanted completely to rebuild this area, to those who claimed that the square should be conserved as an expression of its own time. It has been suggested that the complete re-building of the square would imply the repeating of the mistakes made during the demolition wave of the 1960s:

‘There is a danger in proclaiming that something is ugly, useless, and that it should be decked in, as has been suggested for *Sergels Torg* by some local politicians. That is to deny several generations of Stockholm citizens their own history. Museums often tend to stand in between history and the spectator by claiming that a certain way of looking at it is right. In this case, the politicians are doing exactly the same thing’ (CMO, 2000).

From this perspective, attitudes towards the legitimacy of conserving *Sergels Torg* vary with regard to generation belonging. As suggested by one interviewee:

‘What was fascinating at the initial stage of the debate on *Sergels Torg*, was that it was mainly the older generations who favoured its demolition, while the younger generations, the 20-25 year-olds, said that this is *our* cultural environment. Those who remembered what the area used to look like before the square was built wanted to see it demolished’ (CP, 2000).

Finally, one interviewee referred to the dilemma of conserving a building style reflecting a planning culture, which promoted demolition of the old built heritage:

‘What is interesting with *Sergels Torg*, except for the fact that it is a brilliant architectural solution, is that as with many of the buildings built under the ‘Million Programme’, the original idea was that they should stand for about 50 years. The idea was that they should eventually be demolished. This is actually stated in the programme. Thus, these buildings were not built for the future, something that becomes evident at a closer look at the building materials used. Nevertheless, you may also look at it and say that we should learn from our mistakes’ (CMO, 2000).

Figure 6.12 depicts *Sergels Torg* and its surrounding buildings in 2001, while Figure 6.13 illustrates the same site 50 years earlier. The pictures capture the extent to which urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s transformed the shape of many inner city areas.



**Figure 6.12:** *Sergels Torg* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 6.13:** The previous *Skansen* quarter where *Sergels Torg* is situated today (af Petersens, 1952, Stockholms Stadsmuseum).



## 6.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter appraised the impact of contemporary cultural and political ideas underpinning the approach to built heritage management in Sweden with specific reference to Stockholm City, achieved mainly by a discussion on societal developments in conservation reflected in cultural politics. Ideologically, it has been suggested that the strong position of social democracy and the labour movement at the beginning of the twentieth century impinged negatively on conservation due to aspirations of building a new equality-based society. Nevertheless, during the second half of the twentieth century, as the public gained a strong position in society and private property rights became less emphasised, the Left increasingly defended conservation in the name of public interest. However, during the most intense period of urban renewal there was little difference in approach to urban conservation between the two opposite sides of the political spectrum. The following chapters explore in further detail the extent to which Sweden's legacy as a socialist welfare state has had implications for conservation in terms of degree to which the state has intervened in regulating capital in favour of public interest.

Sweden has experienced three phases of development in cultural environment conservation with regard to overall developments within the conservation sector and political directives in modern times. During the 1970s, when the first phase took place, emphasis was placed mainly on the physical aspects of cultural heritage as a consequence of widespread demolition and insensitive developments in urban areas during the 1960s, the primary goal was integration of conservation with land-use planning. The overall conservation objective was to achieve conservation and revitalisation of the older built heritage.

The second phase, which occurred in the mid-1980s, was characterised by a broadening of responsibilities within the conservation sector to include wider environmental issues, with recognition of the relationship between cultural and environmental politics. During this phase, cultural politics sought to emphasise the importance of local cultural identity, decentralisation of culturally related activities and decision-making procedures, and moved away from a time-restricted approach to conservation in order to embrace contemporary environments within the conservation agenda.

During the third phase, which dominated the 1990s, there was recognition of the need for an even broader interpretation of cultural environment conservation to include material as well as immaterial cultural-historic values. The goal of conservation and revitalisation of the older built heritage was replaced with conservation and reuse of the cultural heritage. Also, conservation of everybody's heritage was promoted, with a call for a conscious and responsible approach to interpretation and use of the cultural heritage. Thus, cultural politics and conservation sector activities in Sweden have gradually developed from a preoccupation with physical preservation of monuments and buildings towards a more holistic conservation approach with emphasis placed on historical continuity and cultural identity. However, there are divergent opinions on the significance of key conservation objectives and developments in cultural politics. At times, cultural politics have failed to embrace the relevance of external contexts, especially during the 1970s. Thus, while cultural politics has been progressive in terms of conservation there have often been gaps between policy and what takes place at ground level.

Finally, this chapter also explored overall shifts in attitudes towards what is worth conserving in the urban environment. In Sweden, there has been a gradual progression in attitudes towards what is worth conserving in urban environments. Furthermore, there has been a shift from an object-orientated to an area-based approach to conservation. In contemporary Stockholm, there is consensus that the older parts of the building stock should be conserved. As suggested by informants, conservation of older buildings is not an 'ideological problem' anymore and buildings older than 50 years are usually regarded as worthy of conservation. The contemporary conservation challenge concerns built environments from the 1960s and 1970s. However, during the 1990s there was growing interest and concern for conservation of the modern built heritage, something which has been reflected in the work of the Stockholm City Museum.

There is an awareness within the Swedish conservation sector that there is a need to constantly re-evaluate the built heritage, and that neglect of the twentieth century building stock could imply the repeating of mistakes made in the 1960s and 1970s during the wave of demolition in urban historic cores. Nevertheless, the conservation of modern built environments is still a rather controversial issue, especially since modern buildings reflect a planning culture which often promoted demolition of historic

buildings, due to negative attitudes and associations with many modern built environments and difficulties involved in maintaining modern building materials.

The following two chapters explore the legal framework and the existence of financial incentives for protection of the urban built heritage in Sweden, heritage management and urban conservation planning in Stockholm City.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR PROTECTION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE AND FINANCIAL INCENTIVES FOR CONSERVATION IN SWEDEN

This chapter discusses the legal and financial incentive frameworks for conservation of the built heritage in Sweden. First, it reviews specific conservation legislation with regard to protection of the built heritage. Through the designation of building monuments under the Cultural Monuments Act (*Kulturminneslagen*), the state is responsible for protecting a selection of buildings considered to have an outstanding cultural-historic value. Secondly, it reviews conservation legislation within the planning code. The overall legal responsibility for protection of the built heritage in Sweden lies with the local authorities whose main legal instrument is the Planning and Building Act (*Plan- och bygglagen*). Thirdly, legal provisions for protection of the built heritage within the environmental code are discussed. The use and effectiveness of environmental impact statements (*miljökonsekvensbeskrivningar*) is also discussed. Fourthly, based on interview findings this chapter evaluates the effectiveness of the legal framework for urban conservation in Sweden focusing on the experience of Stockholm City. Finally, it discusses the implications of changing ownership structures for legal protection of the built heritage. Finally, this chapter reviews the system for financial state support towards conservation of the built heritage.

#### 7.1. CULTURAL MONUMENTS ACT, 1988

##### *Historical Background*

The first Act on ancient monuments was passed in 1666 and included protection of all ancient monuments on taxable land and land owned by the Crown. The definition of ancient monuments was broad. However, the law was hardly ever actively applied. In 1667, a board for research on antiquities was established in Uppsala but was later moved to Stockholm, where it became an archive for antiquities. During the eighteenth century, little interest was taken in Nordic ancient history. However, with the turn-of-

the nineteenth century, and the arrival of the Romantic era, this interest was reawakened. Consequently, a new ordinance on ancient monuments was passed in 1828. The ordinance was rather weak and was later replaced with a new Act in 1867, which protected permanent ancient monuments, although without any specific guidelines. Scientific archaeological research from the mid-1800s led to greater awareness of the historical significance of such monuments. In 1942, a new rather radical Act, offering protection for all permanent ancient monuments and structures, was passed. A central feature of the Act was the obligation of financing scientific excavations prior to any alteration or removal of ancient structures. Combined with decisions on systematic inventories and surveys, this legislation established a foundation for modern archaeology in Sweden. The 1942 Act was later amended and included in the current Cultural Monuments Act of 1988 (Damell, *et al.*, 1994).

While the tradition of legal protection of ancient monuments in Sweden is strong, legal protection of buildings was introduced relatively late compared to, for example, French legislation. However, the evolution of legal protection of buildings goes back to the royal interest taken in the protection of certain historical buildings already in the sixteenth century. In 1618, a Royal Chamber Order was issued concerning management of properties and buildings belonging to the Crown. The first building inventory<sup>1</sup> was carried out in Sweden between 1661-1717. In addition to prestigious buildings such as fortresses and castles, the state also showed a concern for churches. This was manifested legally by an imposed congregational responsibility for churches under royal supervision. In 1759, a royal letter established directives on how these should be maintained and preserved. This was later extended to include public buildings. The Ancient Monuments Ordinance of 1867, required government permission for demolition or rebuilding of old churches. However, these regulations did not apply to any other buildings. The first legal protection of public buildings was introduced with special directives established in 1920, which implied protection of public buildings of artistic or cultural-historic value (*Ibid.*).

In 1942, an Act was passed which made it possible to protect privately owned buildings of a 'remarkable' cultural-historic value. However, protection under this Act depended on the owner's approval. An investigation into the protection of buildings resulted in the

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<sup>1</sup> The inventory was entitled *Suecia Antiqua et Hordierna* and was carried out by Erik Dalbergh. The inventory reflected a romanticised and somewhat exaggerated illustrations of the built heritage.

1960 Building Monuments Act. A building of ‘outstanding interest’ (*synnerligen märklig*) for cultural-historic reasons could now legally be declared a building monument against the will of an owner, who in some cases would receive financial support from the state. This legislation was later included in the current Cultural Monuments Act of 1988 (*Ibid.*).

One of the initial intentions with the 1960 Building Monuments Act was to afford protection to all outstanding cultural-historic buildings that had been so determined. The aim was to select buildings based on existing documentation and knowledge on the nation’s building-stock, and gradually to complement this with new systematic inventories. For various reasons, the declaration of building monuments has not been achieved in this systematic fashion throughout the country, partly because objects exposed to immediate threat have been prioritised. However, a guidelines document on the Cultural Monuments Act and the designation of building monuments, published by the Swedish National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*), promoted the goal of systematically securing protection of all nationally important buildings in a proactive way (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*, 1991).

The 1960 Act aimed at securing a selection of building monuments representing various time periods, building styles, historic processes and social conditions (*Ibid.*). By 1991, there were approximately 1100 building monuments registered in Sweden, in private or municipal ownership, including categories such as castles and mansions, villages, farms and cottages, rectories and ecclesiastical groups of buildings, trade and craft-yards, industrial buildings and workers’ dwellings, court houses, schools, houses, theatres and free churches. Approximately 400 building monuments in state ownership were registered the same year, including categories such as royal palaces and nobility houses, fortresses, university buildings, court houses, lighthouses, custom houses, railway stations, regiments, bishops’ estates and monasteries (*Damell, et al.*, 1994). However, a building monument may constitute several individual buildings, based on the precondition that the buildings constitute an entity of cultural-historic significance (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*, 1991).

In spite of the wide selection, there are categories that are underrepresented or not included at all. However, it is recognised that since the 1960 Act was introduced there has been a widened approach to what is considered worth conserving. Thus, since the

selection methods cannot be fixed once and for all, it is important to proceed with a systematic and deliberate approach to inventorying and evaluation of the built heritage (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991).

The Cultural Monuments Act, 1988, contains provisions relating to archaeological remains, cultural-historic buildings, ecclesiastical property of cultural-historic interest and controlling the export of cultural objects from Sweden<sup>2</sup>. The provisions on cultural-historic buildings and the ecclesiastical heritage are now reviewed. The main responsibility for implementation of the Act lies with the county administrative boards which supervise cultural resources at county level on behalf of the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991). However, the Act emphasises that the overall responsibility for the cultural environment is shared by all:

‘The care and preservation of our cultural environment is a matter of national concern. Responsibility for this is shared by all. Both individual persons and public authorities must show consideration and care towards the cultural environment. Any person planning or carrying out work must ensure that damage to the cultural environment is as far as possible avoided or limited’<sup>3</sup>.

#### 7.1.1. Designated Building Monuments

##### *Scope of Protection*

A building of outstanding interest for reasons of its cultural-historic value, or forming part of a settlement of outstanding cultural-historic interest, may be declared a building monument (*byggnadsminne*) by a county administrative board. In addition, parks, gardens or other structures of cultural-historic interest may also be declared building monuments<sup>4</sup>. Buildings and structures of more ordinary character may be declared building monuments if they form part of a settlement of outstanding cultural-historic interest (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991).

The first example of a designation embracing a settlement area under this Act was implemented in the town of Eksjö in the early 1990s, including approximately 65 buildings (Franzén, 1993). The designation of building monuments by the county administrative boards is a discretionary power. As discussed below, some local

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2 Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 1§2.

3 Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 1§1.

4 Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 3§1

authorities, such as Stockholm City, have preferred to safeguard the built heritage within the local planning code.

A distinction is made between building monuments in private and state ownership. Building monuments in state ownership are regulated under a specific ordinance (see below). However, if a state-owned building monument is transferred to non-state ownership, the Cultural Monuments Act automatically applies to the building<sup>5</sup>. In case of such a transferral, the relevant county administrative board must declare a building monument designation<sup>6</sup>.

### *Protection Orders*

When a building is declared a building monument by a county administrative board, it is obliged to provide the owner with a protection order (*skyddsföreskrift*) containing specific guidelines on the way in which the building is to be cared for and maintained. The protection order should also state the ways in which the building may not be altered. Provisions on how an area surrounding a building monument is to be kept may also be included<sup>7</sup>, e.g. a courtyard space of an urban quarter, a garden, or any other space which contributes to the character of the building monument (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991).

The protection orders should be based on the cultural-historic qualities as defined in the reason stated for a building monument designation. For buildings, the orders may include a whole building, or parts of a building such as exteriors and interiors, or parts of interiors such as specific building structures or rooms of specific interest. Items belonging to a building, e.g. doors, windows and window frames, panelling, floors, wall paintings and paper, plasterwork and fireplaces, may also be protected (*Ibid.*).

The protection orders should, as far as possible, be formed by agreement with the owner(s) affected by the designation and whose obligations should not exceed the minimum requirement for the maintenance of the cultural-historic value of the building. They should also contain provisions on appropriate use for the building monument,

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<sup>5</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 3§1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 3§7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 3§2.



corresponding to the ‘reasonable wishes of the owner’<sup>8</sup>. Protection orders may be framed against the will of the owner, although as a principle the best results are achieved when there is close co-operation and agreement between the state and the private property owner. The protection orders are considered as an important key to dialogue which facilitates proper care of cultural-historic values (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991). In special circumstances, a county administrative board may grant permission for alterations contrary to the instructions of the protection order<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the protection orders are to be seen not only as an infringement of individual property rights, but also as an opportunity of access to conservation expertise and guidance (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991).

### *Designation of Building Monuments*

A significant feature of the Act is the right of any person to propose a designation of a building monument by application to the county administrative boards, by enclosing details of ownership and the property on which the building is located and a description of the building concerned. However, before a structure is declared to be a building monument, the relevant county administrative board must investigate whether funding is available, since the owner may claim compensation under the Act<sup>10</sup>.

During the process of declaring a building monument, county administrative boards may in exceptional cases ‘prohibit measures which may reduce or destroy the historic value of the building’ for up to six months<sup>11</sup>. While contemplating the declaration of a building monument, a county administrative board may also ordain that it must be informed before a proposed building monument is demolished or altered in any way. In the case of such a notification, the county administrative board has one month to decide whether the proposed building monument is to be designated as such<sup>12</sup>. This possibility to place buildings considered for designation on a temporary ‘waiting-list’, with a notification duty on behalf of the owner in case of demolition or alteration, is an important feature introduced with the 1988 Act (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991):

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<sup>8</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 3§3.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 3§5.

<sup>12</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 3§6.

'If there is a presumption of a building's being considered for designation as a historic building, the State County Administration may, without the question of designation as a historic building having been raised, ordain that the State County Administration is to be notified before the building is demolished or altered in any way substantially impairing its historic value. Within a month of being notified, the State County Administration is to decide whether it will initiate the question of declaring the building concerned to be a historic building. During this respite, the measure of which notice has been given may not be taken unless sanctioned by the State County Administration'<sup>13</sup>.

When a building monument designation is made, the county administrative boards must notify the registration authority 'without delay'<sup>14</sup>. Finally, any person working on behalf of the Swedish National Heritage Board, or the relevant county administrative board, may have access to any property which is affected by the Act<sup>15</sup>. However, there are no requirements for owners of building monuments to ensure public access, even if they have been sponsored financially by the state (Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991). A county administrative board may cancel a building monument designation if it causes 'hindrance, inconvenience or expense out of reasonable proportion to the importance of the building'<sup>16</sup>.

The 'Cultural Monuments Ordinance' contains further provisions. For example, before a building designation is made, the county administrative board must give the local authority the opportunity to state its opinion on the matter<sup>17</sup>. It must also notify the local authority committee, or planning and building committees, when a building has been declared a building monument<sup>18</sup>. The county administrative boards may, by agreement with the owner and at the expense of the state, place a plaque on the building stating that it is a designated building monument<sup>19</sup>.

### *Enforcement Provisions*

If an owner of a designated building monument neglects the instructions of the protection order, the county administrative board may order the owner to take necessary measures within a reasonable time period. However, if the owner fails to comply, the

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§8.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§15.

<sup>17</sup> Förordning om statliga byggnadsminnen, 1988, §11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* §12.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* §13.

county administrative board may itself carry out the works required at the owner's cost<sup>20</sup>. If the owner has made alterations to a designated building monument the county administrative board may insist that the owner reverses the alteration if this is possible. The owner may also be fined for such actions<sup>21</sup>. In addition, fines can be imposed on any person who demolishes, destroys or alters a building monument contrary to a protection order. This also applies to any violation against prohibition measures taken by the county administrative board during the process of a building monument designation<sup>22</sup>.

### *Appeals*

Decisions by the county administrative board under the Act may generally be appealed to the common administrative court by any affected party. However, if a county administrative board decides not to declare a designation of a proposed building monument, only the Swedish National Heritage Board can make an appeal<sup>23</sup>. While decisions by the county administrative board regarding compensation and redemption are final, any person can take legal action against the state in the Real Property Court within one year of such a decision<sup>24</sup>.

### *Compensation*

The owner of a property declared a building monument is entitled to state compensation if the protection order:

- Constitutes a hindrance to the demolition of a building and if the entailed damage is substantial in relation to the value of the part of the protected property, or;
- Considerably impedes the current use of the land within the part of the affected property<sup>25</sup>.

Compensation under the first point may be paid in annual amounts, something which may be re-assessed by the state, or the party concerned, in case of changed circumstances. Compensation under this point may also apply if prohibition measures have been issued during the process of a designation. The state has a duty to purchase a

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<sup>20</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 3§16.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 3§17.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 3§18.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 3§19.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 3§20.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§10.

property if the protection order ‘gravely impairs’ its use, should the owner make such a request.

Decisions regarding compensation and redemption are made by the county administrative boards, which should consult with the Swedish National Heritage Board before decisions are made<sup>26</sup>. They may order a person who wishes to claim compensation or redemption payment to make a notification to the relevant county administrative board within a limited time frame of a minimum of two months. A person who fails to do so will have lost the right to compensation or redemption payment<sup>27</sup>. Furthermore, the Act contains special provisions with regard to compensation, *e.g.* in cases where the value of a property declines to the extent that it diminishes the security for creditors with mortgage claims on a property<sup>28</sup>. Compensation provisions are discussed in further in Section 7.3.

#### 7.1.2. Provisions regarding the Ecclesiastical Built Heritage

There are approximately 3000 buildings belonging to the Church of Sweden, and, of these, all which are built before 1940 are protected under the Cultural Monuments Act (Damell, *et al.*, 1994). The provisions regarding the ecclesiastical built heritage are covered in a separate chapter of the Cultural Monuments Act and include protection of structures of cultural-historic value which form part of church buildings, sites, furnishings and burials grounds<sup>29</sup>. As concerns church buildings and sites, these are to be maintained in a way which does not diminish their cultural-historic value, and which does not distort their appearance and character. These provisions apply to all church buildings belonging to the Church of Sweden. Church buildings and sites erected before 1940 are automatically protected. Permission for any demolition, relocation and reconstruction, alteration of exteriors and interiors, permanent fittings and artistic decorations, and for any change to a building's colour scheme, is required from the county administrative board<sup>30</sup>. Appeals relating to decisions taken by the county administrative boards may be made to a common administrative court by the cathedral

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<sup>26</sup> Förordning om statliga byggnadsminnen, 1988.

<sup>27</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950 3§11.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 3§12.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 4§1.

<sup>30</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988:950, 4§2-3.

chapter. Certain matters can also be appealed to the Administrative Court of Appeal and to the government<sup>31</sup>.

## 7.2. ORDINANCE ON STATE-OWNED BUILDING MONUMENTS, 1988

Building monuments in state ownership are regulated under a specific ordinance. The ordinance may be seen as guiding principles established by the state for its own advice, and decisions taken by the state cannot be appealed. The scope of protection, the criteria for a building monument designation and the provisions for protection orders are all similar to the ones under the Cultural Monuments Act. However, the question as to whether a state-owned building should be declared a building monument may only be raised by the National Heritage Board, jointly with the State History Museums, which are also responsible for providing protection orders. The government then makes the final decision on the matter<sup>32</sup>. The National Heritage Board has a supervisory function over state-owned building monuments<sup>33</sup>. These may not be transferred into other ownership if this may compromise their cultural-historic value. However, in the case of such a transferral, the National Heritage Board and the relevant county administrative board must be notified and such a building then becomes a building monument under the Cultural Monuments Act. Finally, the government may annul a building monument designation or relax the protection orders if these cause unreasonable cost and inconvenience<sup>34</sup>.

## 7.3. THE PLANNING AND BUILDING ACT, 1987

### *Introduction*

It is compulsory for all local authorities to draw up a master plan (*översiktsplan*) for their areas under the Planning and Building Act. The master plan is not a statutory instrument, unlike in many other countries. Its main purpose is to provide overall guidance on land use planning and how the built environment is to be developed and

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 4§16.

<sup>32</sup> Förordning om statliga byggnadsminnen, 1988, 2-4§.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 5§.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 8§ - 10§.

conserved<sup>35</sup>. The master plan should consider issues of general interest as well as environmental factors and risks at stake with proposed developments. It should also demonstrate how a local authority intends to approach designated 'areas of national interest' (*riksintressen*)<sup>36</sup>. The adoption of the master plan involves a process of consultation, in which the county administrative board plays an important role, especially in advocating the interests of the state, e.g. issues of public concern, areas of national interest, and EU environmental quality norms<sup>37</sup>. Thus, the county administrative boards may intervene with local planning issues on behalf of the state in order to safeguard its interests. The master plan is adopted by the local authority council<sup>38</sup>, and is a useful instrument for political debate, widely used by politicians, planners, interest groups, the general public and private individuals.

Regulation of land use and buildings is achieved through the detail plan (*detaljplan*), which constitutes a smaller defined area<sup>39</sup>, e.g. an urban quarter. The detail plan is a statutory instrument which balances public and individual interests. It is implementation-orientated in that planning permission may only be granted in accordance with the detail plan. Local authorities are required to draw up detail plans for new coherent built-up areas, for detached buildings with major impact on the surroundings and for buildings which are to be changed or conserved<sup>40</sup>.

For smaller defined areas not covered by a detail plan, 'special area provisions' (*områdesbestämmelser*) may be drawn up in order to achieve the aims of the Master Plan, or to safeguard areas of national interest<sup>41</sup>.

### *Scope of protection*

The third chapter of the Planning and Building Act contains general provisions on the protection of buildings. The introductory paragraph states that all buildings must be placed and designed in a way which respects the townscape or the landscape and the natural and cultural values of a site. The design and colour of buildings must also be

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<sup>35</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 1§3.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 4§1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 4§5.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 4§11.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 1§3.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 5§1.

<sup>41</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 5§16.

aesthetically attractive<sup>42</sup>, both with respect to the individual buildings and to the overall environment<sup>43</sup>.

The most important clause with regard to the protection of buildings under the Planning and Building Act states the following: ‘buildings of special historical, cultural-historic, environmental or artistic value, or buildings which form part of an area of such character must not be altered’<sup>44</sup>. Buildings of such special cultural-historic value must be maintained in a way which respects their special character<sup>45</sup>.

However, the Act imposes a duty on behalf of owners of any building, whether of special cultural-historic importance or not, to alter and maintain buildings with care without any right to compensation. This duty also applies to measures which do not require planning permission (Boverket, 1992). Alterations and works to a building must be carried out carefully without compromising of its character and in a way which respects its technical, historical, cultural-historic, environmental and artistic values<sup>46</sup>. Similarly, all building exteriors must be maintained in a way which safeguards the technical, historical, cultural-historic, environmental and artistic values, and the character of the surroundings<sup>47</sup>.

For building works which do not require planning permission the responsibility of implementing these clauses lies with the property owner. Their successful implementation also depends on the information provided by the local authority and the level of general awareness of conservation amongst the public (Boverket, 1992).

### *The Detail Plan and Q/q Protection*

On a practical level, the most important instrument for local authority protection of buildings and sites is ‘*q-designation*’ in the statutory detail plan. The instrument is regulated by the 3§12 clause of the Planning and Building Act, as quoted above. It can be applied to both new and existing buildings. The detail plan may contain specific

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<sup>42</sup> The legal term ‘aesthetically attractive’ was introduced 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1999, as a result of a bill (1997/98:117) which emphasised the need for aesthetic requirements in the Planning and Building Act.

<sup>43</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 3§1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 3§12.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 3§13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 3§10.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 3§13.

directives on how alterations to a building should be carried out (*varsamhetsbestämmelser*). It may also contain special ‘protection directives’ (*skyddsbestämmelser*) for buildings or sites to which the 3§12 clause may be applied. In addition, it may specify the prohibition of demolition (*rivningsförbud*) of such buildings (Boverket, 1992).

These restrictions are achieved through q-designation in the detail plan. Until 1996, a capital Q-designation stood for ‘cultural reserve’ (*kulturresevat*), which referred to an area consisting of especially important buildings, as regulated by the 3§12 clause. Such a designation mainly regulated the use of a building and implied that conservation is the primary objective. However, it allowed for any use which did not contradict the conservation objective. It did not necessarily impose prohibition of demolition, but in case of a demolition the building permit was ceased. Nevertheless, a demolition proposal could still be rejected with support of the Planning and Building Act 8§16. Small *q* in the detail plan was used to indicate protection-directives (*q 2*) and maintenance (*q 3*), and to prohibit demolition (*q1*) (Boverket, 1992; Johanson, 1999).

Since an amendment of the Act in 1996, a capital Q-designation denotes land-use adapted to cultural-historic values in the built environment. The concept of ‘cultural reserve’ (*kulturresevat*) has been integrated with the new Environmental Code. Since the introduction of this amendment, a distinction must also be made between the special alteration and protection directives. For example, small *q* is used for buildings, sites, and public spaces of special importance<sup>48</sup>. Small *k* is used for specified ‘alteration directives’ based on the 3§10 clause, stipulating that all building alterations must be carried out carefully (Boverket, 1999).

A government-commissioned survey from 1998, based on a national overview with a broad representation, made the following observations:

- The nation’s existing detail plans mainly regulated cultural-historic values in structures built before 1930
- Only 10 per cent of the surveyed detail plans contained *q*- or *Q*- designations
- Detail plans were not produced to regulate cultural-historic values exclusively

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<sup>48</sup> As regulated by the Planning and Building Act, 3§12, 3§17 and 3§18.



- Local authorities chose to negotiate in order to avoid claims of compensation associated with the ‘protection directives’
- The safeguarding of cultural-historic values in built environments was dependent on the accessibility of competent local authority conservation expertise and engaged city architects (Johanson, 1999).

The q-designation instrument is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight with specific reference to Stockholm City.

### *Planning and Demolition Permission*

Planning permission<sup>49</sup> is required for new buildings and constructions, extensions, and change of use<sup>50</sup>. In areas with a detail plan, planning permission is also required for other changes, for instance to, the façade, the roof, and significant change to the appearance of a building<sup>51</sup>. Planning permission is granted for developments which do not contradict the detail plan, or the special area provisions, as long as the requirements of the third chapter on the protection of buildings are fulfilled<sup>52</sup>.

For important areas or environments, a local authority may increase the requirements for planning permission through special directives in the detail plan, *e.g.* for control of maintenance of buildings regulated by the 3§12 clause. For areas without a detail plan, special area provisions may be established, *e.g.* for control of changes to façades, roofs and significant change to the appearance of buildings<sup>53</sup>.

An applications for demolition permission is to be granted for a building, or part of a building, unless it is regulated by demolition prohibition directives specified in the detail plan, or in special area provisions. Furthermore, such an application should be granted unless a building should be conserved due to its cultural-historic, environmental, or artistic value, or if it forms part of an area of such character, as regulated by the 3§12 clause<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> The Town Building Committee (*Stadsbyggnadsnämnden*) is responsible for granting planning permission.

<sup>50</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 8§1-2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 8§3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 8§11-12.

<sup>53</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 8§6.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 8§16.

### *Protection of Interiors*

Interior alterations no longer require planning permission. Since 1997, public control of interior alterations made to buildings of special cultural-historic value is exercised through a process of notification, consultation and adoption of a monitoring plan<sup>55</sup>. A developer carrying out interior alterations<sup>56</sup> to a building of special cultural-historic importance must notify the Town Building Committee three weeks before the planned alterations are to be carried out. The developer must also consult certified conservation expertise, whose task is to monitor and approve the alterations. The Town Building Committee then calls the developer, conservation experts and the City Museum to a meeting where the developer must demonstrate that the project is in accordance with building regulations and conservation requirements *etc.* The developer must also present a monitoring plan, which must meet the approval of the Town Building Committee (Andersson and Olsson, 1998). Thus, since 1997 the responsibility for monitoring of alterations lies with independent expertise commissioned by the developer.

### *Enforcement Provisions*

The Planning and Building Act contains provisions for the enforcement of building activities which require planning permission (building, demolition, and land-use permission). The Town Building Committee may impose a prohibition order against the continuation of any illegal building activities. Furthermore, fines may be imposed on offenders of such actions. Fines may also be imposed on a developer who fails to make a building notification and to appoint a quality officer, *e.g.* as required for certain interior changes. The Town Building Committee may order a developer to take necessary measures within a reasonable time period, and may itself carry out the works required at the owner's cost in cases of failure to comply<sup>57</sup>.

### *Compensation*

An owner may claim compensation under the Planning and Building Act if a building demolition is prohibited in the detail plan or through special area provisions, or if it is refused on the basis of the 3§12 clause. An owner may also claim compensation if a

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<sup>55</sup> This process also applies to building extensions (Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 9§2).

<sup>56</sup> *E.g.* structural elements, plan form, and maintenance of special cultural-historic values.

<sup>57</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10 (Chapter 10).

building is regulated by protection directives in the detail plan, or by special area provisions<sup>58</sup>.

Provisions on compensation may be classified according to the legal protection status of buildings. These include general provisions applying to all built structures under the Planning and Building Act, provisions for built structures of *special* cultural-historic importance as defined in the same Act, and built structures of outstanding interest designated under the Cultural Monuments Act. Provisions on compensation and redemption apply to buildings in the last two categories (Cars *et al.*, 1996).

Details regarding levels of compensation for the above-mentioned categories are regulated by the Expropriation Act of 1972. One of the main principles of the right to compensation is the condition that the legal constraints affect the financial value of a property negatively. The level of compensation is determined by the market value of a property and is usually measured against its diminished market value. Compensation may be granted if restrictions result in a 'substantial loss' (*betydande skada*) of between 10 to 20 per cent of the affected part of the property's value. The level of compensation then constitutes the loss which exceeds the qualification limit. Compensation may also be granted if protection of a property impedes the current use of land resulting in a loss of 10 per cent of the market value. In such a case compensation should cover all losses exceeding the 10 per cent limit. If protection measures result in 'grave impairment' (*synnerligt men*) a property owner may request that the state or the local authority purchase the concerned property. This may be applicable if restrictions involve a diminished property value between 20-50 per cent of the property's value before it was affected (*Ibid.*).

#### 7.4.THE 'ENVIRONMENTAL CODE'

The 'Environmental Code' (*miljöbalken*) constitutes an amalgamation of a range of fundamental acts on mainly the natural environment. With the introduction of the Environmental Code in 1999, provisions on areas with cultural-historic values previously regulated under the Natural Resource Act, 1987, now form part of an integrated approach to legal protection of the environment. However, the Environmental

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 14§8.

Code also introduced a new protection concept with relevance to the cultural environment, entitled 'cultural reserve' (*kulturresevat*). This instrument was introduced as a cultural equivalent to the environmental 'natural reserve' protection mechanism (Kulturarvsutredningen, 1996).

#### *Areas of National Interest (Riksintresseområden)*

The National Heritage Board, in consultation with the county administrative boards and the local authorities, may designate 'areas of national interest', on the basis of their special natural, cultural, or recreational importance. Such areas must, as far as possible, be protected from any 'obvious damage' on natural and cultural values<sup>59</sup>. The county administrative boards may interfere with local planning affairs if plans and developments contradict the national interest. In 1987, the National Heritage Board presented a selection of approximately 1700 areas of national interest for the whole of Sweden. Of these, 60 per cent, or 1024 environments, were codified as built environments, of which 77 environments had been selected exclusively for their buildings (Blomkvist and Tomtlund, 1990).

A recent issue of *Kulturmiljövard* discusses the role and development of areas of national interest as a legal instrument. Remmare (2000) suggests that certain environments lack representation in the selection of national interest areas, for example, post-war built environments, industrial environments, communication environments and common rural landscapes.

Wijkander (2000) discusses the concept of areas of national interest in the context of a changing planning paradigm. He views the concept as an expression of the general approach to environmental issues during the 1970s; the integrated planning strategy during the same period, the prevailing planning philosophy at the time of their introduction; and the power relations between the state and local authorities. Areas of national interest must therefore be discussed in relation to these components. For example, Wijkander argues that the 'national interest' instrument, under the Natural Resource Act of 1987, at the time of its introduction, was seen as a progressive renewal of the conservation sector. The perceived shift from a monument to an environment-based approach to conservation became strongly linked with the concept of integrated

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<sup>59</sup> Miljöbalken, 2002, 3§6.

conservation planning. Conservation interests were to be equally balanced under a new planning system, regulated by the Planning and Building Act and the Natural Resource Act of 1987. However, planning achievements are nowadays seen as the outcomes of different interests' influence and power, rather than as results of good arguments and opportunities for dialogue. Wijkander suggests that there is conflict embedded in the ambition to integrate the cultural heritage as part of a general interest rather than as a special sector interest.

#### *National City Park (Nationalstadspark)*

The Environmental Code contains special provisions for a designated 'national 'city park', introduced in 1994, which includes large tracts of land overseen by Stockholm and Solna local authorities (*Ulriksdal-Haga-Brunnsviken-Djurgården*). New development within this area may only be permitted as long as it does not interfere with park landscapes, the natural environment, and the historical landscape, including natural and cultural values<sup>60</sup>. This instrument is regulated by the same clause as areas of national interest: the area must, as far as possible, be protected from any 'obvious damage' of natural and cultural values. In addition, green space in built-up areas especially must be protected<sup>61</sup>.

The county administrative board in Stockholm plays an important role in co-ordinating different interests within the national city park. A report by the county administrative board has found that conservation interests within the national city park, have gained greater emphasise in the planning process since its designation. Furthermore, it recognised that a key to the future success of the national city park instrument was the continuing influence exercised by voluntary bodies. Furthermore, it was suggested that the significant attention which the designation of the national city park has received by the public in relation to it being unique, is vital to its legal force as an instrument. Thus, the designation of more such parks would diminish its legal force (Stockholms Länsstyrelse, 1996).

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<sup>60</sup> Miljöbalken, 2002, 4§7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 3§6.

### *Cultural Reserve (Kulturresevat)*

As mentioned above, the ‘cultural reserve’ instrument was introduced in 1999 as a cultural equivalent to the pre-existing ‘natural reserve’ instrument. It implies that the county administrative boards or the local authorities may designate ‘cultural reserves’ in order to protect culturally significant landscapes<sup>62</sup>.

## 7.5. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS

The obligation to provide an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for a proposed development has gradually been integrated into the Swedish planning system since 1987. Approximately 25 legal acts have been modified to include provisions on EIS. As a result of the EES agreement, adaptation to the EU-directive on EIS imposed certain legal changes in 1994. However, it did not bring upon any change regarding content and examination procedures for EIS, since these were in conformance with the EU requirements (Boverket, 1996b).

The Planning and Building Act stipulates that an EIS must be provided for a proposed development in the detail plan, which implies changed use of land or buildings that ‘significantly affects’ the environment, the public health, or sustainable use of natural resources. An EIS must facilitate the overall evaluation of the effects of which a proposed development may have on such<sup>63</sup>. Under the Act, the local authority is to judge whether a proposed development ‘significantly affects’ the environment and thereby requires an EIS (Boverket, 1996b).

Under the ‘Environmental Code’ (*Miljöbalken*) an EIS must be provided for any proposed development affected by this legislation<sup>64</sup>. The Environmental Code includes protection instruments for both natural and cultural environments (*e.g. Nationalpark* and *Kulturresevat*). With the Environmental Code having replaced the former Natural Resources Act in 1998, a slightly more defined description of the objective of an EIS has been introduced. It prescribes that an EIS should identify the impact of a proposed development on human beings, animals, plants, land, water, air, climate, landscape,

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<sup>62</sup> Miljöbalken, 2002, 7§9.

<sup>63</sup> Plan- och bygglagen, 1987:10, 5§18.

<sup>64</sup> Miljöbalken, 2002, 6§1.

cultural environment, the overall use of land, water and the physical environment, and use of raw materials, resources and energy<sup>65</sup>.

Under the Swedish system the developer is responsible for providing an EIS and for the costs involved. The EIS is used as a complement to the decisions based on various legal acts. It is mandatory for both minor and major projects. The instrument is not governed by a detailed set of regulations. Rather, it is adapted to respond to the nature and effects of individual planning projects (Boverket, 1996a). What is included in an EIS in terms of environmental aspects and interests concerned, depends on the planning tradition of a particular country. In Sweden, the objective of an EIS, which is broadly defined in the legislation, determines its content. A broad approach is taken to the concept of environment, thus also embracing the cultural environment (*Ibid.*).

The National Heritage Board has published various guideline documents (e.g. Westerlind, 1997) in order to clarify and promote the cultural-historic dimension of the EIS instrument. For example, Westerlind (1997) explains that in relation to the cultural environment, the EIS process is about capturing whether the conditions for a development are compatible with the cultural values of a place, whether a proposed development constitutes the most suitable location, and how it can be adapted to the existing environment. In addition, an EIS should provide a basis for evaluation of the most sustainable alternative for a development, including cultural-historic aspects, and in order to facilitate this the involvement of relevant expertise is crucial at an early stage of the EIS process.

These findings suggest that the EIS instrument should be applied to proposed developments that affect the cultural environment, including urban settings. The discussion below explores the extent to which the EIS is an important planning instrument for protection of cultural-historic environments in Stockholm City.

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 6§3.

## 7.6. EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN CONSERVATION: FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

This section provides an overall evaluation of the effectiveness of the legal framework for urban conservation in Sweden, with specific reference to Stockholm, based on opinions and perceptions expressed by the interviewees selected for this study.

### *Designation of Building Monuments*

It has been suggested that the county administrative boards have not been designating building monuments under the Cultural Monuments Act to a satisfactory degree from a conservation point of view (*e.g.* in Kulturdepartementet, 1999). The interviewees consulted for this study were asked whether this applies to Stockholm City and if so what the reasons are for this. It was indicated that this situation does apply to Stockholm City. For example, the County Planner suggested that ‘this is certainly the case for Stockholm’ and explained that ‘it has to do with the issue of compensation’ (CP, 2000). The same interviewee stated the following:

‘It is noteworthy that most cultural-historic buildings in Stockholm do not have any specific legal protection status, *e.g.* the City Hall. However, I do not think that this is a danger since nobody would actually demolish or alter a building of such significance. The issue of awareness is more important. The laws are there as some sort of security when things do not work out’ (CP, 2000).

The County Conservation Officer explained that, in Stockholm, the reason for this is that other responsibilities of the county administrative board, *e.g.* ancient monuments, the ecclesiastical heritage and conservation grants, are regarded as more urgent matters which therefore delay the designation of building monuments:

‘If we are informed of the potential removal of an ancient relic, then we have to respond to this quickly. Such matters are always dealt with instantly. However, the process of designating building monuments involves slow and tedious work and may require extensive negotiation with both the property owner and the local authority’ (CCO, 2000).

Thus, it is likely that these are put on hold while other more urgent matters are dealt with. From this perspective, the low level of building monument designations is also due to a scarcity of resources for conservation:



‘It takes about two months to prepare a building monument designation, so the main reason (for the low number of designations made) is due to a lack of resources. This is a nationwide problem, including Stockholm’ (CMO, 2000).

‘The level of work has increased significantly over the years for the Stockholm County Administrative Board. For example, in 1995, decisions regarding the ecclesiastical heritage were transferred to it (from the National Heritage Board), but no additional staff have been appointed to deal with these issues although it has implied an additional 150 cases per year. Thus, the conditions for the successful achievement of managing all its responsibilities are not great’ (CCO, 2000).

The County Conservation Officer also expressed a general scepticism regarding the application of the Cultural Monuments Act:

‘We certainly still deal with these matters and we do implement designation of a number of building monuments each year. In the year of 2000, we had a special campaign in order to complete a substantial amount of delayed designations. However, we constantly receive new designation proposals, which is problematic. Anyone can make a proposal to us for designation of a building or a park’ (CCO, 2000).

It was suggested that in some cases it might be the case that an interested party proposing a building monument designation has another objective than to protect the cultural-historic value. A recent proposal by local residents for the designation of *Tegnérlunden*, a park in central Stockholm, illustrates the case:

‘The reason why the local residents in this area are proposing a building monument designation is mainly that they do not want to bring in more traffic into this area. Such issues should be managed through the planning process. It is usually too late for us to act in an exploitation situation, partly because of the financial implications. In the case of *Tegnérlunden*, the Stockholm Local Authority has sold the land to one of the leading building companies, which means that if we interfere we may have to compensate the developer. We do not have the financial resources to do so. Considering the high level of land prices in Stockholm it is simply impossible. The approximate amount of SEK 5 million (approx. EUR 547,000) per year is reserved for compensation issues for the whole of Sweden’ (CCO, 2000).

With regard to compensation, the recent proposal for a building monument designation of *Sveaplans gymnasium*, a school building in central Stockholm, illustrates the issue. The proposal initially involved a compensation claim from the developers of SEK 1,18 billion (approx. EUR 129 million) although the National Heritage Board later confirmed that the compensation claim ‘only’ involved an amount of SEK 80 million (approx. EUR 8.7 million):

‘The Stockholm County Administrative Board did not prevent the developer from extending the building in question, only from changing the existing structure... However, we do not have such money. In this regard, the Cultural Monuments Act is a difficult instrument to manage’ (CCO, 2000).

Another interviewee explained that the reason for the low number of building monument designations in Stockholm City is due to an informal agreement between the City Museum and the County Administrative Board not to make proposals for building monument designations:

‘The Stockholm Local Authority has decided to deal with this (built heritage protection) through the local planning process. Thus, in Stockholm, the number of building monument designations is below the national average level... There is a certain risk with this since the building monument protection instrument is stronger. Any local authority plan can be changed overnight. It is more difficult to annul a building monument designation’ (CMO, 2000).

It was explained that the reason for this approach in Stockholm is partly due to the fact that the City Museum has a long tradition and experience of working with conservation planning issues: ‘the City Museum has well-developed working routines on how to manage these issues’ (CMO, 2000).

#### *Protection of Interiors under the Planning and Building Act*

As discussed above, due to an amendment to the Planning and Building Act in the mid-1990s, planning permission is not required for interior changes of buildings, including those with identified cultural-historic values. Those interviewed differed considerably in their opinion on the desirability and consequences of such a change. The Local Planner gave the following explanation:

‘It was a political decision based on the idea that government authorities should not get involved in details, that they should rather concentrate on urban planning issues at a more general level. Thus, the public sector should engage itself mainly with issues of public interest... and that the way your or my house looks on the inside should not be an affair for government authorities. They should concern themselves with general issues such as access, ventilation, and so on, rather than with details. This only creates bureaucracy. Thus, our role as planners is now more focused on the exterior than the interior’ (LP, 2001).

The Local Conservation Officer similarly explained that the change was due to an overall change in approach to government affairs:

‘There is a movement towards the transferring of greater responsibility onto those who actually carry out the works. Everyone should indeed obey the law, but it is also a question of interpretation’ (LCO, 2000).

The County Planner explained that as a result of the legal changes introduced in 1996, the responsibility for interiors is now totally held by the developer. The legislative change formed part of a broader objective to clarify the responsibilities of the developer:

'The situation was not ideal before either in terms of who holds responsibility for different building aspects. It was rather vague as concerns the technical aspects, whether buildings were of good enough quality. It was then made clear that it is the developer who holds responsibility for this, and consequently, a monitoring system was introduced which worked relatively well on this aspect. The issue of interiors was included in this process. However, the system has not worked on that point because the developer does not always have the same ambition to protect interiors (as with providing good technical quality)' (CP, 2000).

However, according to the Local Planner, the weakened position with regard to protection of interiors, is not a major problem:

'I don't think the problem should be exaggerated. There have always been non-serious developers who abuse the legislative loopholes. Unauthorised building activities have always existed no matter how strict the rules' (LP, 2001).

Nevertheless, the County Planner stated that the distinction between exteriors and interiors in the planning process, with the latter now being excluded from the requirement of planning permission, is a significant problem: 'this is indeed a problem. Building interiors in Sweden are now under threat in a whole different way than before' (CP, 2000). This view was also held by the Local Conservation Officer who explained the following:

'It is a change for the worse. Previously, changes made to the interiors required planning permission. No distinction was made (between interiors and exteriors)... In the past, the City Museum was constantly reviewing building plans, which it does not anymore. This signals the wrong message to the developers, especially with regard buildings in the Old Town and the older built heritage. There has been a significant transferral of responsibility from official authorities to private developers. They are now to ensure that the objectives of the Planning and Building Act are fulfilled, including the paragraph on safeguarding of cultural-historic values (3:12). However, the competence amongst the developers to do so is rather limited. They do not know how to handle this since officials have always been dealing with this before, making objections and so on. Many have interpreted this as that you do not need to report the changes made at all. However, the idea is that developers and property owners should report any kind of changes made to a building interior. The major professional developers are aware of this. However, we have little control over and information on what the smaller developers, e.g. restaurant owners in the Old Town, are doing nowadays. This is a major problem' (LCO, 2000).

### *Areas of National Interest*

Most of Stockholm inner city, including the island of *Djurgården*, is designated as an area of national interest. The interviewees were asked to express their opinions on the implications of this in practical terms. According to the County Planner:

'It provides better opportunities for making a case for protection of the cultural environment, for the county administrative board as well as for the Stockholm Local

Authority. The local authority almost goes too far sometimes in its arguments for protecting these with regard to planning permissions' (CP, 2000).

However, he explained that while this protection instrument has proved useful in Stockholm, the effects were rather indirect, for example, through the raising of awareness. It has only had a direct tangible impact in small number of cases, such as the conflict over a third railway track in the inner city during the 1990s (*Tredje spåret*). The building of a third railway track would have destroyed a medieval cellar (*Hebbeska huset*) and would also have brought the railway traffic closer to *Riddarholmskyrkan*, an important church located on *Riddarholmen*. This development was halted in the name of the national interest (CP, 2000).

However, it was asserted that the citing of 'national interest' has a significant impact in a more general sense, in the discussions taking place before a planning permission has been granted:

'Planning involves the balancing of different interests, the developer, housing, the economy, the cultural environment, and so on, in order to achieve a good balance (of interests). In a national interest area the cultural factor gains greater consideration. Its importance is multiplied five or ten times. Many would argue differently, since this instrument is rarely put to the test. However, it is important to consider the continuous flow of discussions where it does make a difference' (CP, 2000).

The County Conservation Officer suggested that in practical terms the national interest instrument does not involve any direct protection of the cultural environment. However, it can still have an impact on arguments for protection of cultural-historic values:

'The county administrative board has used this instrument occasionally, stating that a development causes *obvious damage* to the cultural-historic environment. However, it does not imply any direct protection, but it can still somehow make an impact. For example, in 1992-1993 there were plans for a high-rise building in the north inner city (*Japan-skrapan*) containing both a hotel and a Japanese styled shopping centre. The planned development site was located next to the national interest area at *Brunnsviken*... This is an example of where the concept 'obvious damage' was used in order to prevent a development. However, it is difficult to say if the reason why this building project never came about was due to this, since it coincided with a general slump in the economy and the property sector' (CCO, 2000).

The Local Planner similarly explained that it is difficult to estimate the degree to which the national interest instrument is useful in terms of conservation:

'It is a confirmation of what we have established in the master plan and in our special conservation building by-law. Thereby, it forms part of our overall approach to planning. We are well aware of the cultural-historic values and the vulnerability of the inner city.

Thus, the idea of national interest is always in the back of our minds. It is such a broad concept and therefore its effectiveness is difficult to quantify' (LP, 2001).

The same interviewee gave an example of a planning case in the town of Umeå where the area of national interest instrument was put to the test. This case concerned a proposal for a high-rise building in the city core, which had been declared an area of national interest:

'In this case, the county administrative board in Umeå rejected the proposal, and it was passed on to the government which decided to grant permission since it had been supported by the local councillors in Umeå. Whether the proposal was in line with the national interest designation was not even considered by the government. However, we live in a democracy and the politicians always have the final say, for good and bad. Thus, it may be questioned to what extent this instrument is effective. It has hardly ever been put to the test, so it is difficult to say' (LP, 2001).

### *The National City Park (Nationalstadsparken)*

According to the County Planner, the legal instrument for designation of a national city park functions well in Stockholm: 'it is an incredible form of instrument for protection of the cultural environment. It is probably more forceful than anticipated when it was introduced' (CP, 2000).

If compared to the national interest instrument 'it carries greater legal force, not least because there are individuals who engage in the matters on a voluntary basis. It also has strong public opinion support' (CP, 2000). The Local Planner was also of the opinion that the national city park comprises a strong protection instrument:

'It has proved to be incredibly strong legislation. An example of this is the rejection of the plans to build *Norra Länken* (a by-pass forming part of a ring-road system). Practically all building plans within the national city park are scrutinised in detail. The legislation probably proved to be stronger than what the politicians initially expected. So in that respect it has proved successful. However, there are divergent opinions on whether this is right or wrong. Some may argue that it is difficult to apply such forceful legislation in the centre of a metropolitan core considering the enormous pressure for change' (LP, 2001).

The County Conservation Officer suggested that this instrument does not necessarily imply any specific protection in itself. However, there is an understanding between the local authorities involved and the county administrative board, that cultural-historic values in the national city park should be respected. For example, the county administrative board has undertaken work on designating building monuments in this area. However, as a result of individual lobbying and appeals against, for example, new

roads, different planning proposals have been brought to court and have thereby been removed out of the normal planning process:

‘The legal paragraph on the national city park indicates that green space must not be exposed to further development and the verdicts do not necessarily take quality matters into consideration, what type of green areas the issues concern. Planning involves the balancing of different interests against one another, whereas planning in the national city park is less flexibility. Thus, in this respect it can be a strong protection instrument. However, I do not think it works well, but it may work out more successfully with time’ (CCO, 2000).

The same interviewee suggested that in terms of proper implementation of the legislation, which regulates the national city park, it still requires the provision of conservation plans, and designations of building monuments and natural reserves (CCO, 2000).

#### *The Overlap between the Cultural Monuments Act and the Planning and Building Act*

A government commissioned report (Kulturarvsutredningen, 1996) has proposed that local authorities should be able to apply the protection instruments provided under the Cultural Monuments Act, alongside the Planning and Building Act. The interviewees were asked whether this is an important issue in Stockholm.

According to the County Planner, the Planning and Building Act ‘is sufficient’ for local authority protection of the built heritage. However, it was suggested that there has been a determination to promote the use of ‘its own legislation’ within the National Heritage Board. For example:

‘In the late 1990s, there was a discussion within the National Heritage Board regarding the cultural reserve instrument, which now exists within the Environmental Code. However, the Board thought that this instrument should rather form part of the Cultural Monument Act. This formality almost became more important than the discussion on what we should be protecting’ (CP, 2000).

As a result, it was suggested that it was preferable to have greater legal responsibility for the built heritage transferred to the local and regional levels. This has been achieved in terms of the regional level, something which the County Planner regarded as a positive development: ‘at county level, different interests are forced to work together, which consequently results in greater respect for various working areas’ (CP, 2000).

However, the County Conservation Officer supported the idea of further legal responsibilities being transferred to local authority level:

‘Principally all conservation planning should be implemented at the local level. However, it is important to keep the supervising function over local authority activities at the regional level’ (CCO, 2000).

Furthermore, it was suggested that since it is difficult to maintain detailed knowledge on local matters at the regional level, the role of regional authorities should rather involve awareness raising activities:

‘It is important to engage people and this is a task that is difficult to achieve at local authority level. This would require increased resources and the employment of more conservation expertise within local authorities. However, this is something which has functioned well where such resources have been made available’ (CCO, 2000).

According to the Local Conservation Officer, the question of whether local authorities should be able to manage legal protection of buildings themselves is important, but the success for local authorities in doing so depends on the access to sufficient local conservation expertise. It was explained that the conservation standard varies between the local authorities, and in some, conservation has not been prioritised. However, with regard to Stockholm the following was opined:

‘I think this should be the case for Stockholm Local Authority. However, there is a strong opposition to this. I think local authorities would be well able to cope with this if they were provided with the right expertise and if certain expectations are imposed on them. In Stockholm, there is a long tradition of established expertise. Thus, we are as capable of managing the Cultural Monuments Act as any other authority, and are to a certain degree already doing so although we do not do make the final decisions’ (LCO, 2000).

### *Environmental Impact Statements*

The interview results indicated varying opinions on the role and effectiveness of the EIS instrument in urban conservation planning in Stockholm. Overall, there was a perception that while the EIS is a useful instrument for protection of the natural environment, it plays a less significant role in promotion of the cultural-historic built environment.

According to the Local Planner, EIS ‘do not play any significant role for the protection of cultural-historic values. The only time when they do play an important role is in relation to conservation of cultural-historic park environments’ (LP, 2001). For example, the closing down of old mental hospitals in Stockholm such as *Långbro* and *Beckonberga*, raised questions of how these environments should be conserved:

‘In addition to interesting buildings, these areas contain important parks dating from the turn of the nineteenth century. EIS deal with issues such as maintenance of green space in these areas, for example, what trees should be conserved and what cultural-historic value the various parts of the parks contain. In these cases, EIS do play a significant role from a cultural-historic perspective. But not directly for the protection of buildings’ (LP, 2001).

According to the City Museum informant, there is an overlap of the City Museum’s role to provide the local authority with knowledge and information on identified cultural-historic values, and the role of private consultants who carry out EIS:

‘The local authority commissions a private consultant to carry out an EIS, who then contacts us, a branch of the local authority, for information on cultural-historic values. This is a problem since we (the City Museum) consider it our role to present such values in a planning context’ (LCO, 2000).

In addition, it was suggested that EIS often lack depth from a cultural-historic perspective: ‘in some cases the consultants have simply just looked at the Cultural-Historic Classification Map and stated that there are some blue and green marked buildings on it’ (LCO, 2000).

Similarly, the County Conservation Officer suggested that ‘EIS are not effective from a cultural-historic point of view’. However, it was suggested that ‘this may improve over time’ (CCO, 2000). It was explained that the consultants who carry out EIS often have little understanding of the cultural-historic context:

‘They often confuse the various cultural-historic concepts when they investigate the environmental impact (of a development)... The idea behind EIS is that they should provide a basis for various decisions and demonstrate the implications of different scenarios. In this regard, they do not work at all. For example, when new roads are being planned for, a decision for a particular alternative has usually been made before an EIS has been undertaken’ (CCO, 2000).

Nevertheless, the County Planner considered the EIS instrument to be important since it promotes cultural-historic issues at an early stage of the planning process: ‘the EIS is a mandatory instrument and an opportunity to integrate cultural environmental values at an early stage when it is still possible to have influence on these’ (CP, 2000). However, at the time of its introduction, it lacked cultural-historic significance ‘since many environmentalists did not consider cultural matters to be of environmental relevance’ (CP, 2000).



### *Overall Appraisal of Protection of the Built Heritage in Sweden*

The interviewees were asked to express the extent to which they regarded the legal framework for conservation of the built heritage in Sweden to be either weak or strong. The County Planner stated that it could be the case that Sweden has a weak legislative protection system compared to other countries, suggesting that it functions better in Denmark where 'there is both stronger legislation and greater awareness' of conservation. Furthermore, 'it has been argued that relatively few buildings have any real protection status in Sweden' (CP, 2000).

In addition, it was explained that from a legal point of view 'the reason for failure in Sweden is often due to the way in which planning cases are tested'. A distinction was made between those cases that are tested in court and those that are tested within the local planning committees (*byggnadsnämnder*). It was suggested that it is better to keep these functions within the local town building committees since these are better informed of the public opinion:

'Matters that are tried in court, either in a common administrative court or in the Supreme Administrative Court (*Regeringsrätten*) are much more inert. They are not affected by public opinion, so if they thought something in 1957, they should theoretically still do so. They come from a different tradition and they operate outside of the planning system' (CP, 2000).

He further pointed out that there have been extensive discussions on introducing a special planning appeals board in Sweden and that 'this would be a positive feature' (CP, 2000). This was considered important especially since legal trials of planning cases in the courts are carried out by 'legal advisors without any conservation planning expertise' and since the common administrative courts usually 'place greater emphasis on individual private property rights' (CP, 2000).

Overall, the County Planner suggested that 'the whole system builds on the idea that everybody has good intentions' (CP, 2000). For example, there was a recent incident in central Stockholm where a block of apartments was being refurbished. The tenants were interested in its proper interior conservation while the owner had different intentions:

'In such cases, it is difficult to do something about it, and it may not be long before panels (and other interior features) have been removed. This is why I think developments in public opinion and information are of greater significance. However, it is still important to have well functioning legislation' (CP, 2000).

The Local Conservation Officer stated that ‘the building monument legislation is weak in so far as it is not used’ (LCO, 2000). The major obstacle with this legislation is when a property owner is resistant to the idea of a building designation and claims compensation for this. For example:

‘If it was decided that the Ericsson’s industrial buildings or some other big monument should be protected, and if the owners object to this, then the state has to compensate the owner with a substantial amount of money. The principle of compensation should of course be applied when the public interest goes against the right of the individual. However, this system has not worked properly since the conservation sector has not been equipped with the appropriate levels of funds to do so. There is not enough power and resources on the scale when it comes to major financial issues. This means that all conservation officials immediately step back from their case. This is valid not only for Stockholm, but also for Sweden overall’ (LCO, 2000).

With regard to legal protection within the planning code, the same interviewee asserted that the Planning and Building Act is a useful instrument. However, it was suggested that the fact that it now affords little protection for interiors is negative:

‘Overall the Planning and Building Act is good in that cultural-historic values must not be altered. Nevertheless, anything can come out of that depending on how this is interpreted... However, the Act should be changed with regard to the issue of interiors, so that some sort of official monitoring is required’ (LCO, 2000).

Another legal aspect of which the Local Planner considered to be weak was the area of documentation:

‘This is a real problem in the Old Town. When it comes to the foundation of the buildings it is not a problem, because the archaeologists deal with this and they have the monuments legislation which is strong. However, as soon as you are dealing with anything above surface level, *e.g.* in a building dating from the middle ages, there is no documentation duty when changes are made to that building. This gets quite bizarre at times. The City Museum would undertake such documentation out of scientific interest. However, the responsibility for this is not clear’ (LCO, 2000).

Furthermore, it was suggested that with regard to the area of documentation, the Cultural Monuments Act is a stronger and more appropriate instrument compared to the Planning and Building Act. This is a dilemma in terms of conservation planning in Stockholm City, where the use of the Planning and Building Act has become the main legal instrument for protection of the built heritage (LCO, 2000).

The Local Conservation Officer also highlighted that the overlap of legal responsibility for the built heritage between local and central levels, or the state and the local authority, is problematic:

‘As concerns building monuments, these may have specific protection directives that were issued a long time ago and which may be rather vague or incomplete. If an owner wants to make a change to such a building, permission has to be sought from the county administrative board and it grants permission based on the protection directives. When such a planning case then goes through the local planning permission process, the City Museum may have a different view based on the clause in the Planning and Building Act which states that cultural-historic values must not be altered. In such cases, the decision taken by the county administrative board often takes precedence over our views when the local town building committee makes its decision. Consequently, it is actually easier for us to manage the built heritage without the designation of building monuments’ (LCO, 2000).

This illustrates how conservation planning at regional and local levels may unintentionally clash. In spite of a rather well developed legal system for conservation in Sweden there are certain loopholes in the system that are based on the somewhat uncertain division of responsibility.

Another interviewee explained that the effectiveness of the Cultural Monuments Act is differentiated:

‘The ancient monument section is very strong, although it is not strong enough to stop us from removing ancient relics. However, it is strong in so far that we do not remove ancient structures without archaeological excavations. As concerns the built heritage relatively few buildings actually have strong protection. We perceive legal protection of buildings as a form of infringement of individual property rights, which they strangely enough do not in England and the USA’ (NCO, 2000).

Furthermore, the same interviewee explained that the issue of compensation is problematic in Sweden:

‘We tend to consider compensation issues at an early stage in Sweden. The question of compensation arises before alteration or demolition of a building has even been proposed. This has to do with the unwillingness to infringe against the individual property rights. This implies that we attempt to solve conservation conflicts through compensation before they even arise, something which of course becomes very expensive. In England, a conservation officer may simply ring the owner of a building to say that your building is listed, and the question of compensation is then dealt with at a much later stage. There is evidence to prove this method preferable. Conflicts should not be dealt with before they arise’ (NCO, 2000).

The County Museum Officer suggested the legal framework for conservation in Sweden is still strong compared to many other countries:

‘With the experience I have of legislation in Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, and from what I have heard about parts of the continent, my impression is that legislation is not stronger elsewhere, it is rather the contrary’ (CMO, 2000).

However, a number of legal difficulties were highlighted. First, it was suggested that the clauses on conservation in the Planning and Building Act are ‘rather vague’, similarly to the term ‘obvious damage’ as stated in the Cultural Monuments Act: ‘they are not concise enough to ensure the proper support’ (CMO, 2000). Secondly, the following was suggested:

‘We (antiquarians) should never produce laws which we cannot manage. The Planning and Building Act was designed as an instruments for architects, not for antiquarians. The introduction of the cultural reserve instrument (under the new Environmental Code) is unfortunate since, once again, it is not part of our own legislation. There was previously another type of ‘*kulturresevat*’ protection under the Cultural Monuments Act, but we never really came to terms with this concept’ (CMO, 2000).

However, this view contradicts the statement of another interviewee, suggesting that further integration of specific conservation legislation with wider environmental and planning legislation should be achieved:

‘Under the newly introduced Environmental Code, there is new legal instrument entitled cultural reserve. I do not understand why the Cultural Monuments Act has not been integrated as well. I think it would be a strength to have one common instrument for these issues. If the Cultural Monuments Act formed part of the Environmental Code, this sector would gain greater distinction. The fact that the cultural conservation sector is exclusive and always stands on the outside is an old fashioned approach. It certainly does not promote co-operation between the divisions at county planning level. Within the county administrative board there are several divisions which mainly work with issues regulated by the Environmental Code. If we formed part of these, we would have better opportunities to dialogue, and maybe even be able to utilise other aspects of this legislation for our purposes’ (CCO, 2000).

### *A Need for Stronger Legislation?*

The interviewees were asked whether stronger legislation should be introduced, or if other areas than legislation are of greater importance. One respondent suggested that ‘other areas such as public opinion and information are more important’ (CP, 2000). Another explained that there is not a need for the introduction of stronger conservation legislation but suggested that the division of legal responsibility for the built heritage ‘should be clarified once and for all’ (LCO, 2000). Furthermore, the following was suggested:

‘If the state is to have greater responsibility above the municipalities, then this responsibility must go beyond the principle of designating buildings of outstanding cultural-historic value. There is a discrepancy between the National Heritage Board’ arguments for conservation of the ‘Million Programme’, since they only have control over a total of 2000 buildings. However, the Planning and Building Act works relatively well for this (in Stockholm)’ (LCO, 2000).

Another interviewee suggested that ‘better legislation may be needed’, but not necessarily stricter:

‘There are no direct loopholes in the legislation, although some aspects are rather unclear. However, a more competent conservation sector is of greater significance, especially at local authority level’ (NCO, 2000).

Finally, one interviewee asserted that it would be useful to have ‘more uniform legislation’ (CMO, 2000). Furthermore, it was suggested that the areas of documentation and information are equally important with legislation. However, ‘while it is sometimes suggested that good legislation does not necessarily do anything unless the right attitudes are in place, it can be very useful in actually changing an attitude’ (CMO, 2000).

## 7.7. CHANGING OWNERSHIP STRUCTURES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR LEGAL PROTECTION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE

In order to explore whether control through public ownership of a large share of the built heritage has contributed positively to its conservation, this section discusses the impact of changing ownership structures in Sweden during the 1990s and the legal implications. Furthermore, it discusses the consequences of the separation of the state and the Church for protection of the ecclesiastical built heritage. Although the Cultural Monuments Act still applies the same to ecclesiastical buildings owned by the Church of Sweden, there is a concern, from a conservation point of view, for those buildings which may be sold to private developers in the future.

### 7.7.1. Privatisation of State and Local Authority Owned Property: Legal Implications for Conservation of the Built Heritage

During the 1990s, Sweden underwent processes of economic restructuring. This has led to reorganisation and privatisation of state and local authority owned property. Consequently, the conservation sector has been faced with new challenges and uncertainties regarding the legal responsibility for the built heritage. A large share of property formerly under direct state ownership has been transferred to limited state or private companies (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

In 1992, the government proposed a complete reorganisation of all state owned property. The proposal involved the conversion of property management divisions within state authorities into limited companies. As suggested by Biörnstad (1992), this raised questions of responsibility and conservation competence within the new management structures. The new ownership structure implied that buildings previously protected under the Ordinance on State Owned Building Monuments had to be declared as private building monuments under the Cultural Monuments Act and provided with protection orders. It was also decided that other buildings of cultural-historic significance, which had previously not been afforded any formal protection, should be declared as building monuments before they were transferred to new companies in order to secure the future conservation of these. Nevertheless, one initial concern from a conservation point of view was that the conversion of ownership from the state to limited companies would lead to greater mobility in ownership of cultural-historic property and thereby diminished control over their proper care in the long term. As stated by Biörnstad:

‘The already implemented changes within the organisation of the state’s property management structure and those that have been proposed imply that many properties of cultural-historic significance are being transferred to companies for which the future is difficult to predict. This is a comprehensive change for an important part of our common cultural heritage, a change which has remarkably enough hardly been discussed’ (*Ibid.*, 7, trans. mine).

Initially, the government proposed that only a small number of cultural-historic properties would remain in state ownership. Nevertheless, after consultation with conservation expertise on what should actually remain in state ownership, certain principles were laid down which established that the state should continue to own a range of buildings of central importance to the development of Swedish society and history (Biörnstad, 1992).

In 1993, the State Property Department (*Fastighetsverket*) was established as the new authority for buildings remaining in direct state ownership (Westerlund, 1998). An official government report suggests that the establishment of a new specialised property owning state body has imposed greater responsibility on behalf of the state in conservation orientated property management. The State Property Department is to act as a role model for built heritage conservation in general (Kulturdepartementet, 1996).

The interviewees for this study were asked to express their opinions on their expected consequences of the conversion of state owned buildings to limited companies and the privatisation of local authority owned property from a conservation point of view. The interviews indicated divergent opinions on whether the continuing privatisation of property ownership in Stockholm is having a negative impact on conservation of the built heritage. It was suggested that 'it does not necessarily have to be a problem' (CP, 2000). The same interviewee explained that in some cases it may even prove advantageous, since the state and the local authorities have not always been exemplary agents for conservation themselves (CP, 2000). Another interviewee suggested that while 'the privatisation process is a potential problem there is no automatic correlation between conservation and public ownership' (CCO, 2000).

The Local Planner explained that when state owned properties were first being privatised, an exception was made to those buildings that were most interesting from a cultural-historic point of view:

'The former State Building Council (*Byggnadsstyrelsen*) was divided into three divisions. Buildings in Stockholm such as museums, government departments, the Opera and so on, and a large number of buildings elsewhere in the country became managed under the State Property Department (*Statens Fastighetsverk*). Its slogan is property management for the national cultural heritage and their goal is to set a good example for management of cultural-historic buildings. All university and academy buildings were placed under the management of a company entitled *Akademiska Hus*, which probably have as high conservation ambitions as the former State Building Council had in the past. The rest of the state's properties, including buildings of special cultural-historic value, became managed under *Wasakronan*, a purely commercial management company. The state owns 100 per cent of the company's shares, but they could potentially be sold on the stock exchange at any time' (LP, 2001).

The same interviewee was also of the opinion that there is no automatic correlation between conservation and public ownership:

'I do not think that the question of ownership should be exaggerated. The (former) State Building Council has not always been exemplary when it comes to conservation of the built heritage. Public ownership does not necessarily guarantee conservation. What is crucial is the level of engagement a property owner has for his buildings, that he understands the value of them and knows how to properly conserve them. The most important issue is that the public is guaranteed access to certain buildings. This has been achieved through the continuation of public ownership of such important buildings under the State Property Department' (LP, 2001).

Nevertheless, the same interviewee stated that the existence of a specialised local historic property management firm such as Stadsholmen<sup>66</sup> Ltd has been of great importance to conservation of the built heritage in Stockholm:

‘*Stadsholmen Ltd* has been of great significance to the built heritage, especially through the securing of the right conservation expertise. However, I do not think that it would be of any direct harm if these buildings were to be sold to those who live in them. People would be engaged in their buildings and well aware of the fact that they live in a building of cultural-historic importance’ (LP, 2001).

Simultaneously, this interviewee also recognised that there may be indirect consequences if buildings owned by Stadsholmen Ltd were to be sold to individual property owners, who would then be faced with the task of undertaking all refurbishment works themselves:

‘When they (private owners) go out to buy such services on the market individually, they may not consult the right expertise, while Stadsholmen Ltd may have direct access to such expertise, or at least the know-how of where to hire the best craftsmen. In this sense, cultural-historic large scale production advantages may be gained from the specialised management of historic property by Stadsholmen Ltd, as with the State Property Department (*Statens Fastighetsverk*). It is easier to maintain and secure access to the right expertise when it comes to large-scale management of buildings. For this reason, it was decided that the properties of Stadsholmen Ltd would remain under local authority ownership’ (LP, 2001).

Another interviewee who had been directly involved in the conversion of the State Building Council into a limited company explained that the state has been quite considerate in its approach to these matters:

‘I do not think that the association of ownership type is an indicator of cultural political performance. We made sure that the buildings were not transferred into new companies without first having dealt with the issues of (cultural-historic) protection. At the time of the establishment of Vasakronan during the 1990s, we declared more building monument designations than ever before, within the span of only a couple of years. This was to ensure that the new Company would not take over any buildings without their first having received protection status. Due to this, the process went relatively well. However, if we had been short sighted and transferred the buildings without first having dealt with the declaration of building monuments, the situation would have deteriorated significantly’ (NCO, 2000).

Nevertheless, the City Museum representative stated that ‘it is definitely a problem’ explaining that ‘the privatisation of designated state building monuments is problematic since their protection status becomes weakened’ (LCO, 2000). She further suggested

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<sup>66</sup> The role of Stadsholmen Ltd (*Stadsholmen AB*) is outlined in Chapter Eight.



that the ownership transferral of such buildings to private property companies has led to greater uncertainty of their future survival.

With regard to local authority owned housing, the same interviewee explained that there has been intense debate regarding proposals to privatise property owned by the Local Authority through its Historic Property Management Company (Stadsholmen Ltd) in Stockholm:

‘The Conservatives, which are in majority in Stockholm, proposed that property owned by Stadsholmen Ltd should be privatised. However, there was strong opposition against this and subsequently it was decided that the privatisation of these would not take place. The advantages of collective ownership of the buildings concerned were recognised’ (LCO, 2000).

She further explained that Stadsholmen Ltd has developed special competence in conservation and management of historic buildings and that individual monitoring of all its building stock would create difficulties.

However, with the exception of the building stock owned by Stadsholmen Ltd, the local authority is privatising a substantial amount of its property. Hundreds of buildings have been designated in blue on the City Museum’s classification map for Stockholm City, thus belonging to the most important cultural-historic building category. When the privatisation process was initiated an agreement was made between the City Museum and the County Administrative Board in Stockholm that some of these should become designated building monuments:

‘Of the buildings in the blue marked category, there are 25 which are considered to be the most significant and the county administrative board is going to declare them as building monuments. When these buildings are privatised, the City Museum produces protection orders of which the owner has to accept. Thus, there are instruments to deal with this, but it is easier with joint management of historic property. The privatisation process makes it more difficult for the public to access cultural-historic buildings (LCO, 2000).

Finally, another interviewee from the County Museum suggested that the privatisation process ‘may lead to diminished opportunities to influence and control conservation and goes against the idea that the cultural heritage is a public responsibility’, noting that ‘some companies may perform well, but it will depend on the intentions of the owner’ (CMO, 2000).

### 7.7.2. Separation of the Church of Sweden from the State: Implications for Conservation

The interviewees were asked to elaborate on what consequences the separation of the state and the Church of Sweden may have from a conservation perspective. The County Planner stated the following: 'I think this is serious, and I do not think that the consequences have been fully comprehended' (CP, 2000). The same interviewee explained that the separation of the state and the Church involved the demise of the responsibility on behalf of the former. Furthermore, he observed that it is difficult to predict the long-term consequences: 'questions of how to approach the sale of church buildings and potential demolition have begun to arise. However, I was confronted with such questions even before the Church was separated from the state' (CP, 2000).

Nevertheless, the threat against the future conservation of the ecclesiastical heritage was considered less serious for Stockholm City. 'This is a question of appropriate use' (CP, 2000). In a city such as Stockholm former churches could more easily be used for other purposes such as concerts (CP, 2000).

Another interviewee stated 'it is difficult so say' what the consequences are from a conservation perspective (CCO, 2000). She explained that a considerable financial threat will appear if the next generation were to decide not to become members of the Church of Sweden. The Church will then lose its membership income. Consequently:

'Many churches in the city own a parish hall, which represents a large financial value, which they will most probably want to sell over the course of time. This may imply that church buildings will be used for functions such as conference rooms' (CCO, 2000).

Another respondent also emphasised similar disquiet:

'Nobody knows how this will unfold. We do not know what will happen with the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings. The fact that they did not have a referendum on this upsets me. The buildings belonging to the Church of Sweden constitute our common cultural heritage. The Swedish taxpayers have been funding both buildings and furnishings for over 1000 years. This heritage should not be transferred to private ownership. It is disturbing and not fully thought through. It is actual theft. We could end up with the English situation of having former churches converted into pubs' (CMO, 2000).

The same interviewee was of the opinion that although churches built before 1940 are generally protected, the new circumstances have led to diminished public control over this heritage. 'It will be significantly more difficult to exercise control over it when a

new owner comes into the picture'. Furthermore, it was suggested that 'all aspects of conserving furnishings have deteriorated' (CMO, 2000). Moreover, the following was explained:

'There are people within the Church of Sweden who have this idea that they will only consult with the county museums and the county administrative boards when they wish to do so. This is worrying and may become a problem. It may lead to deteriorated prospects for the conservation of a central part of our common cultural heritage' (CMO, 2000).

Another respondent similarly stated 'we do not know' what will happen. However, the separation between the state and the Church was not considered as the most important issue but rather that:

'The question is what consequences secularisation will have. That is the most important issue. Whether the Church of Sweden will manage to survive as a living denomination which engages people enough to fill up those cultural monuments that are churches' (NCO, 2000).

The same interviewee did not see any direct threats as of losing public control over the ecclesiastical heritage. However, a similar view to that expressed above was expressed:

'There are forces within the Church of Sweden which take a quite narrow approach to the ecclesiastical built heritage. They want to concentrate on the spiritual issues and maintain that the ecclesiastical built heritage should not be their focus and that the Church should not have a historic responsibility. If those forces were to expand it could be problematic. But I do not think that this will be the case. The parishioners do not buy this, and as long as the Church has popular anchorage it is not a problem' (NCO, 2000).

## 7.8. FINANCIAL INCENTIVES TOWARDS CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE

Discussions on the need for financial instruments to sponsor conservation in Sweden had a breakthrough during the 1970s, reflected in various official reports on urban renewal with proposals for state loans and grants towards conservation of the old housing stock. This was due to a general shift in attitudes towards urban conservation, mainly as a result of the wide-scale demolition of many city cores in the 1960s (Biörnstad, 1991). Until the mid-1970s, the building industry had been pre-occupied with new construction and traditional building skills were on the verge of being lost. At this stage, most property owners and developers had a negative perception of old buildings and legal and financial instruments were often used to justify new construction rather than conservation. A reaction against the widespread careless

treatment of valuable fireplaces, carpentry, plasterwork details, *etc.*, led to a discussion of the need for refurbishment with care. This idea was adopted into urban renewal policy in 1979, suggesting that all urban renewal should carefully respect and retain the existing qualities of the built environment. In 1982, conditions for such terms of care were introduced in the directives for housing finance (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

The modern system of financial incentives for conservation first appeared for residential buildings. This was the result of long established political goals for housing with clear financial incentives already at hand. The new political goal to protect cultural-historic values was seen as a natural complement to that of promoting housing (Biörnstad, 1991). In 1963, increased loans were introduced within the housing finance system for conservation of outstanding residential buildings on account of their cultural-historic value designated under the 1960 Building Monuments Act. In 1974, special interest free loans (*tillägsslån*) for conservation of cultural-historic buildings were introduced (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

#### 7.8.1. State Loans and Grants: The Housing Finance System

Until 1993, a large proportion of the state financial support for housing possessing cultural-historic value was transferred through the housing finance system. It operated on three levels (Cars *et al.*, 1996). The first level constituted grants towards interest costs (*räntebidrag*) for refurbishment of housing. Such grants towards payment of interest costs were given both for new construction and refurbishment of residential property. This implied that a property owner would receive support towards payment of interest charges on loans for reconstruction and refurbishment costs. This support included new investments such as improved accessibility, lifts, bathroom installations, *etc.* Furthermore, it included maintenance works which would last for a period of at least 30 years, *e.g.* electricity installations, roofing and façade works. It also included support for special cultural-historic related costs (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

The second level constituted of ‘increased financial support’ (*förhöjt bidragsunderlag*) with increased interest grants for housing of cultural-historic significance. This support was granted for refurbishment of residential property which involved ‘additional

antiquarian costs' (*see below*) due to special consideration for cultural-historic values. In order to receive 'increased financial support' it was required that the costs could not be covered by the normal grants towards payment of interest charges. The support implied increased grants up to the level of capital gains, the level within which profit can be made on a property after its refurbishment (*Ibid.*).

The third level involved special loans (*tilläggsån*) free of interest and amortization during the first five years, for residential buildings with such cultural-historic significance that they are or may be declared building monuments. Such loans were granted for projects only after grants, as described above, had been deducted. The loans were granted for those costs for which a property could not yield any profit after the refurbishment. The top limit for the special loans was that where the 'increased financial support' combined with the special loan amounted to 185 per cent of the standard deduction for new construction. The loans required that protection directives were drawn up for the building concerned (*Ibid.*).

According to Råberg (1992) support through the Housing Finance System has since the mid-1970s been of great significance for conservation of the built heritage in Stockholm. The special loans have enabled refurbishment of many buildings in the Old Town and in other parts of the city, especially through the local authority owned historic property management company, *AB Stadsholmen*. The protection directives required for the special loans resulted in the production of comprehensive reports, leading to increased knowledge and raised awareness of cultural-historic qualities in the built environment. As the state loans had often been insufficient for many of the buildings managed by *Stadsholmen AB*, additional local authority loans had often been required in order to cover refurbishment costs.

### 7.8.2. The State Building Conservation Grants Scheme

Alongside the state's support for conservation through the Housing Finance System, the state has operated a special Building Conservation Grants Scheme administered by the National Heritage Board. The need for such a grants scheme was highlighted in Sweden during the European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975 (Biörnstad, 1991). In 1981, the conditions for a national grants scheme were legally stipulated through an

ordinance<sup>67</sup>. The ordinance established a differentiated system of grants for ‘cultural-historic extra costs’ for important buildings of which the future survival could be guaranteed. The level of funding for the grants scheme would depend on the availability of state funds.

Under this scheme, grants could be given to all categories of cultural-historic buildings, e.g. from industrial buildings and workers’ dwellings to mansions and castles. The only exceptions were designated state monuments and property which already benefited from support under the Housing Finance System (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992). However, due to limited levels of funding, priority has been given to buildings of outstanding cultural-historic significance and to special buildings at risk. In 1991/92, the annual budget for the grants was estimated to approximately SEK 3 million (approx. EUR 328,000). The National Heritage Board has sought to increase the level of funds for these grants. For the budget year in 1992/93, such a request was dismissed due to a government decision to transfer funding through various employment reduction schemes instead (Ekstrand, 1991).

### 7.8.3. The Principle of ‘Cultural-Historic Extra Costs’

The conservation grant system in Sweden is based on the principle of ‘cultural-historic extra costs’ (*kulturhistoriska överkostnader*)<sup>68</sup>. The concept implies that conservation of cultural-historic buildings often involves extra costs of renovation, restoration, and alteration, which may lead to financial consequences such as ‘reduced exploitation profit’ (*utebliven exploateringsvinst*) and other more obvious costs of conservation works (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992). Swedish society has imposed a duty on behalf of owners of any building, whether of cultural-historic importance or not, to maintain and alter buildings with care. Therefore, there is an assumption that financial assistance may only be granted for those costs that are greater than normal due to the conservation of cultural-historic values.

The term ‘additional antiquarian costs’ (*antikvariska merkostnader*) is used for a more precise definition of those conservation measures and requirements which may impose ‘extra costs’ (*överkostnader*) on the owner compared to use of the simplest possible

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<sup>67</sup> Förordningen (1981:447) om stadsbidrag till vård av kulturhistoriskt värdefull bebyggelse.

<sup>68</sup> This principle is valid also under the current grants system.

materials and methods. These include works which require special restoration expertise, the use of authentic materials; special requirements for treatment of surfaces, conservation of built structures without any function, original technique requirements; strengthening of building foundations, replacement or strengthening of damaged structural constructions (*bärande konstruktioner*), the saving of extremely decayed buildings, special conservation documentation, difficult working conditions, excessively large spaces which may be underused (*e.g.* attics which may not be altered) and overly expensive building administration (*e.g.* costs attached to project delays) (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

#### 7.8.4. Towards a Simplified Grants System

Due to deregulation of the State Housing Finance System, which may be placed in the context of an economic slump and general restructuring of the Swedish economy during the 1990s, a government commissioned report concluded that ‘interest grants’ and special loans for cultural-historic buildings should be replaced with an independent system of non-recurrent grants as a compliment to the general ‘interest grants’ for housing. However, the budget of SEK 170 million (approx. EUR 18,6 million) a year for cultural-historic residential property would remain intact and transferred into the new system (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

From a property and socio-economic perspective, the report indicated several advantages of a system of non-recurrent grants. It suggested that such grants would contribute more positively to conservation compared to interest grants and special loans for which future conditions are more uncertain. Such grants would also be easier to calculate. In addition, they would diminish the demand for capital gains and reduce some problems of bankruptcy on the part of the property owner. The report suggested that a system of non-recurrent grants would be easier to administer. Furthermore, it was found that the grants would enable the attachment of stricter conditions. It was also suggested that there had been a conflict embedded in the Housing Finance System in that it has first practised aspects of housing standards, which often contradict with cultural-historic principles such as minimal intervention and authenticity. It was envisaged that the diminishing role of the housing finance system would lead to a less

radical approach to refurbishment through smaller and more cultural-historic considerate interventions (*Ibid.*).

The report proposed the new grants system be amalgamated with the already existing grants for building conservation administered by the National Heritage Board. Furthermore, it proposed delegation of the grant giving function of the National Heritage Board to the county administrative boards. It was suggested that the principle of cultural-historic extra costs should apply also to the new grant scheme. The National Heritage Board would provide the county administrative boards with three-year budgets in order to facilitate forward planning for conservation grants. The same principles of differentiated grants would also be applied to the new grants scheme. A newly proposed feature was that the grants would be extended to include buildings other than residential property, making for a more holistic approach to the built environment (*Ibid.*).

#### 7.8.5. The Current Grants System

The current system for financial state support towards conservation, which came into operation on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1993, is based on the ‘Ordinance on Grants for Cultural Environment Conservation of 1993’<sup>69</sup>. The main principles of the 1981 ordinance on state grants for building conservation, briefly described above, applies to the current ordinance with the exception of a few adjustments. The main difference with the 1993 Ordinance is the change towards a more holistic approach to conservation with integration of other areas than building conservation. It allows for state grants towards the following areas:

- Alteration *et cetera* of housing of cultural-historic importance
- Maintenance of cultural-historic buildings (and structures)
- Maintenance of cultural landscapes and ancient structures (*fornlämningar*)
- Archaeological excavations in relation to new housing, *etc.*; and
- Information *et cetera* regarding cultural monuments and environments<sup>70</sup>.

The introduction of the new grants scheme was coupled with a delegation of the grant giving function to the county administrative boards from the National Heritage Board.

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<sup>69</sup> Förordningen (1993:379) om bidrag till kulturmiljövård.

<sup>70</sup> Förordningen (1993:379) om bidrag till kulturmiljövård, 1§.



The main reasons were to create efficiency, integration with other activities at local and regional level and to promote closer contact with the actual grants beneficiaries (Utredningen om kulturstöd vid ombyggnad och underhåll av bostäder, 1992).

Financial State support for conservation of the built heritage is differentiated according to the cultural-historic significance of a building. Grants may cover up to 90 per cent of the 'extra costs' for designated historic buildings, or for buildings for which the cultural-historic value corresponds to the requirements of a historic building designation under the Cultural Monuments Act. The same applies to buildings within designated areas of national interest. A maximum amount of 50 per cent of the extra costs may be granted for other buildings of cultural-historic importance. Under exceptional circumstances, the National Heritage Board may grant larger sums of financial assistance towards conservation. Grants may not be given to works that increase the utility value (*bruksvärdet*)<sup>71</sup>.

Certain conditions apply to the issuing of state conservation grants. For cultural-historic buildings, financial assistance may only be granted if the future conservation of a building is guaranteed<sup>72</sup>. The property owner is obliged to declare the results of those building interventions for which financial support has been granted. Grants are normally awarded after the works have been completed and approved by the supervising authority<sup>73</sup>. The authority responsible for conservation grant aid may also make other conditions regarding grant application and grant disposal, documentation, use of conservation expertise and inspection<sup>74</sup>. In Stockholm, the county administrative board requires that conservation works which benefit from grant aid are carried out under the supervision of conservation expertise. After completion such works must be inspected and approved by a conservation authority.

During the year 2000, the county administrative boards distributed grants for building conservation worth approximately SEK 156 million (approx. EUR 17 million) for 1083 objects (Swedish National Heritage Board, 2000).

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<sup>71</sup> Förordningen (1993:379) om bidrag till kulturmiljövård, 4-5§.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* §3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* §18-19.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* §17.

*Evaluation of the Operation of the Building Conservation Grants Scheme in Stockholm: Opportunities and Challenges*

According to the Stockholm County Administrative Board, the system for conservation grant aid functions relatively well, although 'it could be improved through the attachment of stricter conditions' (CCO, 2000). On a practical level, grants in Stockholm City may be used for conservation of certain features or parts of a building. For example, if a property is being completely or partially refurbished, financial assistance may be sought for the preservation of a stone portal, of which the end result may indeed be successful. However, since the County Administrative Board lacks resources to support and oversee the overall refurbishment of a project it has little control over how the rest of the work is carried out (CCO, 2000). Thus, the overall responsibility for quality conservation works lies with the property owner. The size of the grants is generally quite small:

'In Stockholm, the grants may be considered as a mere token gesture in terms of the overall costs of refurbishment. Most developers and major property owners could probably be without it since the amounts are not that significant' (CCO, 2000).

The overall level of conservation funding in Stockholm County was estimated to SEK 18 million (approx. EUR 1,9 million) in the year of 2000. A large proportion of this amount was ear-marked for a special category of buildings which has received permanent funding since the current grant system was introduced in 1993, namely structural reinforcement of buildings in the Old Town (CCO, 2000). The priority given to special building categories has proved successful in achieving quality conservation works:

'The cost of structural reinforcement for one building in the Old Town is estimated to SEK 5-7 million (approx. EUR 546,000-765,000). The provision of substantial amounts of grant aid has enabled the County Administrative Board to influence the working process and to encourage a quarter by quarter approach to repair, thereby reducing the costs and the risk of damage to the buildings. Approximately 70 per cent of the buildings with immediate structural problems in the Old Town have been supported with as much as 90 per cent of the structural reinforcement costs which is quite a substantial amount. This has been prioritised since the buildings of the Old Town are considered to be of significant national importance' (CCO, 2000).

Although the existence of state financial support towards conservation is an important means for achieving conservation, it has been suggested that the grants are not always distributed where there is greatest need:

‘One negative aspect of conservation funding through the use of grants is that there are certain injustices embedded in the system, namely that mainly those property owners who are active and informed enough to seek out financial assistance will receive such support. Many established property owners who apply for conservation grants take for granted that the state should support them because they happen to own a nice house. There is a sense that people sometimes withdraw from their own ownership responsibilities. This is an area where attitudes must change’ (CCO, 2000).

Another dilemma is that many housing co-operatives in the more prestigious parts of the city, although they may indeed need financial conservation assistance, are able to benefit financially from proper care of their already valuable property in other ways, *e.g.* through capital gains. Property within the public rental sector may not be profiting the same way through rental increase, *etc.* However, ‘that is a political issue which the Conservation Department of the County Administrative Board is not suppose to consider’ (CCO, 2000)

One advantage of conservation grants as a funding instrument over the use of tax relief is that it facilitates a discussion between conservation authorities and property owners. Even a smaller amount may encourage owners and initiate constructive discussions on how to approach conservation. The use of smaller conservation grants also allows for a more just system which does not in itself determine conservation. At the same time, ‘grants systems are usually difficult to manage’ (CP, 2000).

#### 7.8.6. Local Authority Funding for Cultural-Historic Buildings

Local authority funding for urban conservation in Stockholm exists mainly through ownership of a significant number of cultural-historic buildings. Through its historic property management company, *AB Stadsholmen*, the local authority has over the years financially sponsored the renovation of many cultural-historic buildings:

‘The local authority owns most of the old houses in the south inner city, for example, and funding has been made available for refurbishment of these. Some local authority funding has been made available for other projects such as stone conservation. However, for private property owners the main vehicle of funding is the state conservation grants scheme, over which the City Museum has a certain influence’ (LP, 2000).

The role of the local authority owned historic property management company is discussed in further in the next chapter.

## 7.9.CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the legislative framework for conservation of the built heritage in Sweden. The legislative code for protection of the built heritage is characterised by a three-tier system. Firstly, the Cultural Monuments Act affords strong protection to buildings of outstanding interest for cultural-historic reasons, designated as building monuments by regional authorities on behalf of the state. Building monuments in state ownership are regulated under the Ordinance on State Owned Building Monuments, which affords similar protection as the Cultural Monuments Act. Secondly, the planning code contains more flexible protection instruments under the Planning and Building Act for which local authorities carry the main responsibility, with some degree of scrutiny by regional planning authorities. Thirdly, the environmental code includes provisions for protection of *e.g.* ‘areas of national interest’ and the ‘national city park’.

The evidence from Stockholm City suggests that building monuments have not been designated to a satisfactory degree. This is partly due to a scarcity of resources. Furthermore, the process of designating building monuments is slow and involves extensive negotiations between the county administrative board, the local authority and the property owner. The issue of compensation has also contributed to the complexity of the designation process of building monuments. Furthermore, there is a perception that there is overlap between the Cultural Monuments Act and the Planning and Building Act. In Stockholm City, as a result, the local authority has preferred to manage built heritage protection itself through the planning code. However, with regard to protection within the planning code, an amendment in the mid-1990s has led to diminished protection of interiors under the Planning and Building Act. There are varying opinions on the desirability and consequences of this change. As concerns legal provisions for conservation within the environmental code, the ‘areas of national interest’ instrument is considered a useful protection instrument although mainly in indirect ways. The ‘national city park’ instrument is considered to be a somewhat stronger protection instrument in comparison with areas of national interest. Furthermore, environmental impact statements are generally regarded as less important in relation to protection of the built heritage compared to the natural environment.

This chapter also explored the impact of changing ownership structures in Sweden on legal protection of the built heritage. There are varying opinions on the consequences of

the conversion of state owned buildings to limited companies and the privatisation of local authority owned property in terms of conservation. According to one view there is no automatic correlation between conservation and public ownership. However, there is also a view that the privatisation of state building monuments has weakened their protection status and that privatisation makes public access to cultural-historic buildings and thereby conservation more difficult. The Cultural Monuments Act affords protection to all ecclesiastical buildings built before 1940 belonging to the Church of Sweden. However, the separation of the Church of Sweden from the state has led to uncertainties regarding the future conservation of this building stock. Although it is difficult to estimate the long-term effects of this change, there is fear that public control over ecclesiastical buildings will diminish if the Church begins to sell out some of its property.

Finally, this chapter also discussed financial incentives for conservation. The need for a grant system became highlighted during the European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975 and a state grants system was put in place in Sweden shortly after this. Prior to this conservation of the built heritage which constituted housing, was supported through beneficial loans under the Housing Finance System. This was extremely important for the conservation activities carried out by Stadsholmen Ltd. in Stockholm City. The system was operated during a period after the wide-scale demolition of buildings in urban cores throughout the country, including Stockholm, where extensive refurbishment programmes were subsequently carried out. In Stockholm, the contemporary operation of conservation grants involves the distribution of small grants to a limited number of property owners. Any owner of a cultural-historic building may apply but the levels of funds are very limited. However, the grants create opportunities for dialogue between owners and conservation officials, which contributes positively in terms of transferring of knowledge and awareness.

The succeeding chapter deals in further detail with the role of national, regional and local authorities, local planning policy and implementation and the role of the voluntary sector in built heritage conservation in Sweden.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### BUILT HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN CONSERVATION IN STOCKHOLM CITY

This chapter explores heritage management and implementation of urban conservation in Stockholm City. First, it provides an introduction to the role of official bodies concerned with built heritage conservation, referred to as the conservation sector. Secondly, it investigates local conservation planning policy. Thirdly, it discusses the role of voluntary organisations and groups concerned with urban conservation. Fourthly, it outlines the role and development of Stadsholmen Ltd as a historic property management company. Finally, the chapter provides an overall evaluation of conservation issues and threats to the built heritage, highlighting the most challenging issues from the perspective of urban conservation in contemporary Stockholm.

#### 8.1. THE CONSERVATION SECTOR: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC BODIES IN SAFEGUARDING THE BUILT HERITAGE

The Ministry of Culture (*Kulturdepartementet*) carries the overall responsibility for formulation of national conservation policy and legislation on the built heritage in Sweden. The National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*) is responsible for the overall supervision of the public conservation sector at national level. Its role is partly to co-operate with other central authorities and to develop and co-ordinate the various interests of the sector. The county administrative boards (*länsstyrelserna*) are responsible for heritage management at regional level, including implementation of the Cultural Monuments Act, and for supervision of local planning affairs, regulated by the Planning and Building Act and the Environmental Code. They are also responsible for policy matters, professional advice and for management of national conservation grants. The county museums (*läns museerna*) carry a shared responsibility for conservation of the built heritage with the county administrative boards at the regional level, mainly as banks of knowledge and expertise. The local authorities are responsible for protecting the built heritage through planning instruments at the local level. With their overall

responsibility for local planning, they are the most essential actors in cultural environment conservation. Many local authorities have acquired their own conservation expertise which, in the larger towns, usually operates within the organisation of a local authority museum, *e.g.* in Stockholm City.

#### 8.1.1. The Swedish National Heritage Board

The Swedish National Heritage Board is one of Sweden's oldest public offices, its history going back to the establishment of the Office of the Custodian of National Antiquities in 1930, with the objective of compiling an inventory of ancient culture. The contemporary role of the National Heritage Board is divided into five main areas of operation. It operates as a public authority ensuring that the cultural heritage is considered in the different spheres of society. It also has a role in accumulating knowledge about the cultural environment and the cultural heritage, including work with databases of buildings and ancient monuments and providing professional expertise. Furthermore, it has a management function involving the development of methods to preserve buildings. It provides information about the cultural heritage to the general public. Also, it undertakes contract-based archaeological investigations. Figure 8.1 portrays the prestigious headquarters of the National Heritage Board in Stockholm.



**Figure 8.1:** The Swedish National Heritage Board, located in a designated building monument in Stockholm (Negussie, 2001).

### 8.1.2. The County Administrative Boards

The county administrative boards are responsible for regional planning and development, including integration of conservation issues, and act on behalf of the state in local land-use planning regulated by the Planning and Building Act and the Environmental Code. Their conservation departments are responsible for the implementation of the Cultural Monuments Act and for management of the state conservation grants scheme. Cultural environment conservation, in the past referred to as cultural monument conservation, became a domain of responsibility for the county administrative boards in 1976, when certain decision-making functions were transferred to the regional level from the National Heritage Board. Further decentralisation has gradually been carried out since then, which has led to an increased remit of responsibility for the county administrative boards. For example, in 1995, the decision-making function regarding the ecclesiastical built heritage was transferred to the county administrative boards (Kulturutredningen, 1995). At the initial stage of the decentralisation process, the county administrative boards were generally ill equipped to manage the new responsibilities. As explained by the County Conservation Officer: ‘when decisions regarding building monuments were transferred to the regional level, the majority of the counties only had one employed conservation officer, usually an archaeologist, to deal with such issues’ (CCO, 2000).

The Stockholm County Administrative Board has gradually been assigned greater responsibility regarding building monument designations and the ecclesiastical heritage. A large proportion of this work previously lay with the National Heritage Board. In the 1970s, a large number of uncompleted building monument designations were transferred to the County Administrative Board, something which has been difficult for it to cope with. In Stockholm, ‘we still have over 100 uncompleted building monuments cases which were raised during the 1960s’ (CCO, 2000). Nevertheless, a government report suggests that, overall, decentralisation of the conservation sector has contributed positively to its development (Kulturutredningen, 1995). This was supported by the County Planner who suggested that ‘it is better to have competence drawn closer (to the local level)’ (CP, 2000).

However, according to the County Conservation Officer it is questionable whether the Cultural Monuments Act, the legal instrument for state protection of the built heritage,



implemented by the County Administrative Board, is the most appropriate way of protecting the built heritage in a city the size of Stockholm:

‘The operation of the building monument legislation is not working satisfactorily. This becomes evident in an urban environment, where there are other methods of dealing with protection of the built heritage. Many of the designated building monuments in Stockholm are under strong pressure for change and the building monument legislation is not designed to cope with such change. It is an inflexible instrument used to prevent any interventions. The Planning and Building Act is a more useful instrument (in urban situations) since it contains more flexible instruments which can nevertheless be utilised under proper conservation supervision’ (CCO, 2000).

With regard to its role as a supervising authority overseeing local planning affairs, the County Planner explained that it is impossible for the County Administrative Board in Stockholm to exercise this function properly due to the large size of the county. However, for Stockholm City, this was not regarded as a major problem due to the existence of a well functioning local authority, combined with the high level of conservation awareness amongst the general public and generally active citizens (CP, 2000).

### 8.1.3. The County Museums

The role of the county museums is to act as ‘regional banks of knowledge and expertise’, to provide ‘information and revitalisation’ of the cultural heritage and to provide conservation expertise to local authorities and individuals. Until 1976, the county museums carried all responsibility for conservation at the regional level. The *landsantikvarie*, its director, responded directly to and acted on behalf of the National Heritage Board (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

In order to facilitate enhanced integration of conservation into planning, this responsibility was eventually transferred to the county administrative boards. The county museums were opposed to this since it would diminish their influence. Nevertheless, they continued to receive state funding, although their role in planning was shifted to the county administrative boards. A County Conservation Officer (*länsantikvarie*) was appointed for each county administrative board. However, according to the County Museum Officer it has been difficult to strike the right balance between these two regional bodies:

‘The funding which the county museums continued to receive was not earmarked for anything in specific except for knowledge building and provision of services to the county administrative boards. This created friction between the two bodies, with the county administrative boards expecting the county museums to provide more, and a perception amongst the county museums that they are not being utilised in the most efficient way’ (CMO, 2000).

The Stockholm County Museum experienced a steady decline in its financial resources during the 1990s:

‘The County Museum was developed during the 1980s, but before it had reached its full potential, the financial provision by the state ceased to increase. This was due to a general decline in the economy, which has not only affected our work, but the public sector overall’ (CMO, 2000).

This diminished role of the county museums has had implications for the level of proactive conservation activities:

‘In the past, the county museums played a more distinctive role as cultural bodies within their regions. However, their work is increasingly being undertaken on the basis of commission. This has implications in that no one will take responsibility for educational activities for issues that have not been requested. For example, if nobody wants to put up an exhibition on building maintenance, then such an exhibition will not take place. It will not be the same as before’ (CCO, 2000).

However, it is also clear that the conservation debate has moved beyond technical issues to broader matters:

‘There are other more positive trends in Swedish society. The general public is today much more alert and awakened regarding conservation. Compared to the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, there is an incredible difference in the level of conservation awareness. Nobody would sandblast building facades and practically everyone uses linseed oil based paint. However, although we have reached a stage of high conservation awareness amongst the public, the conservation sector needs to become more focused. The issues are different compared to twenty years ago. The questions are now more about the immaterial values, *e.g.* why we choose to conserve and what we are trying to accomplish. The ideological discussion has become more important’ (CCO, 2000).

Due to the existence of a well-developed City Museum, the County Museum plays a minor conservation role in the City of Stockholm. The Stockholm City Museum receives funding from the County Museum in order to deal also with the County Museum’s responsibilities for Stockholm City. According to the County Museum Officer, this is a historic development: ‘the Stockholm City Museum has existed for 70 years, while the County Museum is a much younger organisation’ (CMO, 2000).

#### 8.1.4. The Stockholm City Museum

The Stockholm City Museum (*Stockholms Stadsmuseum*) was established in the 1930s. However, the contemporary role of the Stockholm City Museum in urban conservation was established during the 1970s when the local authority decided that comprehensive refurbishment programmes were to be carried out for Stockholm City:

‘During this time, the City Museum received a clear role, which was eventually stipulated in policy adopted by the City Council, first in 1981 and then in 1992. These decisions lay down principles for integration of cultural-historic values with the mandatory protection directives in the detail plan. This policy constitutes the fundamental basis for the work of the City Museum’ (LCO, 2000).

However, in the beginning of the 1990s, the City Museum’s role became more defined with the revision and adoption of the ‘Cultural-Historic Classification of Stockholm Inner City’, a conservation planning tool developed especially for Stockholm City. Although a previous edition existed already in the 1980s, ‘the revised version became more clearly adopted by the City Council into official local planning policy’ (LCO, 2000). Thus, with regard to the City Museum’s role in local planning:

‘There is a clear policy with regard to the co-operation between the City Planning Administration and the City Museum. This is based on the fundamental decision (by the City Council) that the cultural-historic values are to be respected in urban planning’ (LCO, 2000).

The City Museum has a formal advisory role in the planning permission process through monitoring and review of planning applications affecting designated buildings and areas of special cultural-historic value. It acts as an official specialist body on behalf of the Town Building Committee (*Stadsbyggnadsnämnden*). In order for this to function properly, ‘the Cultural-Historic Classification Map is a crucial instrument’ (LCO, 2000). The map provides clear guidance on which planning applications should be remitted to the City Museum. With some exceptions the opinion of the City Museum is usually respected by the City Planning Administration:

‘They do take our views into consideration in many cases. However, there are certain types of cases where relatively little consideration is given to our opinion, where other interests take precedence. Above all, this is the case for attic conversions, since it is in the interest of the local authority to provide more residential space in the inner city. In some cases, the conversion of an attic may be appropriate, but in other cases we may consider such conversions grave impairment of cultural-historic values. These cases are normally brought to the Town Building Committee that weighs different public interests against each other. In those matters our opinion is usually overruled’ (LCO, 2000).

Furthermore, the City Museum has established good contact with some of the major companies within the building sector, including developers: 'we promote information and awareness raising activities. We arrange for meetings, guided tours, and seminars in order to inform them of cultural-historic values in the city' (LCO, 2000).

The City Museum also plays a role in the operation of the national conservation grants scheme, for which the County Administrative Board is responsible: 'the County Administrative Board commissions the City Museum as conservation controllers on grant-aid related issues' (LCO, 2000).

The budget for the Museum's work with regard to the built heritage was estimated to a total of SEK 7,1 million (approx. EUR 776,000) in 2000. Approximately 55 per cent of the budget derived from external sources, while 45 per cent constituted direct local authority funding. The external sources included state funding towards assisting the County Administrative Board in its work and compensation from the City Streets and Real Estate Administration for the Museum's role in monitoring planning applications. Fifty per cent of the external funding was derived from various types of commissioned work, such as building inventory work.

The level of the Museum's resources has not changed significantly during the 1990s. The number of employed building conservation expertise has remained the same totalling 16 conservation officials of which the majority is involved with monitoring of planning applications. However, the share of commission-based income has increased during the 1990s (LCO, 2000). Figure 8.2 depicts the headquarter building of the Stockholm City Museum.



**Figure 8.2:** The Stockholm City Museum, located in a seventeenth century building which has designated building monument status (Negussie, 2001).

#### 8.1.5. The Stockholm City Planning Administration

The Stockholm City Planning Administration (*Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor*) is responsible for the designation of buildings of special cultural-historic importance in the local detail plan. As explained by the interviewed Local Planner:

‘Our role in all planning is to consider and balance various public interests and cultural-historic values is one of these. We remit all plans to a large number of bodies. However, the City Museum monitors cultural-historic values in the built environment for us especially. We also remit our planning cases to the County Administrative Board, which monitors several planning aspects including the cultural heritage. Since Stockholm is completely built-up, there is no new land left to be developed within the city boundaries. This implies that all new building takes place in already built-up areas, which often involves the safeguarding of cultural-historic qualities. This is the case also in the newer parts of the city, which contain a younger built heritage. Our role as planners is to balance the various interests’ (LP, 2001).

The City Planning Administration has also promoted information campaigns to raise awareness of the built heritage and the history of the city and to facilitate citizen participation in the planning process: ‘in addition to the City Museum and the Museum of Architecture, we collaborate with various educational bodies and with companies in the building and property sectors’ (LP, 2001).

#### 8.1.6. The Stockholm Aesthetics Council

The Stockholm Aesthetics Council (*Stockholms Skönhetsråd*), established in 1919, is a local authority body providing expert opinion on proposed developments with regard to beauty aspects in the city. The Council does not have any formal power. It is rather an advisory body for other local authority bodies and committees which monitors planning applications and expresses its opinion whenever it deems this necessary (Söderström, 1994).

#### 8.1.7. Division of Responsibility within the Conservation Sector

The following elaborates on the division of responsibility within the public conservation sector, highlighting opportunities and challenges within the existing structure. It discusses the extent of co-operation between the various conservation actors in Stockholm during the 1990s.

##### *Regional Level*

At regional level, co-operation between the County Museum and the County Administrative Board functions relatively well for Stockholm County. The County Planner explained that ‘when we do co-operate there is normally a good level of contact’. However, it was also suggested that the County Museum has ‘scarce resources’ (CP, 2000). Thus, the decline in the Museum’s resources during the 1990s has affected the degree to which these bodies are able to collaborate. As suggested by the County Conservation Officer:

‘The County Museum has for long attempted to define its role and it has scarce financial resources. The County Administrative Board co-operates closely with the County Museum, but (the former) sometimes feels that it (the latter) does not have enough resources to carry out a controlling function on our behalf. Nevertheless, we are trying to achieve better co-operation’ (CCO, 2000).

The co-operation mainly concerns work related to other local authorities than to the city of Stockholm. This is due to the existence of a strong City Museum in Stockholm:

‘The County Museum deals with issues outside of the jurisdiction of Stockholm Local Authority. The situation in Stockholm is special since the County Museum was not

established until the beginning of the 1980s. It is not as powerful as the county museums in the rest of the country' (CCO, 2000).

### *Regional/Local Levels*

The County Planner suggested that the contact between the County Administrative Board and the Stockholm City Planning Administration has been somewhat strained in the past, due to 'the overall relationship between the state and local authorities' (CP, 2000). This is rooted in an embedded conflict between state and local authority governance. However, it was suggested that this is changing and that the different roles are becoming mutually respected (CP, 2000). The Local Planner explained that the City Planning Administration does not co-operate as closely with the County Administrative Board as it does with the City Museum: 'the County Administrative Board is rather a supervising authority for all local authorities in the county' (LP, 2001).

Furthermore, the County Conservation Officer also suggested that the roles of regional and local planning bodies often interfere with each other due to unclear division of responsibility. This is due to the legal division of responsibility regulated by the Cultural Monuments Act, which is implemented at the regional level, and the Plan and Building Act, implemented at the local level:

'The Stockholm Local Authority normally has high ambitions when it comes to conservation of the built heritage. However, what often happens is that we (the County Administrative Board) receive an application for a demolition of a building for which we may grant some sort of approval. When the case then goes through the local planning permission process, the local authority looks at our standpoint (which may be quite brief due to lack of time) and decides that since we have approved a development, then it must be okay. The Planning and Building Act is completely independent of the Cultural Monuments Act, but it is handled in a way which makes the latter superior. However, it should not be the case that one piece of legislation supersedes the other' (CCO, 2000).

However, this overlap was not regarded as a problem in the rest of the country. The situation is unique to Stockholm City due to the existence of a well-established system of conservation expertise within the local authority:

'Stockholm City, has been good at dealing with conservation issues at the local authority level for decades. It is of great significance that it is the local authority's own museum which deals with these issues and not a county museum at the regional level. The County Administrative Board primarily works with implementation of the Cultural Monuments Act. However, its planning department also monitors all local plans that are prepared by the local authorities for consultation, *e.g.* master plans, detail plans and special area provisions. Our co-operation with the Stockholm City Planning Administration regarding such matters functions well. When it comes to individual building cases, we mainly collaborate with the City Museum' (CCO, 2000).

Furthermore, it was explained that there is good but relatively limited contact between the City Museum and the County Administrative Board in Stockholm, due to the fact that there are relatively few designated building monuments in Stockholm. ‘The reason for this is that the local authority has taken responsibility for conservation in a different way’ (LCO, 2000) compared to many other local authorities in Sweden. The situation of the Old Town in Stockholm, with hardly any designated national building monuments, may be contrasted to that of the middle-aged town of Visby, where practically all buildings in the city core have been designated as such. In Stockholm, ‘it is the city authority which protects the built heritage through the Planning and Building Act, and through strict detail planning’ (LCO, 2000). It was further explained that it has been the local authority’s wish to protect the built heritage through its own protection instruments. This relates back to the pursuit of local authority self-determination. The City Museum representative suggested that ‘Stockholm has always been a state within the state’ (LCO, 2000).

### *Local Level*

The work between City Planning Administration and the City Museum takes place both at a formal level, through the referral of planning applications for cultural-historic buildings, but also through interactions at an informal level (LP, 2001). As stated by the City Museum representative: ‘the City Museum works closely with the Town Building Committee. We do sometimes take different standpoints on various issues, but that is quite natural. The system works well’ (LCO, 2000). Nevertheless, it was suggested that due to cutbacks in staff resources the opportunities for co-operation have diminished:

‘In the past, there were more interdepartmental working groups. Due to the tightening of financial resources, the co-operative work has mainly come to involve matters of routine. All public bodies have been affected by reduced resources and have had to become more efficient. This has had consequences for work of investigative nature and for visionary projects. We used to run projects that have ceased to exist. However, the structure and the co-operative work within the local authority functions well’ (LCO, 2000).

Figure 8.3 illustrates the division of responsibility between the various bodies as discussed above.



# PROTECTION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE: TABLE OF COMPETENCE

(Figure 8.3)

## NATIONAL LEVEL

- LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY
- CONSERVATION POLICY
- FUNDING AUTHORITY

MINISTRY OF CULTURE

- PROMOTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
- POLICY MATTERS
- ACCUMULATION OF KNOWLEDGE
- INFORMATION AND EXPERTISE

THE SWEDISH  
NATIONAL HERITAGE  
BOARD

## REGIONAL LEVEL

- DESIGNATION OF BUILDING MONUMENTS
- DECISIONS REGARDING ECCLESIASTICAL HERITAGE
- AUTHORITY FOR CONSERVATION GRANTS SCHEME
- PLANNING AUTHORITY (SUPERVISING FUNCTION, *E.G.* TO SAFEGUARD ISSUES OF NATIONAL INTEREST)

COUNTY  
ADMINISTRATIVE  
BOARDS

Co-operation  
↑↓

- BANK OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERTISE
- RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING INFORMATION AND REVITALISATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

COUNTY MUSEUMS

## LOCAL LEVEL

- MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE THROUGH THE PLANNING AND BUILDING ACT

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- BUILDING INVENTORIES
- CLASSIFICATION AND EVALUATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE
- PLANNING MONITORING AND ADVICE REGARDING CULTURAL-HISTORIC VALUES
- MANAGEMENT OF AWARENESS RASING ACTIVITIES

CITY MUSEUM

- OUTLINES CONSERVATION OBJECTIVES IN MASTER PLAN
- PROTECTION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE IN THE DETAIL PLAN
- MANAGEMENT OF AWARENESS RASING ACTIVITIES

PLANNING  
ADMINISTRATION

- POLITICALLY APPOINTED
- PLANNING PERMISSION DECISIONS

TOWN BUILDING  
COMMITTEE

## 8.2. LOCAL PLANNING POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN CONSERVATION IN STOCKHOLM CITY

The following sections explore urban conservation policy as outlined in the master plan (*översiktsplan*), a compulsory although non-statutory document providing general local authority guidance on land-use planning and how the built environment is to be developed and conserved. A building by-law entitled *Stockholms Byggnadsordning* constitutes a supplement to the master plan. This non-statutory document outlines the distinguishing characteristics of Stockholm City in order to provide a basis for a common approach to those qualities which should be considered by those who become involved in the planning process. The role of the detail plan (*detaljplan*), the statutory planning instrument which regulates land use and buildings in smaller defined areas, is investigated in relation to protection of the built heritage. Within the process of making a detail plan there are various instruments available which may be used to protect the built heritage. With regard to protection of buildings, the most important such instrument is q-protection (*q-märkning*) of buildings of special cultural-historic significance.

This section also discusses the role of the Cultural-Historic Classification Map of Stockholm Inner City, a specific conservation tool developed by the Stockholm City Museum, in co-operation with the Stockholm City Planning Administration. It consists of a map depicting a grading system of the built environment in relation to the city's identified cultural-historic values. The document is not a mandatory instrument, but rather a reflection of the city's ambition to give serious consideration to the built heritage in the planning process. Finally, enforcement of conservation is also discussed.

### 8.2.1. The Master Plan

The 1999 Master Plan for Stockholm Local Authority is based on draft proposals from 1996 and 1997. It replaced its predecessor in 1990 which was the first adopted Master Plan (*översiktsplan*) under the current planning system which came effect in 1987 (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1999).

The first part of the master plan outlines a broad approach to goals and strategies for planning and different forces shaping the built environment. The overall strategy of the plan is based on the concept of 'building the city inwards'. The aims include reuse of land and protection of important green space, development of the semi-central zone around the city with conversion and integration of older industrial areas with the inner city, development of junction points in the outer city, building in areas with good public transport and general improvement of local short-comings in the structure of the city (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1999; Andersson, 1997).

The second part of the master plan focuses on land use and building development with proposals for land and water use, green space, and conservation of cultural-historic areas. This part also contains a building by-law outlining characteristics of the city, which should be considered prior to any new building and redevelopment (see below).

With regard to conservation of the built heritage, the master plan outlines a large number of areas of cultural-historic importance. Firstly, it outlines areas of national interest, which have been designated by the National Heritage Board. These constitute the whole inner city including the island of *Djurgården* and a smaller number of areas in the outer city, all presented and described in a chronological order. Some of these areas also form part of the national city park. Secondly, it presents approximately 100 areas of cultural-historic importance, which have been selected and described by the City Museum. These include areas with distinguishing characteristics as defined in the building by-law (see below) as well as other areas mainly in the outer city. The master plan does not outline individual protected cultural-historic buildings. These are presented separately in the Cultural-Historic Classification Map of Stockholm Inner City, produced by the City Museum (*see below*).

### 8.2.2. The Stockholm City Building By-Law

The building by-law (*Stockholms Byggnadsordning*) which is a supplement to the master plan was published in 1997 in order to spread knowledge of the special characteristics distinguishing Stockholm City and to establish a common vision for how it is to develop. It is an urban design instrument presenting proposals for how to

approach conservation and urban renewal based on the city's distinguishing features.

Andersson (1997, 241) asserts that:

'The lack of respect for existing buildings and groups of buildings which characterized some aspects of post-war planning resulted in the defacing of many environments and to heal these wounds will be a central task... It is a question of using the preconditions of the place as a starting point and of treating the existing environment with respect, although at the same time not necessarily copying it. One important precondition for working in this fashion is deeper knowledge about the typical distinguishing characteristics of the city. With this goal in mind the new Master Plan includes a new Building By-law'.

The building by-law identifies twelve distinct town characteristics, which Stockholm has acquired during its various phases of town building and expansion. It is concerned not only with the buildings of the city but also their relationship to landscape preconditions and town morphology. The overall approach builds on the interplay between conservation and creativity. Integration of new buildings of high architectural and artistic quality, reflecting contemporary architectural styles is emphasised. Buildings of cultural-historic significance, or forming part of an important urban setting, are to be conserved in a way that emphasises their different time periods and alterations are to be carried out in a respectful way. Furthermore, it promotes overall improvement of public spaces and protection of the natural landscape.

The first part of the building by-law outlines characteristics of the urban landscape of Stockholm. It describes the characteristics of the natural landscape, different types of water space and waterfronts, bridges, the city skyline, street space, public space and squares, and green space. Furthermore, it describes the illumination that characterises the city, *e.g.* street lighting and signposts. Finally, it outlines colour schemes of buildings from various time periods. For example, with regard to the inner city skyline, the approach is summarised in the following way:

'The uniform height scale of the 18<sup>th</sup> century urban landscape constitutes the basis for the inner city skyline. The occasional building of new high and slender buildings may complement the skyline according to the principle *one church per parish* without obscuring the 18<sup>th</sup> century height scale. Clusters of new high buildings or the overall increase of the height of the skyline should be avoided' (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1997, 40, trans. mine).

Figure 8.4 depicts a view the inner city skyline, with the roof landscape of the Old Town, the church towers, and, in the far distance, one of the five clustered high-rise buildings (*'Sergelskraporna'*) built in the inner city between 1955-1965.



**Figure 8.4:** Skyline of Stockholm inner city with the roof landscape of the Old Town (Negussie, 2001).

The second part of the building by-law outlines the twelve town characteristics. As stated in the Master Plan:

‘The town morphology and approach to building in Stockholm, give evidence to different annual rings and town characteristics, all with their own distinct identities. The most important features of these may be concluded according to twelve town characteristics... The town characteristics have been defined so that they may include different types of buildings within an overall coherent framework. For example, the ‘Stonetown’ (*Stenstaden*), includes different types of buildings from different time periods, but within a distinct quarter structure. Another example is the ‘Subwaytown’ (*Tunnelbanestaden*), which constitutes both the 1950s satellite towns and the large-scale residential areas built in the 1960s and 1970s along the subway line’ (Stockholms Stadsbyggnadskontor, 1999, trans. mine).

Each town characteristic is presented with a general description of morphology, quarter structure, public space, *etc.* The overall approach is outlined with specific objectives presented for conservation, integration of new structures, careful renewal, and public space and the natural landscape. The Old Town (*Gamla Stan*) constitutes one such town characteristic and includes the adjoining island of *Riddarholmen*. The conservation objectives for these areas are strict in terms, for example, of use, maintenance and alterations. A new building of same scale may be permitted if it is replacing one that has been damaged accidentally. Public space and street furniture, for example, is to be approached with respect for the historical character.

The building by-law is not a mandatory instrument. However, it is a useful urban design document in providing general planning guidelines and provides a vision for how the city is to be developed. According to the Local Conservation Officer:

‘It expresses the vision of the city authority and it is a good ambition. However, it is quite general and cannot be applied alone to the inner city, where there are too many problems that cannot be codified in a simplified way. Nevertheless, it provides useful guidance for new development in various parts of the outer city’ (LCO, 2000).

Thus, the building by-law does not carry any legal force, and although it is promoted and used by the City Planning Administration, the guidelines are not necessarily always followed (LCO, 2000). The Local Planner explained that the degree to which the building by-law is influential varies:

‘The City Planning Administration has attempted to promote the Building By-law, both internally and externally, as a document assisting both planners and developers. The idea is that developers should have access to it and use it as a starting point before they apply for planning permission’ (LP, 2001).

The building by-law is not a comprehensive document, but rather a support instrument in the planning process:

‘At the end of the day, all proper planning is about good judgement. Even if policy and legislation exist, be it the building by-law or the Planning and Building Act, what is needed is a sense for what is sensible, reasonable and aesthetic’ (LP, 2001).

The City Planning Administration has in the past published several other more detailed urban conservation and renewal programmes that are linked to the more general building by-law, *e.g.* for special areas such as the Old Town, on colouring of façades in the inner city, for attic conversions and lift installations, on façade-lighting and sign-posting.

### 8.2.3. Q-Protection in the Detail Plan

As explained in the previous chapter, regulation of land use and buildings is achieved through the detail plan, which is a mandatory planning instrument. The most important instrument for local authority protection of buildings and sites is ‘q-designation’ in the detail plan.

It has been suggested that since the introduction of the Planning and Building Act in 1987, the use of protection instruments such as ‘protection directives’ (*skyddsbestämelser*) and other special restrictions on the conditions for planning permission (*förhöjd lovplikt*) imposed by local authorities in order to protect the built environment in the detail plan has been limited nationally (*e.g.* Johansson, 1999). One identified reason for this is that the making of a detail plan is rarely initiated strictly for the purpose of protecting cultural-historic values. Rather, it constitutes an integrated part of other planning goals. The validity of this for Stockholm is confirmed by other documents as well as by findings from the interview survey.

For example, Råberg (1991) suggests that, for Stockholm, the introduction of the Planning and Building Act combined with policy adopted by the City Council in 1990, established a clear system for how to achieve protection of cultural-historic values through ‘protection directives’ in the detail plan. However, such ‘protection directives’ are usually developed only when a detail plan is initiated for other planning purposes. This is mainly due to the slow process of preparing a detail plan combined with limited planning resources.

The majority of the interviewees for this study agreed that there has been a limited use of these protection instruments also in Stockholm. According to the Local Planner the main reason for this is lack of resources:

‘We do not have resources to produce plans strictly for the purpose of protecting cultural-historic values. In some cases we have produced special conservation plans, for example, for *Södra Ängby*, which aimed at securing the cultural-historic values of one particular town district. We would like to prepare more such plans, but this is a question of priority’ (LP, 2001).

The City Museum informant similarly explained that the instruments provided by the Planning and Building Act have been used to some extent although not as much as they should be exercised. This is due to the lack of continuing preparation of detail plans to secure cultural-historic values, which in turn is due to the lack of resources. In addition, ‘there are charges attached to preparing the plans and nobody is willing to pay for conservation plans’ (LCO, 2000).

Nevertheless, in the past there were more resources available for this. Extensive conservation work was carried out for various inner city areas during the 1970s and

1980s, mainly due to a great ambition within the city authority to take conservation seriously into consideration. Due to the role played by the City Museum and the use of other planning instruments, this has not determined the success of urban conservation in Stockholm. However, the situation in other parts of the country is quite different: 'in other parts of Sweden implementation of the system has been disastrous'. The success of conservation often 'depends on whether a town has a city architect who takes interest in the matter' (LCO, 2000).

This view was supported by the County Museum informant who stated that the situation in Stockholm City is unique mainly due to the role played by the City Museum in urban conservation planning. Furthermore, it was suggested that the provisions under the Planning and Building Act have not by themselves necessarily resulted in any significant improvements. As concerns '*förhöjd lovplikt*', the same interviewee explained that the intention of applying this instrument in certain areas requires resources which local authorities do not have, and therefore 'it is a protection instrument without any functional value' (CMO, 2000).

Another issue addressed by the same interviewee was the negative impact of the operational fragmentation within local authorities: 'you may achieve good co-operation with the planners who prepare the detail plan, but planning permissions may then be granted within another division of the local authority where plans may be completely neglected' (CMO, 2000). However, this was not regarded as a problem in Stockholm City, where the planning administration has its own Town Building Committee responsible for planning decisions.

Finally, the same informant emphasised that the most important issue is that of compensation. Local authorities may have to compensate owners under certain circumstances, including costs of legal action taken by private individuals (CMO, 2000). This discourages local authorities from taking full action to protect cultural-historic values. According to the County Planner the limited use of the protection instruments is rather a rural phenomenon:

'In towns, such instruments are applied whenever new plans are being prepared, with q-designations marked out almost everywhere. Plenty of such work has been carried out in Stockholm, while it remains a problem in the countryside. There are better opportunities for dialogue and negotiation within larger towns' (CP, 2000).



More generally, it was suggested that the limited use of local conservation planning instruments is part of a wider divisional problem between different sectors:

‘The notion of a division between the environmental and cultural sectors manifests itself in local planning. There is a developed awareness of natural environmental issues within the local authority organisation, of Agenda 21 and waste management, but this is not the case to the same extent when it comes to cultural environmental protection’ (NCO, 2000).

According to the Local Planner, while q-protection is indeed a useful instrument, ‘the problem is that many buildings that deserve a q-designation form part of older plans which do not currently need to be reproduced’ (LP, 2001). The city hall is an example of a building that does not have a q-designation (Figure 8.5.). It is covered by an old town plan and no protection designation was afforded when it being prepared. However, for this particular building:

‘This is not a danger since nobody would contemplate its demolition or alteration. However, there are many other less prestigious buildings which need such protection status, but there is neither time nor resources to change all existing plans strictly for the purpose of q-designation’ (LP, 2001).

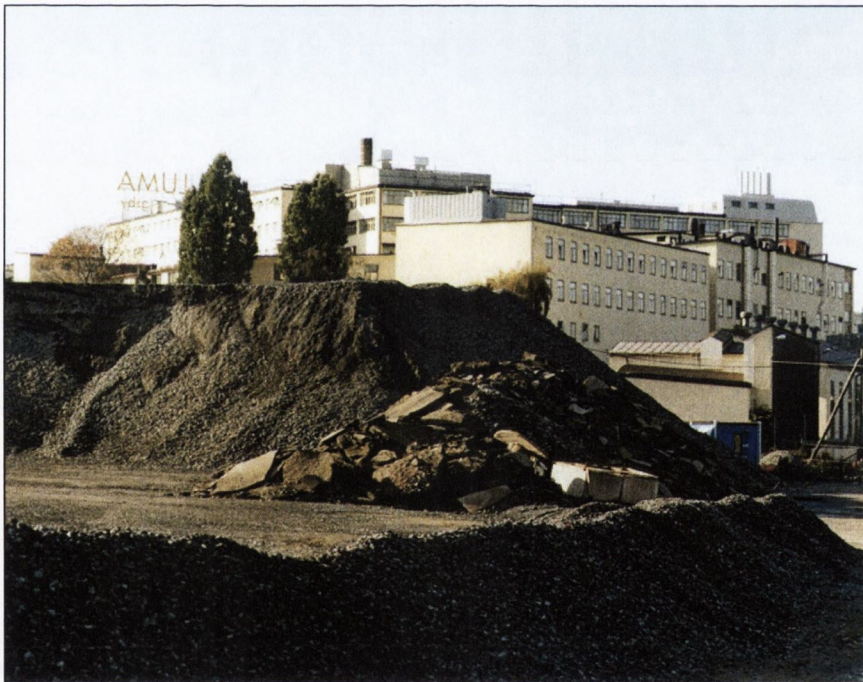


**Figure 8.5:** Stockholm City Hall: an important landmark building without any specific protection status (Negussie, 2001).

Nevertheless, technically there are means of revising a detail plan for the sake of protecting the cultural-historic value of a particular building without completely changing a plan. A new plan identical to the old one may be drawn up with the only change being that of the q-designation. However, this is an unusual exercise since

‘nobody is prepared to allocate resources for this. Preparation of new plans for housing, and infrastructure is considered to be of greater importance’ (LP, 2001).

A change such as a new use for a building normally requires the drawing up of a new detail plan. This provides an opportunity also to consider q-designation. The *Luma* factory in *Hammarby Sjöstad*, one of the main recent urban renewal areas in Stockholm, is an example of this (Figure 8.6). A decision to convert this factory building into offices and to transform its surroundings required the making of a new plan and provided an opportunity to add a q-designation. In this case, ‘the making of a new plan for the purpose of q-designation only would not have been easily justified, especially since it is possible to reject a proposal for demolition anyway. However, a q-designation does imply stronger protection’ (LP, 2001).



**Figure 8.6:** The Luma Factory: a q-designated modern industrial building (Negussie, 2001).

#### 8.2.4. The Cultural-Historic Classification Map of Stockholm Inner City

At local planning level, a specific conservation tool has been developed by the Stockholm City Museum, responsible for defining and outlining the cultural-historic values of the city, in co-operation with the City Planning Administration Department.

'The Cultural-Historic Classification of Stockholm Inner City'<sup>1</sup> consists of a map depicting a grading system of the built environment in relation to the city's identified cultural-historic values. In order to promote the cultural-historic values in a constructive way, the classification system has been developed in accordance with legislative criteria in order to facilitate its proper use in the planning process (Råberg, 1998).

The classification map is not a mandatory instrument but rather a reflection of the city's ambition and will to give careful consideration in a practical manner to the built heritage in the planning process. It is a necessary starting point from which decisions regarding the built environment can be made and a crucial tool considering the number of planning matters that concern a large municipality such as Stockholm (LCO, 2000).

The classification system is based on extensive inventorying of the building stock in the inner city. The basis for all evaluation of cultural-historic values in the built environment is determined by a comprehensive knowledge of the urban landscape and of individual buildings. This requires knowledge of both general history as well as specific architectural history combined with investigations, analysis and compiling of reports. Such inventories of the built heritage in Stockholm inner city were mainly undertaken in the 1970s and in the early 1980s by the City Museum. The inventories of the inner city were then compiled and published. Inventories have also been carried out in the outer city, especially in residential areas from the 1930s up to the 1950s, as well as industrial and school buildings built before 1950 (Råberg, 1998).

The decision to produce a classification map was made in 1981, when the local authority commissioned the City Museum to classify the cultural-historic values of the inner city. The first version of the classification map was published in 1983. However, with the introduction of a new legal planning framework in 1987, the map was revised to match new legislation. As a result of new planning legislation, the 1990 Master Plan was produced and adopted by the City Council in 1991. It clearly stated the city's ambition to respect its overall cultural-historic values with a clear system for how these should be safeguarded through local planning (Råberg, 1991).

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<sup>1</sup> Kulturhistorisk klassificering Stockholms innerstad, 1996.

This provided a basis for the initiation of the current classification map, published in 1995 and adopted by the City Council in 1996. It embraces a larger area than the initial map and a wider range of buildings, including those dating from the 1950s (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1995). The City Museum undertakes continuing revision of the map ever since it was published and adopted by the City Council. The City Museum may re-evaluate a building, in case of a grave distortion of the cultural-historic value. However, such changes do not come into effect until a new map has been published and officially adopted (LCO, 2000).

### *The Map as an Instrument*

The classification map outlines the classification of buildings and structures and areas of special importance. All buildings, including structures such as bridges, have been classified into four categories according to their estimated cultural-historic value, each of them represented by a specific colour on the map: blue, green, yellow and grey (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1995). On a policy level, buildings marked with blue and green are provided with specific protection directives in the detail plan, the statutory planning instrument, which are developed by the City Museum. As discussed above, due to the slow procedure of creating or changing a detail plan, in which cultural-historic buildings are to be designated with a 'q' and provided with special protection directives, not all buildings within the blue and green categories have been supplemented with such directives as originally intended. However, all planning applications for buildings in these two categories are transferred to the City Museum for review by conservation experts who decide whether proposed alterations imply any distortion of the cultural-historic values (Råberg, 1998). Such distortions may be prevented through the use of the Planning and Building Act regardless of whether protection directives have been issued or not (Råberg, 1991). Considering that not all buildings of cultural-historic value have been afforded protected status in the detail plan, the classification map is often a detrimental instrument in the planning process. According to the City Museum informant 'this is often claimed to be the case. However, there must be other ways to promote conservation of cultural-historic values in the planning process. It should not be the case that all local authorities must have perfect plans since that will never be achieved' (LCO, 2000).

Nevertheless, at a planning level, the classification map is generally well respected, especially those categories represented by blue and green (LCO, 2000) over which the

City Museum exercises a prescribed expertise function. The following briefly reviews the categories included in the classification map.

*Blue:*

All buildings of which the cultural-historic value corresponds to the requirements of a building monument designation under the Cultural Monuments Act have been marked blue on the map. Thus, this category includes buildings and structures of such value that they are or may be declared building monuments because of their ‘outstanding interest on account of its historic value or forming part of a settlement of outstanding historical interest’<sup>2</sup>. This category includes a priority class of buildings, *e.g.* all 350 buildings in the Old Town (see Figure 8.7). It also embraces churches and building monuments owned by the state, protected by separate legislation (Råberg, 1991, 24). Not all of the approximately 800 buildings marked blue on the map have been designated building monuments under the Cultural Monuments Act by the County Administrative Board. Instead, the local authority itself is responsible for the protection of a large proportion of these through the use of the Planning and Building Act and through *Stadsholmen Ltd*, the local authority property management company which owns and manages buildings of special cultural-historic value (Råberg 1998). Thus, this category may be described as a top priority class of protected buildings and structures, especially through its relationship to the Cultural Monuments Act.



**Figure 8.7:** All buildings in the Old Town (in the centre) are marked blue on the Cultural-Historic Classification Map (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> Cultural Monuments Act, 1988, 3:1§.

*Green:*

Properties marked with green on the map represent a large proportion of buildings to which legal protection within the planning code (only) applies<sup>3</sup>. These are ‘buildings of special historical, cultural-historic, environmental, or artistic value, or buildings which form part of an area of such character’ and such values ‘must not be distorted’<sup>4</sup>. The alteration or extension of such a building must not affect its character, and technical, historical, cultural-historic, environmental and historical values must be safeguarded<sup>5</sup>. Demolition may also be refused for buildings of such values<sup>6</sup>. Over 2000 buildings in the inner city have been marked green on the classification map (Råberg, 1991).

*Yellow:*

Buildings marked with yellow are considered to have some degree of cultural-historic value, or they contribute to the overall quality of the townscape. The cultural-historic value of yellow-marked buildings is not directly defensible from a legal point of view. They have a certain cultural-historic value, but not to the extent that the 3§12-clause of the Planning and Building Act can be directly applied to these buildings. However, ‘they may be important from a townscape point of view, and there are ways to apply the Planning and Building Act to these buildings in order to protect the character of an area, but they have not been recognised as having a special cultural-historic value’ (LCO, 2000).

*Grey:*

Buildings that do not fit into any of the graded building categories have been marked grey on the map. Alterations made to such buildings are usually not commented upon by official conservation expertise at the City Museum (Råberg, 1991).

*Unclassified buildings (grey stripes):*

Buildings marked with grey stripes on the map were either built in 1960 or after and have not yet been classified. From a conservation point of view, ‘unclassified buildings is clearly a problem since many of these may be of special cultural-historic importance’ (LCO, 2000). When work for the classification map was initiated twenty years ago, the

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<sup>3</sup> Such legislation is also valid for buildings marked with blue.

<sup>4</sup> Plan och Bygglagen, 1987, 3§12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 3§10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 8§16.

target was to cover all buildings built before 1960. This target has since then been stretched to cover all buildings built before 1980, allowing for a twenty-year perspective on conservation in the built environment (LCO, 2000).

This group of unclassified buildings has created conservation dilemmas within many of the modern built environments, especially those that formed part of large-scale inner-city urban renewal programmes in the 1960s and 1970s (Figure 8.8). However, there is a perception that ‘many of those central areas, where modern built structures replaced much of the old building stock, have values which today are worth conserving regardless of what they may have replaced’ (LCO, 2000). The City Museum is currently undertaking review of these buildings in order to avoid some of the inner city planning dilemmas that have arisen in recent years. Such work has been extended to include new areas in the outer city and in the suburbs, where the County Administrative Board is undertaking inventories at a regional level of large-scale modern built environments from the 1960s and 1970s (*‘Miljonprojektsområdena’*). However, unclassified buildings remain a problem until necessary inventorying and classification has been completed (LCO, 2000).



**Figure 8.8:** The grey striped zones of the Cultural-Historic Classification Map are areas which underwent considerable renewal in the 1960s and 70s (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1995).

In addition to the building categories, the map depicts various types of conservation areas, based on those outlined in the master plan. They include the national city park

and areas of national interest which both have their own specific legal status. Other areas considered to be of special cultural-historic value are also outlined.

*Areas of National Interest:*

Several areas of national interest have been marked with an enclosed dark-blue line, e.g. urban parks, avenues, streetscapes and town districts. According to the City Museum interviewee, the ‘national interest’ protection instrument does not mean much on a practical level. It is a difficult concept to relate to. ‘It has a good psychological impact, but the judicial aspect may be questioned’ (LCO, 2000). The legal enforcement to protect areas of national interest is based on the right of the County Administrative Board to interfere with local planning decisions if a development involves serious damage to the national interest of a specific environment. The interpretation of this phrase has proved difficult, and so far there have not been any major cases in Stockholm City where this legislation has been tested. The case of Slussen (see below) provides an excellent opportunity for the testing of this legal instrument in Stockholm since it forms part of a ‘national interest’ area (LCO, 2000).

*Waterfronts:*

The most important waterfronts in the inner city are highlighted with blue on the classification map (see Figure 8.9). These are included in the ‘national interest’ concept and the same legal protection applies to such waterfronts. The concept is used occasionally when proposals interfere with the objectives for areas of national interest. As explained above, not all such cases are scrutinised and tested by the County Administrative Board.



**Figure 8.9:** The protected waterfront at *Norra Mälärstrand*: an area of national interest (Negussie, 2001).



### *The National City Park:*

As discussed above, the concept of a 'national city park' was legally introduced in 1994. The national city park includes large tracts of land including *Ulriksdal-Haga-Brunnsviken-Djurgården* covering areas overseen by Stockholm and Solna local authorities (see Figure 8.10). Areas forming part of the inner city are marked with an enclosed red line on the classification map (e.g. the islands of *Skeppsholmen*, *Kastellholmen* and *Djurgården*). As a legal instrument the national city park is much more forceful than the 'national interest'. As suggested by the Local Conservation Officer 'it means a great deal since all planning matters within the National City Park are very carefully considered. It can sometimes go a bit too far in that hardly any changes are permitted within this area' (LCO, 2000).



**Figure 8.10:** View of Djurgården forming part of the national city park (Negussie, 2001).

### *Other Areas of Cultural-Historic Importance:*

Finally, the classification map outlines other areas, marked with a green line on the map, which the City Museum considers to be of special cultural-historic value.

### *The Map and Recent Examples of Local Planning Issues*

#### *Slussen:*

*Slussen* ('The Sluice') is a modern technical traffic solution in the south inner city, built in the 1930s (Figure 8.11). Its future has been contemplated during the last decade. The structure is marked blue on the classification map and has been declared to be of

‘national interest’. Thus, the County Administration Board may enforce the local planning authority to ensure its protection under planning law. It has recently proposed that it should be designated a building monument under the Cultural Monuments Act. Discussions regarding Slussen have mainly concerned the critical physical condition of the structure. However, the City Museum has repeatedly maintained that the function of the sluice machinery should be conserved even if it involves reconstruction, due to its special cultural-historic value, with support from the County Administrative Board and the ‘Council of Aesthetics’ (*Skönhetsrådet*). However, the City Planning Administration, the Streets and Real Estate Administration and the majority of the city councillors are in favour of its rebuilding (LCO, 2000).



**Figure 8.11:** ‘Slussen’ in the centre of the picture: a traffic machinery dating from the functionalist era (Negussie, 2001).

#### *Folkets Hus at Östermalmstorg:*

The City Planning Administration has recently received and agreed to a proposal involving demolition and rebuilding of a property containing a theatre (Figure 8.12) at *Östermalmstorg*, a square located in the prestigious area of *Östermalm*. The building is marked yellow on the map (Figure 8.13), reflecting a relatively low cultural-historic value according to the City Museum’s evaluation (LP, 2000).



Figure 8.12: *Folkets Hus*: a former theatre building (Negussie, 2001).

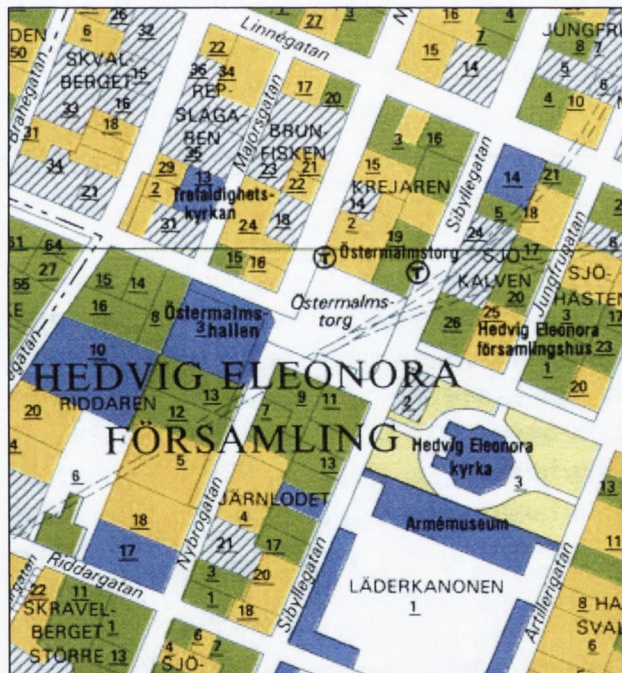


Figure 8.13: *Folkets Hus* is marked yellow on the map at the north corner of *Östermalmstorg* (Stockholms Stadsmuseum, 1995).

Several other buildings around the square are marked green. The building concerned faces the blue-marked *Östermalmshallen*, a market hall built during the 1880s (Figure 8.14). According to the Local Planning Officer, the former theatre is an example of a building that may be demolished as long as it is replaced with something of better quality. The history of the building goes back to the nineteenth century, but has been

rebuilt several times and has no significant architectural value. Furthermore, the building is in quite a poor condition and would be difficult to preserve (LP, 2000).

However, this case has involved debate amongst politicians who are uncertain of whether granting demolition is acceptable considering the specific location of the building and the city's legacy of widespread demolition in earlier decades. The surrounding quarters experienced extensive urban renewal during the immediate post war period, with several buildings dating from 1960 and after as indicated by the grey stripes on the classification map (LP, 2000). From a planning point of view, demolition of this building may be justified. However, there is a perception that it may cause controversy and distress amongst the general public. Thus, 'today it can be difficult to obtain permission for demolition even in cases where it may be justified' (LP, 2000).



Figure 8.14: Östermalmshallen (Negussie, 2001).

### *Sergel's Torg*

This modern square forms part of the 'New City', a central part of Stockholm that was transformed in the 1960s and 70s (Figure 8.15). The five high-rise buildings in the vicinity of the square (Figure 8.16) have all been given a blue designation on the map, while the square itself, forming part of the overall architectural layout of the area, does not have a specific designation. The adjoining *Kulturhuset* (Figure 8.17) is an unclassified building although its cultural-historic value is today considered to correspond to that of a designated building monument under the Cultural Monuments Act. During the last decade several proposals have been made to rebuild the square

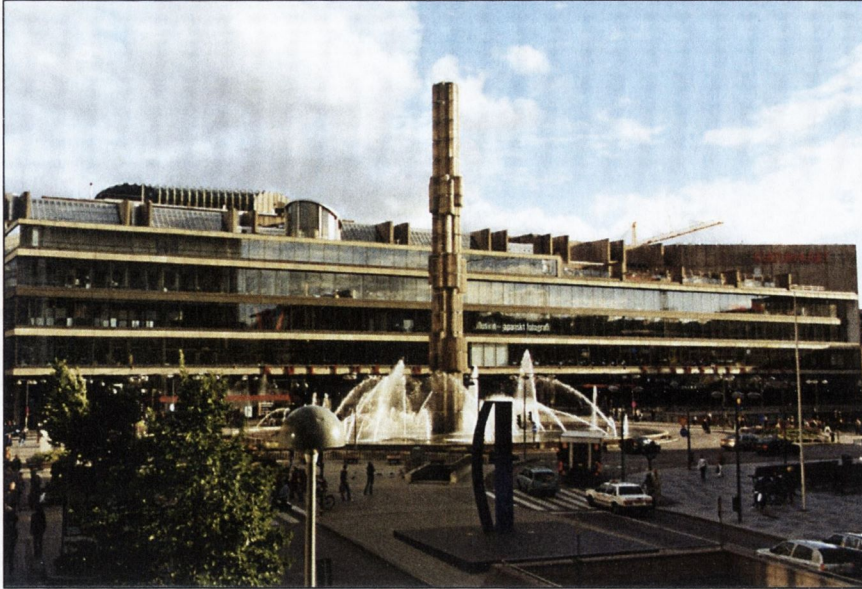
completely. The City Museum has repeatedly proclaimed that the square itself has a special cultural-historic value and should therefore be kept. However, there is no guarantee that a blue designation would have left the square without debate and lobbying for its transformation, since ‘the political will to transform the square has been so strong’ (LCO, 2000).



**Figure 8.15:** *Sergels Torg* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.16:** The five modern high-rise buildings at *Sergels Torg* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.17:** *Kulturhuset* (Negussie, 2001).

#### 8.2.5. Enforcement of Conservation in Stockholm City

According to the County Planner, although a system for enforcement of conservation exists, enforcement is seldom exercised. With regard to penalties, they were considered ineffective ‘since all building involves large amounts of capital, which makes the cost of penalties insignificant overall’ (CP, 2000). However, immediate intervention by the County Administrative Board through prohibition of on-going building work was considered a more forceful measure, mainly due to the high costs involved with interruption of planned building as well as compulsory restoration of previous structures (CP, 2000). Nevertheless, illegal building was not considered a major problem: ‘Sweden is a law-abiding nation and even considered to be the most law-abiding nation in the EU’ (CP, 2000).

The County Conservation Officer explained that according to the Planning and Building Act, all built structures should be approached in a way which considers their character. However, it is difficult to exercise control over this. For instance:

‘There was a recent case in the Old Town where the shop owner had blasted old wooden beams and brickwork. Such an intervention does not require any planning permission or building notification, but it contradicts the 3:10 clause of the Planning and Building Act. In this case, the local authority, which is responsible for supervision, maintained that little could be done since the damage had already been made’ (CCO, 2000).

However, the City Planning Administration has in a number of illegal planning cases imposed strict enforcement where it has been considered necessary in order to maintain respect for the planning permission system (LP, 2000).

According to the City Museum informant, local authority supervision and quality control of works to cultural-historic buildings has proved a difficult task for the City Museum, mainly due to lack of resources. However, such monitoring work is not a formal duty of the City Museum. The formal system builds on the idea that independent conservation expertise, approved by the Town Building Committee, are responsible for quality control and monitoring of building works (LCO, 2000).

The same informant suggested that 'the City Museum ought to monitor works approved by appointed independent conservation expertise, however, due to lack of resources it is impossible to do so'. Furthermore, it was explained that the fact that it is the developer who consults such expertise involves problems of objectivity. However, the consulted expertise must hold appropriate certification approved by the local authority (LCO, 2000). Nevertheless, according to the Local Planner, the process of notification, quality control and consultation generally functions well, with a few exceptions, *e.g.* attic conversions:

'The system works satisfactorily, but not as well as it could due to lack of time and resources. We have to trust that the independent quality conservation officers are doing their job well. They have been assigned with duties which we previously were responsible for' (LP, 2001).

The Town Building Committee is responsible for supervision of building works. Under the current system, quality control officers act on behalf of the Town Building Committee to ensure that works comply with policy and regulations. It was explained that there are cases where appointed conservation expertise have failed to report illegal building to the Town Building Committee, and where a developer, after it has become known to the Town Building Committee, has had to reinstate alterations made to the building (LP, 2000). However, the same interviewee explained that 'in times of high economic boom and intense building, which we are experiencing now, there will always be mistakes made' (LP, 2000). It was also suggested that the current system is new and some developers are therefore not yet used to the system (LP, 2000).

### 8.3. URBAN CONSERVATION AND THE ROLE OF THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR

This section discusses the role of voluntary organisations and groups active in promoting urban conservation in Stockholm during the 1990s. It also elaborates on how the nature of voluntary action in relation to urban conservation issues has changed over time, exploring the underlying reasons for this. In addition, it discusses the impact of the reorganisation of the welfare state and its implications for the role of the voluntary sector as an increasingly important force in society.

This study identifies two main types of voluntary organisations, which play a role in promoting protection of the built environment in Stockholm: first, the local heritage movement which operates on national, regional and local levels and, secondly, spontaneous action groups formed with the objective of lobbying against immediate threats to the built environment. However, other voluntary associations concerned with conservation also exist, such as those specialising in building conservation issues, which fall into neither of the two categories.

The degree to which voluntary bodies play a role in urban conservation must be considered in the light of the extent to which public bodies have assumed responsibility for conservation. Interview findings revealed that in Stockholm, there has been a shift from a heavy reliance on voluntary bodies for promoting protection of the built heritage to a well-developed system of public bodies and organisations responsible for conservation of the built environment. As phrased by one interviewee:

‘There is a major difference between the contemporary situation and when the St Erik Society was established at the beginning of the twentieth century, a time when there was a lack of public conservation organisations. The City Archive was small and fragmented. The City Museum did not yet exist. There existed no real City Library. The Aesthetics Council did not exist. There existed no planning department within the local authority administration. The first such came into existence as a result of intense lobbying by the St. Erik Society. Finally, a research discipline for studies on Stockholm was lacking. The first professorship in Stockholm History was not established until the 1920s’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

This stands in sharp contrast to the contemporary situation of Stockholm. As stated by the same interviewee:

‘Nowadays, there is a well-developed system with the City Museum, the Committee for Research on Stockholm, the Aesthetics Council, the Cultural Environment Department at the County Administrative Board and the County Museum. Thus, the need for voluntary



bodies is not as urgent anymore. Nevertheless, public bodies and officials can be somewhat slow at times and that is when voluntary action groups such as *Stolta Stad* play a useful role' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The City Museum interviewee similarly asserted that voluntary bodies no longer play a key role in urban conservation in Stockholm. However, it was suggested by others that there are tendencies in society towards increasing reliance on the voluntary sector with regard to urban conservation:

'The St Erik Society initiated and undertook inventorying of the Old Town in the beginning of the twentieth century. This work was later transferred to the City Museum in the 1930s. Since then conservation has become a public matter of concern. Today, there are forces which strive towards the endorsement of public responsibilities to the voluntary sector. However, there are no structural means to cater for this. We do not have any 'trust' organisations as they do in England and I suppose also in Ireland. There are building conservation associations, but no real structure for dealing with the built heritage outside of the public sphere. Nevertheless, there is a sense now that there is political will to transfer some of the public responsibilities to the voluntary sector' (LCO, 2000).

Another interviewee also expressed that voluntary conservation bodies seem to play a different role in conservation of the built heritage in other European countries, where they were perceived as playing a more obvious role compared to in Sweden:

'As far as I am concerned, such bodies, NGOs, are more important in other parts of Europe and also play an important role within the EU. They do not exist as such in Sweden. This is something which I have observed in discussions on environmental impact statements and the EU directives. This type of organisations does not exist in Sweden, not with the same force and not with an obvious role. That role lies within the actual public system. I suppose it works similarly in Ireland as in England and many other European countries where much of the responsibility for safeguarding the heritage lies outside of the official government system' (CP, 2000).

### *General Public Conservation Awareness*

A government report investigating the developments in cultural environment conservation in Sweden over the last three decades confirms that although it is difficult to generate specific data on conservation awareness amongst the general public, there are certain developments which indicate extensive public engagement in conservation issues. For example, there is a high intensity of public debate, a wide interest taken in conservation related literature and television programmes and a large demand for knowledge in building conservation. There has also been an overall increase in public participation in town district groups, local heritage associations, local opinion groups, and increased interest reflected in numbers of visits to cultural-historic monuments and sites. The report also found that surveys on the ecclesiastical built heritage have shown that 70 per cent of the population of Sweden is against demolition or reuse of their local

church, except possibly for new uses such as museums or concert purposes (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

The report highlights the role of spontaneous local action groups reacting to controversial planning issues in drawing media attention and establishing a platform for public debate. One such example is the former plan to build a third rail track through Stockholm City (*Tredje Spåret*) which resulted in a high level of public participation which was able to influence the political course of direction. This will be discussed in more detail below. The report also recognises the role of the local heritage movement and the importance of the Swedish Local Heritage Federation (*Sveriges Hembygdsförbund*), which has approximately half a million members dispersed on 1700 different local branches around the country. In addition, it recognises the role of the Swedish Association for Building-Culture (*Svenska föreningen för byggnadsvård*), established in 1975 in response to the European Architectural Heritage Year, concerned mainly with raising levels of public awareness and interest in the built heritage and with spreading knowledge and information on building conservation (Kulturutredningen, 1995).

### 8.3.1. The Local Heritage Movement

#### *The Evolution of the Local Heritage Movement*

The local heritage movement in Sweden dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, a time of great social change in Swedish society. Industrialisation and urbanisation led to disintegration of the old agrarian society and this was by many considered a threat to the old cultural values and traditions. Consequently, forces in favour of preservation of the cultural heritage began to form associations. This movement attracted students who became active in organising local heritage meetings. Local heritage values were combined with democratic ambitions and interest in popular education and it became a defence against the ill effects of industrial culture. The activities also involved the forming of local heritage centres and open-air museums containing old farmsteads, houses and artefacts, e.g. Skansen in Stockholm. In 1975, the Swedish Local Heritage Federation was established as the national organisation for the local heritage movement. While preservation of the popular cultural heritage has been the aim of the local heritage movement, the ending years of the twentieth century witnessed more systematic use of

historical knowledge as an instrument for community policy (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, no date).

The local heritage movement is based on a common popular mass movement model, based on a four-tier structure with a nordic federation at the top, a national federation, regional federations, and numerous local heritage associations (Conservationist 2, 2000). There are approximately 1700 local heritage societies affiliated with the Swedish Local Heritage Federation and 26 regional heritage federations acting as supportive and advisory bodies to the local associations. The role of the national federation is to support the local associations and to enhance local heritage awareness amongst government bodies and the public (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, no date). Thus, the national federation may become involved in matters of central policy and legislation. For example, during the 1990s, it was active in lobbying for the protection of place names as an integrated part of cultural heritage legislation (Conservationist 2, 2000). The regional federations usually co-operate with the county museums and many of them are equipped with professional staff. It is estimated that the local heritage movement involves half a million people working on a voluntary basis, in the country as well as in towns. The aim of the movement is to preserve the popular culture represented by traditional festivities, the architectural heritage, crafts, costumes and oral tradition, and to act upon planning issues in local communities. Many of the local societies manage old buildings which form part of open-air heritage centres. Although the local heritage movement is entirely voluntary, many societies receive grants from municipalities and county councils in order to cover costs of administration and building maintenance. Other sources of income are drawn from membership fees, admission fees and book sales (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, no date).

### *The Local Heritage Movement in Stockholm City*

The local heritage movement has in the past been more associated with rural areas than with towns. Initially, this movement was a reaction against the forces of industrialisation and was mostly concerned with maintaining rural traditions and values. However, during the second half of the twentieth century, the local heritage movement grew in the towns, often as a result of protests against redevelopment and demolition of buildings. Several societies were established at an early stage in Stockholm City, e.g. the 'Old Town Local Heritage Society' (*Gamla stans hembygdsförening*) in the 1940s, as a result of demolition threats to the historic environment. Nevertheless, it was not

until after the large-scale city transformations, during what is often referred to as 'the record years', which involved widespread urban renewal and demolition of historic buildings in the inner city, that the necessary opinion for further reaction was formed. Approximately half of the existing local heritage societies in Stockholm were established after 1970, mainly during the 1980s. The societies have usually sought to create a base for their activities by taking control of buildings leased from local authorities. These have provided bases for activities such as education, documentation, and various programmes in order to stimulate and spread knowledge about urban environments and the cultural-historic heritage (Hallerdt, 1990).

Dynamic urban redevelopment and change has increasingly led to engagement of the local heritage movement in public debate. Many societies actively participate in the planning process, often through public debate, press releases, and voluntary monitoring of planning applications affecting cultural-historic buildings and areas and other environmental issues. Since 1975, the Stockholm County Heritage Federation (*Stockholms Hembygdsförbund*) functions as the co-ordinating body of the local societies at regional level. Between 1977-85, representatives from the local heritage associations and the Stockholm City Museum operated together in a working group established by the Stockholm Local Authority Cultural Committee which among other things, allocated grants to the associations. This subsidy has since ceased to exist. Thus, local heritage associations in Stockholm work purely on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, with a growing number of local heritage societies in the Stockholm region, this movement is increasingly gaining respect and influence in the planning process (Hallerdt, 1990).

The St. Erik Society (*Samfundet St. Erik*) was the first local heritage association to be established in Stockholm City. It was formed in 1901 as a result of growing opinion against plans to rebuild the Old Town with new linear streets and quarters. Its aim was to generate awareness of remarkable buildings and monuments in Stockholm City, through cultural-historic documentation and refurbishment of buildings, stimulating public opinion on planning issues and through research on town history. A building inventory was initiated in 1906 and, by 1911, the society had completed a comprehensive building study of the Old Town. The inventories continued and were in some cases published. In 1984, these were handed over to Stockholm City Museum. In the 1930s, debate about the problems of poor housing and slum conditions in the Old

Town resulted in the St. Erik Society initiating pilot refurbishment projects of properties which it had acquired. The Society established a specialised historic property company in order to facilitate further refurbishment of buildings, which was later transferred into local authority ownership (Couturier and Kaijser, 1990).

In addition to the St. Erik Society, other local heritage associations were formed in Stockholm City. Some were initially municipal associations, which were transformed into local heritage associations<sup>7</sup>. Other local heritage associations were established in response to redevelopment proposals in the inner city, e.g. the *Gamla Stan* (1940s), *Djurgården* (1947), *Södermalm* (1954), *Högalid* (1973) and *Norrmalm* (1985) local heritage associations (Couturier and Kaijser, 1990).

#### *The Local Heritage Movement: A Growing Force with New Tasks*

In response to general observations of overall growth of the local heritage movement in the 1990s, a survey was undertaken by the Swedish Local Heritage Federation in 1999, with the objective of demonstrating its role and significance from a cultural, social and financial perspective. The survey indicated that the local heritage movement is a growing force, with important traditional functions, e.g. in publishing, education, local history research, and management of heritage centres with important cultural-historic buildings (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, 2000).

With regard to their role in local planning, the report found that approximately 500 local associations actively play a role in the planning process through making submissions with a yearly average of 1000. During the 1980s, many associations lobbied for a formal role in monitoring planning applications. In the Stockholm region, the majority of the local associations have played a role in local planning monitoring since the mid-1980s. It was found that while none of the associations in Stockholm City has a formal role in planning monitoring, they make submissions when they consider it crucial to do so (Sveriges Hembygdsförbund, 2000).

With regard to media influence, the report stated that local associations in urban centres were less able to gain attention compared to in rural areas. The report also concluded

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<sup>7</sup> E.g. *Sofia*, *Kungshomen* and *Östermalm* local heritage accociations.

that it was becoming increasingly common for local heritage associations to take over new tasks which had in the past been carried out by local authorities or the private sector, including cultural environment conservation, *e.g.* maintenance of cultural monuments and landscapes (*Ibid.*).

### *Stockholm County Heritage Federation and its Role in Urban Planning*

According to the interviewed representative of the Stockholm County Heritage Federation, its role in urban conservation and planning issues has grown during the 1990s: ‘the work is constantly expanding, mainly due to the enormous pressure for development in the Stockholm County. People perceive their local areas as being threatened and are therefore becoming engaged’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

During the 1960s and 1970s, few local heritage associations were able to exercise influence on planning issues, partly as a result of the overall lack of public interest in conservation. During this time, the local heritage movement as well as other conservation interests, were considered to be backward and reactionary (Conservationist 2, 2000).

The Stockholm County Heritage Federation is mainly concerned with regional planning issues, *e.g.* submissions to the regional development plan for the Stockholm region, while the local associations deal with more immediate local issues. For example, it was active in the debate on the establishing of a third railway track in the inner city: ‘we became involved since we considered this to be an issue of regional relevance’ (Conservationist 2, 2000). However, the Stockholm County Heritage Federation may also become involved in local planning issues if a local association requests such assistance (Conservationist 2, 2000).

The role of the Stockholm County Heritage Federation in urban planning involves monitoring work and forming of public opinion. The work of the local heritage movement is of a less militant nature compared to other issue centred action groups: ‘we rarely participate in demonstrations. The activists behind the demonstrations in the King’s Garden (*Kungsträdgården*) (in the 1970s) were a different type of action groups’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

While the lobbying against the ferry terminal in the inner city in the early 1990s was unsuccessful, the call for improvements in the establishing of a new railway line on *Södertörn* in the south region of Stockholm in the late 1980s gained stronger momentum. Successful lobbying is dependent on the level of co-operation with other organisations: ‘in order to gain influence it is important to co-operate with other organisations such as *Friluftsförbundet*, *Naturskyddsföreningen*, *Turistföreningen* and the local authorities, especially since it facilitates a broader public opinion’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

The work of the Stockholm County Heritage Federation is financed through a yearly grant of SEK 650,000 (approx. EUR 73,000) from the County Council (*Landstinget*). This is matched with an equivalent amount taken from membership fees. The support from the County Council in Stockholm is a result of the establishment of good contacts. Thus, in Stockholm, this support is due to the fact that ‘there are officials who have recognised the importance of the local heritage movement in a big city’ (Conservationist 2, 2000). In addition to the yearly grant, the County Council may also fund specific projects, e.g. the ‘European Cultural Capital 1998’ and publishing (Conservationist 2, 2000).

A state grant towards support for employment is also part of the budget, mainly as part of the state’s objective to reduce unemployment. However, ‘one problem for the Federation is the lack of competent expertise’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

The Stockholm County Heritage Federation has close links with the County Museum, which has one official who is responsible for co-operation with the heritage movement. Regular contact with the County Conservation Officer, at county level, and the City Conservation Officer, at local planning level, also takes place (Conservationist 2, 2000).

Attempts have been made to change public perceptions of the local heritage movement as being mainly rurally dominated: ‘perceptions of the local heritage movement have changed. In the past, it was regarded as a society for people interested in folk dance and such things, or as a political movement with ties to the Centre Party (*Centerpartiet*) (which has rural associations)’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

### *The Contemporary Role of the St Erik Society*

The St. Erik Society undertakes regular monitoring of planning applications for Stockholm City, supported by a highly qualified council with members including architects, museum officials and lawyers:

‘We always make submissions to the most important planning cases in the city. Most such cases are automatically remitted to us by the City Planning Administration but in some cases we have to ask for them ourselves. However, the success of planning submissions is usually determined by the amount of submissions made by other interest groups. The major debates require co-operation with other local heritage associations or the Swedish Association for Building-Culture (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Publishing activities form an integrated part of the society’s work. A yearbook, *St. Eriks Årsbok*, has been published since 1903. It includes a range of subjects related to the history of Stockholm and conservation and may consist of direct documentation, or narratives by older city citizens (Conservationist 1, 2001). Another important role of the society is the grant giving function towards research and publishing, with grants ranging between SEK 20.000 – 50.000 (approx. EUR 2,200 – 5,500) for each project. In addition, The City Museum receives a substantial amount of funding for various projects, e.g. exhibitions (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The largest financial contribution to the City Museum involved the purchase of a particular apartment which contained exceptionally fine stucco interiors. It formed part of a property which the City Museum had been attempting to safeguard through the securing of appropriate ownership for decades. When the property was purchased by a private housing corporation, the St. Erik Society managed to buy the relevant apartment, on the condition that it would be given to the City Museum. Thus, the St. Erik Society purchased the apartment on behalf of the local authority and sponsored a substantial part of the restoration costs. After the restoration, the apartment became a branch of the City Museum used for exhibiting an example of a nineteenth century bourgeois interior (*Stuckatörens hus*) (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The St. Erik Society has a comprehensive programme of activities, including seminars, debates, exhibitions and tours for its 2800 members. The interviewed representative suggested that ‘the number of members could easily be doubled’. However, the society has been careful not to do so since its programmes are always booked out (Conservationist 1, 2001), something which reflects a high level of popular interest and engagement in the built heritage of Stockholm.



In the beginning of the 1980s, the St. Erik Society decided to sell some of its property. The sale of the first property to a private housing corporation gave a reasonable return, while the second auction in c.1990 resulted in a significantly increased financial base for the society. With the sales of refurbished buildings in the Old Town combined with a number of generous donations, *e.g.* one in the 1980s of SEK 6 million (approx. EUR 656,000) from a private member, the St. Erik Society has acquired financial strength which is used for publishing activities and the awarding of research grants. Substantial financial support is also given to the City Museum towards its conservation work (Conservationist 1, 2001). The society remains the owner of one property in the Old Town, namely the last guilds' shelter (*Skråhärbarget*) in *Stora Hopare Gränd*, which it intends to keep. It accomodates a small museum and an apartment (Conservationist 1, 2001). Figure 8.18 depicts the headquarters of the St. Erik Society in the Old Town.



**Figure 8.18:** *Köpmangatan 5* in the Old Town: headquarters of the St. Erik Society (Negussie, 2001).

### 8.3.2. Spontaneous Action Groups

During the 1990s, a range of voluntary conservation action groups were active in Stockholm City, e.g. *Stolta Stad* and *Vårt Stockholm*. The Local Planner suggested that ‘their significance varies, but in certain issues they have proved to be effective’ (LP, 2001). For example, one such group named Save the Skeppsholmen Bridge (*Rädda Skeppsholmsbron*) lobbied for the protection of the Skeppsholmen bridge (Figure 8.19) for which the future had become threatened towards the end of the 1990s:

‘It was decided that the bridge was to be demolished due to its arched iron (‘välvjärn’) construction and since the skills to work with such material are not available in Sweden anymore. Since it was a building monument in state ownership, it was the National Heritage Board which granted permission to the demolition of the bridge along with the reconstruction of a new. Repairing of the bridge was not considered justifiable. Nevertheless, this led to enormous public outcry and debate, which in the end led to the renovation of the bridge’ (CCO, 2000).



**Figure 8.19:** The *Skeppsholmen* Bridge (Negussie, 2001).

### 8.3.3. ‘Militant’ Action Groups versus ‘Co-operative’ Local Heritage Associations

The increasing importance of the role played by the voluntary sector in built heritage conservation during the 1990s is reflected in the growth of both the local heritage movement and the number of spontaneous action groups: ‘the local heritage movement is the fastest expanding popular movement and is slowly losing its old fashioned traditional image. However, the local associations have traditionally been less forceful

in cities compared to in rural areas' (CMO, 2000). With regard to spontaneous action groups the same interviewee suggested the following: 'there are numerous action groups which are established for one particular cause. They inform themselves, contact experts and become forceful in a way which makes them influential' (CMO, 2000).

A similar distinction was made by the County Conservation Officer, who explained that the level of engagement and influence of voluntary organisations concerned with conservation varies geographically. In addition, a distinction was made between local heritage associations and more militant action groups:

'The local heritage movement is not as strong in Stockholm as it is in other parts of the country. However, there are other groups that are as powerful, almost militant by nature. A large number of such groups engaged themselves in issues concerning the plans to establish a third railway track across *Riddarholmen*. These groups have continued their activities ever since' (CCO, 2000).

The same interviewee explained that the communication between the County Administrative Board and such action groups sometimes involves conflict. Such action groups were contrasted with local heritage associations, which were considered more co-operative since such associations are less militant. The following was stated with regard to spontaneous action groups:

'Instead of co-operating, they often perceive us (the County Administrative Board) as being part of the exploitation establishment. We are part of the whole planning process... and when individuals contact us regarding a case we may have taken our standpoint and supported a case already at an early planning stage if an EIS has rendered a development as non-damaging. Often when we respond to them with a long and well considered explanation they get annoyed and think that we have been fooled suggesting that we are not dynamic enough. This is often the case when a question has been raised for a building monument designation. They do not understand that our role is limited. We may well consider a building to be deemed worthy of protection and yet be unable to act upon it. I do not know how it is possible to come to terms with this, since at the same time, the existence of such enthusiasts is important' (CCO, 2000).

A similar point of view was expressed by the County Planner with regard to such action groups:

'They often perceive us as being their opponents. They usually become quite engaged in various issues, and think that we can accomplish more than we actually can. They sometimes perceive us to be somewhat negative. We are responsible for designation of building monuments for buildings of *outstanding* interest. However, we have to reject many proposals (for building monument designations) and this may be perceived as lack of interest on our behalf, while we may in fact seek to incorporate such cases into the local planning agenda' (CP, 2000).

Nevertheless, the same interviewee opined that ‘voluntary bodies are important. As long as contact is established at an early stage they become complimentary’ (CP, 2000).

The County Museum informant explained that ‘local heritage associations can have a strong pressure effect, but they are not a united force or system’ (CMO, 2000). Furthermore, if enthusiastic individuals become engaged in an issue at an early stage of a development they are often persistent and influential (CMO, 2000). Concerning local associations, their level of impact fluctuates with the existence of enthusiasts. However, ‘the opportunity for them to have an impact is there and their views are respected, more so now than before’ (CMO, 2000).

The Stockholm City Museum interviewee explained that with the exception of its close links with the St. Erik Society, ‘the co-operation between the City Museum and voluntary organisations is quite limited’ (LCO, 2000). However, the same interviewee suggested that voluntary organisations do play a role, *e.g.* in making planning submissions on various issues in Stockholm. In addition, it was asserted that ‘the Swedish Association for Building-Culture has contributed significantly regarding practical conservation issues, for example, by promoting use of traditional materials and skills’ (LCO, 2000).

According to the St. Erik Society informant, the character of the local heritage associations in Stockholm differs significantly and relatively few associations become active in urban planning debates. The same interviewee suggested that the Stockholm County Heritage Federation is not a strong body: ‘they have limited financial resources and suffer from staff shortages. Therefore, their abilities to act are limited. However, they perform well in relation to their resources’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

#### 8.3.4. Conservation Lobbying in Stockholm City in the 1990s

The interview findings indicated that conservation lobbying in Stockholm during the 1990s mainly involved opposition against the construction of new traffic routes, rather than protection of buildings *per se*. The following quotations explain the changing nature of conservation lobbying during the 1990s:

'The most important issues over the last years have concerned the building of new traffic routes rather than of buildings. During the 1960s, there was a high level of intensity of action groups working for the protection of urban environments. They were militant and often successful. The most evident expressions of this were the *Battle of the Elms* in 1971 and the occupation of *Mullvaden*<sup>8</sup> in the mid-1970s. These led to the forming of a strong opinion, which finally influenced the politicians. Thus, from 1972-73 and onwards, there was a marked change in attitudes towards the older built heritage. This resulted in the establishing of refurbishment programmes and inventorying undertaken by the City Museum. In this regard the action groups played a significant role. However, their role eventually diminished and most of them ceased to exist. During the 1990s, a similar discussion arose when the railway board planned to establish a third railway track across *Riddarholmen*. This caused intense debate and forming of public opinion, channelled through an organisation named *Stolta Stad*, which co-operated with the St Erik Society during its most active period. This group still formally exists but does not play a significant role anymore. However, it did establish a serious discussion between the city and the state on how the transportation issues should be solved' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The plans for the third railway track were finally abolished and the railway board, which had already prepared for the third track between *Södra Station* and the *Central Station*, had to terminate the construction work. This is manifested visually in the urban landscape through the abrupt ending of the railway track at the opening of the main tunnel between the two stations (Conservationist 1, 2001) (Figure 8.20). Figure 8.21 illustrates Riddarholmen where the third railway track would have led to the demolition of a middle age cellar buildings.

These views were supported by another interviewee who similarly suggested that conservation lobbying during the 1990s mainly involved opposition against new traffic routes:

'The environmental movement played a significant role in the abolition of certain parts of the 'Dennis proposal'<sup>9</sup> during the 1990s. However, it was more to do with natural environmental issues, but it had cultural-historic implications as well since the proposal involved the construction of roads in the national city park. However, the most evident example was the stopping of the northern by-pass (*norra länken*), which would affect the Bellevue Park with its typical eighteenth century scenery. Another significant issue was the resistance against the building of a third railway track (*tredje spåret*) which gained broad popular support. However, (the success in stopping it) was largely due to action taken by individuals' (LP, 2001).

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<sup>8</sup> *Mullvaden* is a residential building quarter in Stockholm inner city which became known for its occupation by protestors against its demolition during the 1970s.

<sup>9</sup> The Dennis proposal involved a ring-road plan, which included the building of the controversial Northern By-pass and a third railway track in Stockholm inner city.



**Figure 8.20:** *Bockfoten* (translated ‘the cloven hoof’): the abrupt ending of the third railway track for which the plan was abolished (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.21:** View of *Riddarholmen* where the third railway track would have destroyed the middle-age cellar of *Hebbeska huset* and brought traffic closer to the church of *Riddarholmen* (Negussie, 2001).

### 8.3.5. Increasing Reliance on the Voluntary Sector

Axiö (1999) argues that the third sector is increasingly being recognised by researchers, politicians and authorities as having an important role to play in a Swedish social and economic context. Shrinking resources in the public sector have placed greater responsibilities on the voluntary sector, both individuals and non-profit associations. This is reflected in the growing engagement of the local heritage movement during the 1990s, in planning monitoring, education and shaping of public opinion. Axiö maintains

that local historical knowledge is significant for local stability and identity and should therefore be actively promoted. The 1990s witnessed a tendency of many local heritage societies to open up to new groups in society, as well as greater participation in the development of parishes, town districts, and municipalities (Axiö, 1999).

In their study of the growing significance of the non-profit sector in Sweden, Lundström and Wijkström (1997, 259-60) conclude:

‘... Since the 1980s, the Swedish welfare model has increasingly found itself challenged, both from outside and within. An important factor for this is the increased pressure of cutbacks in the welfare system brought on by the deepening economic crisis. The increased economic pressures are a factor that has, also indirectly, pushed representatives of nonprofit organizations and politicians alike towards the idea of a welfare mix, allowing greater room for both business and nonprofit sector ventures also within the core domains of the welfare state. This has, however, at least on the part of the nonprofit sector, not yet developed beyond the stage of ideas.... Furthermore, there is agreement among the major political parties and the nonprofit organizations that the nonprofit sector should not be regarded as a substitute for, but function as a complement to, state sector activities within the core domains of the welfare state. On an ideological level, this indicates a clear endorsement of the obligations of the welfare state towards citizenry. However, on the basis of this ideological discussion, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the changed conditions of the nonprofit sector in the welfare state. The economic squeeze, on the other hand, is a reality that has already brought definite effects upon the sector’.

Concerning the role of the voluntary sector as an economically significant actor, Lundström and Wijkström (1997) identify three main economic arguments used by decision-makers to promote private, non-profit alternatives to take over responsibility for parts of welfare production. First, non-profit or voluntary organisations are capable of attracting resources such as unpaid labour. Secondly, they are perceived to have less costly bureaucracy. Finally, they are able to employ inexpensive labour to a higher extent than public sector organisations.

The interview findings revealed that the level of voluntary conservation input has increased in Stockholm compared to in the past. One identified reason for this is the increased pressure for urban growth: ‘there has been a recent growth in voluntary conservation action in Stockholm, mainly due to the growing pressure on land-use issues’ (CCO, 2000). One interviewee suggesting that the third sector had become increasingly important during the 1990s, considered this to be an expression of a growing pursuit of a sense of place:

‘I think it has to do with the emphasis on people’s sense of place and the significance of what takes place in people’s minds. If one considers these issues, then it becomes obvious that the third sector is important. The third sector is an expression of this. The approach

taken to the third sector by the National Heritage Board during the 1970s was that it is good if the local heritage movement takes its responsibility and co-operates. However, it should not carry a fundamental responsibility for conservation, since the voluntary forces may give in or become less engaged at times. There was a perception in the past that all work undertaken by the public sector was stable, reliable and far-sighted, while voluntary initiatives were considered to be unreliable. However, we now know that this perception was wrong' (NCO, 2000).

The same informant suggested that 'there are still biases against the third sector' and that there is 'a need for better interaction with the third sector' in regard to cultural environment conservation (NCO, 2000). Another interviewee suggested that public opinion has always been strong and there is still a strong public opinion which has gained increasing influence during the 1990s:

'It dates back to the 1968-movements. In Stockholm such forces were manifested through the Battle of the Elms (*Almstriden*) in 1971, and *Mullvaden* in 1972. Due to the fact that the broad public formed part of these demonstrations the politicians began to take the voluntary forces seriously. Since then, these interests have become more skilful and are able to act with more force. Voluntary groups have become more established and their role is more about gaining political influence. Politicians also have become more sensitive to these kind of movements' (CP, 2000).

The Stockholm County Heritage Federation representative confirmed that there has been a tendency of a shift towards greater reliance on the voluntary sector in conservation issues in contemporary Swedish society:

'This implies that we are playing a greater role in these issues, that this kind of work (conservation) is becoming increasingly reliant on voluntary efforts. However, there is another simultaneous tendency in society, namely that people want to undertake less voluntary work. These trends are not compatible' (Conservationist 2, 2000).

Nevertheless, it was suggested that voluntary based activities have the potential to function well if given appropriate levels of financial support. Referring to the work as cited above (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997) the same informant explained that 'this is the first time that we have received an interest from the economists who are recognising that the third sector is important' (Conservationist 2, 2000).

#### 8.4. STADSHOLMEN LIMITED: CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT HERITAGE THROUGH SPECIALISED MANAGEMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTY

The existence of a specialised historic property management company has contributed significantly to conservation and management of the built heritage in Stockholm City.



This section portrays the birth and growth of Stadsholmen Ltd (*Stadsholmen AB*). The development of the company illustrates the progression of conservation activities in Stockholm City from being based predominately on voluntary initiatives to being completely integrated into local authority affairs. The company was established by the St. Erik Society, but later developed into a local authority owned historic property management company.

Stadsholmen Ltd is unique in that it is the only company in Sweden specialising in refurbishment and management of cultural-historic buildings (Hallerdt, 1998). The primary role of Stadsholmen Ltd is to maintain and conserve the built heritage in a way which safeguards characteristic features of the period from which a building dates. The company's property management role includes a responsibility not only for buildings but for whole cultural-historic environments including, *e.g.* gardens and backyards (Lillieborg, 1998).

By the end of the 1990s, the company's total building stock constituted over 300 buildings in the inner city, including 1500 dwelling units and 500 units for other uses. The majority of the properties were transferred to the company during the 1970s, with the exception of a large amount of formerly state owned buildings (Lillieborg, 1998). Many of the buildings are located in the Old Town and in the south inner city where most of the old surviving wooden cottages are situated.

The birth of Stadsholmen Ltd was the result of a voluntary initiative by the St. Erik Society, in response to the threatened building stock of the Old Town of Stockholm during the first few decades of the twentieth century:

'There were ideas to demolish practically the entire Old Town, with the exception of the royal castle, the churches and the stock exchange. These ideas had prevailed for a long time, even in the beginning of the twentieth century. Eventually, a town plan competition was arranged and in 1923 the winning entry was adopted proposing that principally all buildings should be kept and refurbished. Action towards implementation was not taken immediately because the right instruments were not available. However, by the beginning of the 1930s, a journalist, named Gotthard Johansson, initiated a discussion on how it should be accomplished. At this stage, the St. Erik Society owned a building in one of the alleys, *Stora Hopare Gränd*, which had been purchased since it was the last guilds' shelter (*skråhärgerge*) in Sweden. The interest for this building had more to do with its vocational history association of craftsmanship rather than with the actual building' (Conservationist 1, 2001) (Figure 8.22).

The St. Erik Society began to purchase further buildings in the *Cepheus Quarter*, one of the largest building quarters of the Old Town, in order to carry out pilot refurbishment projects (Figure 8.23):

‘Due to availability of funds and good contacts within the local authority, the society was able to purchase another building in *Kindstugegatan* by 1934. This was an area suffering from decay and overpopulation, sprawling with men’s hostels, small shops and widespread prostitution. However, a pilot refurbishment project was undertaken which proved successful. The financial costs of conservation were manageable through the gains made from the building after its completion. Subsequently, more buildings were purchased which resulted in ownership of 75 per cent of the building stock in the *Cepheus Quarter*. It was then recognised that proper management of the buildings required a different kind of organisation’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

This led to the establishment of Stadsholmen Ltd which became the first housing company in Sweden to specialise in refurbishment of buildings of special cultural-historic significance (Löf and Söderström, 1998).



**Figure 8.22:** *Stora Hopare Gränd* in the Old Town (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.23:** Refurbishment of the *Cepheus* Quarter (Svenska Dagbladet, 1973, Stockholm City Museum).

#### 8.4.1. The Establishment and Development of Stadsholmen Ltd

Stadsholmen Ltd was established in 1936. Since then, the refurbishment work undertaken by the St Erik Society continued under the management of Stadsholmen Ltd in co-operation with Stockholm Local Authority (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The building work of Stadsholmen Ltd may be divided into two phases. First, a phase of refurbishment in the Old Town between the 1930s and the outbreak of the Second World War. Secondly, from the 1960s, when it became a local authority owned company (Löof and Söderström, 1998).

The financing of the refurbishment during the first phase was facilitated through beneficial loans from the local authority, combined with the St. Erik Society's own funds. The refurbishment of the first quarter (*Cepheus*) was completed before the Second World War broke out. There followed a period of quiescence and Stadsholmen Ltd was able to continue with its work only many years later (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The importance of beneficial state and local authority loans for successful refurbishment by Stadsholmen Ltd in the Old Town during this period should not be underestimated: ‘since Stadsholmen Ltd had limited resources its work was constantly dependent upon inexpensive or interest-free loans’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The approach taken to conservation by Stadsholmen Ltd has changed significantly over the years. This is reflected in the approach taken to refurbishment in the *Cepheus* Quarter during the 1930s and in the *Cassiopea* Quarter in the 1980s. A driving force behind the refurbishment in the Old Town during the 1930s was the drive for a more bright and sanitary environment. At this early stage of the refurbishment work, the approach to conservation involved demolition of several small houses situated in the backyards of the big houses. For example:

‘The backyard area of the Cepheus Quarter consisted of 17 houses. All of them except one were demolished. The survival of the one building was due to an tie bar on the facade which indicated the year of 1598. Because of this they did not want to demolish it. The clearance resulted in a large open space that became the largest park in the Old Town. It was open to the public up until the 1980s, when the buildings were sold and became managed by private housing corporations. The sales contract stipulated that the park should be accessible to the public. However, access to the park has gradually been restricted (since it involved a burden of maintenance and costs upon the owners). Nevertheless, this approach to refurbishment is nowadays considered as too strict’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

This approach may be contrasted with the refurbishment of the *Cassiopea* Quarter, another large quarter of the Old Town, which underwent refurbishment during the 1980s:

‘When the refurbishment of Cassiopea took place the City Museum made a case for the conservation of the backyard houses . The initial plan had involved the demolition of these. However, the City Museum managed to stop this. Instead, various passageways were opened up so that the residents would be able to circulate within the whole quarter’ (Conservationist 1, 2001) (see figures 8.24 –8.27).

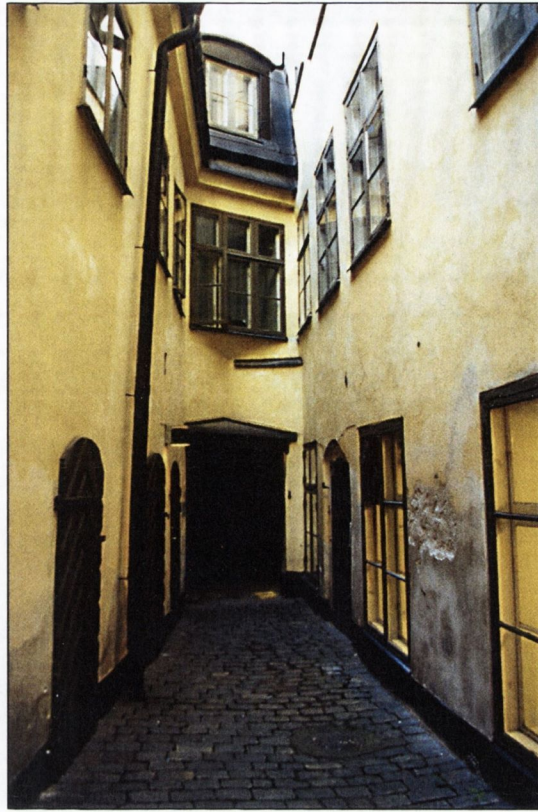
Thus, the approach and the attitudes towards conservation had gradually developed since the first refurbishment works were undertaken in the Old Town during the 1930s: ‘the approach to conservation has been radically transformed, not least since the beginning of the 1970s, with changed attitudes towards what is considered worth conserving’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).



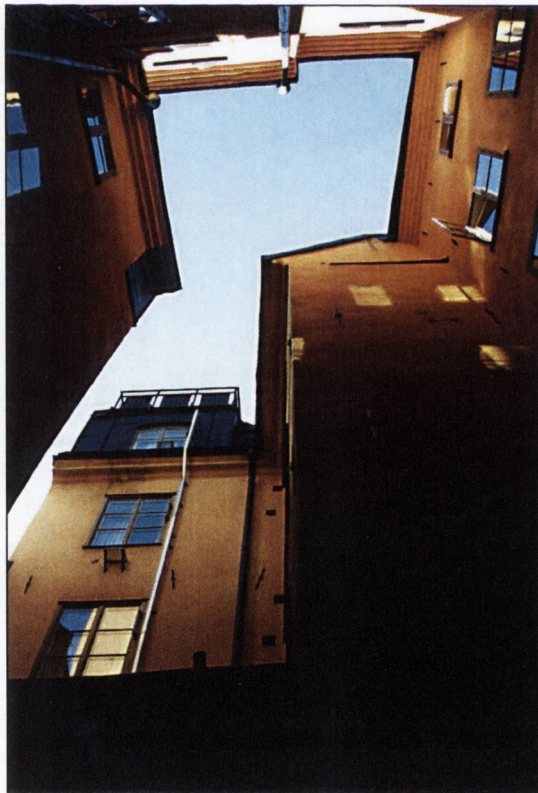
**Figure 8.24:** Refurbished backyard houses in *Cassiopea* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.25:** The *Cassiopea* quarter. (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.26:** Passageway in *Cassiopea* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.27:** The *Cassiopea* quarter (Negussie, 2001).

#### 8.4.2. The Transformation of Stadsholmen Ltd into a Local Authority Historic Property Management Company

Initially, the St Erik Society owned two thirds of Stadsholmen Ltd, while an insurance company owned the remaining shares. Gradually, property owned by the company was successfully refurbished through an area-based approach. However, in the 1960s, the refurbishment of a building in poor condition led the company into bankruptcy. By this stage, the local authority had a responsibility for the future survival of Stadsholmen Ltd since its management was linked to the city's Real Estate Administration. There was a recognition of this within the local authority, which eventually led to the city's purchasing of Stadsholmen Ltd (Conservationist 1, 2001).

In 1967, the City Council acquired the majority of the company shares (Löof & Söderström, 1998). The St. Erik Society and the insurance company were compensated with one building quarter each (*Cepheus* and *Sygnus*), while the local authority took over responsibility for the buildings in the quarter which had brought Stadsholmen Ltd into bankruptcy (*Pygmalion*) and a few other buildings (in the *Cupido* quarter) (Conservationist 1, 2001).

By 1970, Stockholm Local Authority decided to transform Stadsholmen Ltd into a public housing corporation, and, by 1972, the cultural-historic significant building stock owned by the City Real Estate Administration had been transferred to the Stadsholmen Ltd (Löof & Söderström, 1998; Hallerdt, 1998). Stadsholmen Ltd then became part of the management of one of the major public housing corporations in Stockholm City (Conservationist 1, 2001).

'Gradually, the city administration began to transfer other buildings of cultural-historic significance to the care of Stadsholmen Ltd. Not only buildings from the Old Town, but also from other parts of the city. Thus, it became the local authority's special historic property company. Over the years, the older local authority owned building stock of cultural-historic significance has been refurbished mainly as modern dwellings' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The company's building stock has since expanded through the occasional acquiring of property, but also through land exchange between the local authority and the Crown (Hallerdt, 1991). Hallerdt (1998) suggests that of vital importance to the continued survival of Stadsholmen Ltd's building stock were the general changes in attitudes

towards conservation during the 1970s. Public opinion strongly favoured conservation, mainly as a result of the destructiveness of large-scale urban renewal. This was reflected in the enhanced conservation awareness at political level. Consequently, the introduction of new advantageous loans created the right conditions for conservation of the built heritage.

Furthermore, the refurbishment projects undertaken by Stadsholmen Ltd served a wider purpose in that they inspired other property owners in the Old Town to think differently and to take a stand for conservation. By the turn of the twentieth century, practically all buildings in the Old Town had been refurbished to modern standard, although with a varying degree of quality (Conservationist 1, 2001): ‘in many cases the approach to refurbishment has been insensitive. However, the overall picture of the Old Town has been saved’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

During the 1970s, it proved difficult to achieve the requirements of modern housing standards combined with a high level of building conservation. The high speed of the refurbishment work, the use of consultants with little experience in conservation, and a labour force pre-occupied with both new production and conservation meant that works were often carried out without any sensitivity (Hallerdt, 1991). Furthermore, ‘during this time, the company undertook comprehensive refurbishment which was nevertheless considered poor by conservationists’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Conservation bodies and experts found that refurbishment works often involved the replacement of a substantial part of the structural elements and the exteriors, while the interiors were handled with little care. One way for conservation officials to halt this was through imposing a requirement that a minimum of 50 per cent of the structural construction had to be conserved if state loans for refurbishment were to be granted (Hallerdt, 1998).

By 1980, a survey on the refurbishment work carried out by Stadsholmen Ltd resulted in improved alteration requirements, including building inventory requirements and binding protection directives (Hallerdt, 1998). Consequently,

‘Since the beginning of the 1980s, works made to a building require a plan which must be based on a building inventory and an action plan. Thus, for all refurbishment works made during the 1980s and the 1990s, the City Museum participated in the making of cultural-



historic conservation plans prior to the architect's final proposal' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

During the 1980s, the company also achieved independent status which resulted in further profiling of its cultural-historic expertise:

'Intense debate, criticism and investigation led to the transformation of Stadsholmen Ltd into a new independent status for the company between 1983-1991. This resulted in the development of building conservation expertise and craftsmanship within the company which improved the quality of refurbishment works significantly' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Hallerdt (1988) argues that the strength of Stadsholmen Ltd lies especially with its long-established qualities of specialisation and expertise on old building materials and techniques, including a skilled force of builders. However, the independent status, which had contributed to the development of specialisation and expertise within the company, did not last for long:

'The work of the Stadsholmen Ltd had been dependent upon the granting of interest free loans by the state and the local authority. Towards the end of the 1980s, the state began to demand repayment of the loans. Once again, Stadsholmen Ltd lost its independence and became part of a public housing corporation' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Nevertheless, the St Erik Society managed to gain influence over the company's future affairs:

'Two state antiquarians happened to own one share each of the Stadsholmen Ltd. One of them donated his share to the St Erik Society. Thus, the local authority could not buy the company without further notice. This resulted in a negotiation process which established the right of the St Erik Society to appoint one director and one deputy director. In addition, a special council for cultural buildings (*Kulturhusrådet*) was established within the company. One of the functions of the council was to award grants to skilled craftsmen. As a result of this, the St Erik Society still has a certain influence over the work of Stadsholmen Ltd' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

#### 8.4.3. Stadsholmen Ltd and Developments during the 1990s

The completion of the last major refurbishment projects during the 1990s, has gradually led to a diminished role in building conservation for Stadsholmen Ltd:

'When Stadsholmen Ltd lost its independence it also lost its special labour force of building expertise. The local authority justified this by the fact that the major refurbishment projects had been completed. However, the St. Erik Society, had argued for these resources to be sustained for further maintenance work and that both the state, the local authority, as well as individuals who owned old buildings should be able to consult

such expertise. Nowadays, Stadsholmen Ltd has a management function only including management and maintenance, but excluding alterations' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Thus, in spite of long-prevailing ideas of turning the Stadsholmen Ltd's special labour force of building conservation expertise into a permanent agency, accessible to various clients, this role has now ceased, triggered by the government's decision to start claiming interest on the company's oldest state loans for refurbishment. In the beginning of the 1990s, Stadsholmen Ltd was affected by the national financial crisis through a rise in rents for leasehold sites. The weakened financial capacity of the company thus led to higher rents for its tenants and greater dependency on its main shareholders (Hallerdt, 1998).

The process of privatising local authority housing in Stockholm has threatened the existence of the company. However, in spite of the continuing privatisation process of most local authority owned buildings, Stockholm City Council has agreed that historic property owned by Stadsholmen Ltd will remain under the remit of the local authority:

'Both the conservatives and the socialists have concluded that buildings owned by Stadsholmen Ltd of which the cultural-historic value corresponds the blue and green categories (on the City Museum's Cultural-Historic Classification Map) must not be sold. The city will continue to own these. It would not be appropriate to sell the buildings since the new owners would make an unreasonable profit at the expense of the city' (Conservationist 1, 2001).

Thus, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the benefit of collective ownership of this valuable building stock, both from a cultural-historic and financial point of view, has been recognised by the local authority.

## 8.5. CONTEMPORARY CONSERVATION ISSUES AND THREATS TO THE BUILT HERITAGE IN STOCKHOM CITY

Based on the interview findings, this final section discusses general conservation issues and threats to the built heritage such as, demolition and alteration of cultural-historic values in the urban environment, dilemmas of new functional demands, maintenance and authenticity and high-rise building in Stockholm City during the 1990s. The approach to the integration of new architecture is also discussed. Furthermore, it highlights the most challenging issues from a conservation perspective.

### *Contemporary versus Pastiche Styles of Architecture*

The building of a new inner city residential area on the grounds of an old hospital (*St Eriks Sjukhus*) during the mid-1990s became a symbol of the predominant use of pastiche architecture in the city of Stockholm (Figure 8.28). According to the Local Planner:

‘The re-building of the St Erik district received extensive criticism for being an imitation of 1920s style of architecture. Many people felt that Stockholm was becoming like a museum and that new buildings have not been allowed to reflect their own time. Entering into this area is like stepping 60 years back in time’ (LP, 2001).

The same informant explained that the scheme was planned and built during economic recession, before the current economic boom and that a change in approach occurred towards the end of the 1990s. This is reflected in the more recent buildings in the harbour area of *Hammarby Sjöstad* which express contemporary styles of architecture (LP, 2001) (Figure 8.29). This is partly a reflection of international trends in architectural styles such as the revival of modernism and economic boom: ‘Stockholm has become an IT-capital of Europe and there is pressure to live up to this image. Much of the urban renewal which is currently being undertaken in the building quarters of the inner city from the 1960s and 1970s reflects a modernism revival’ (LP, 2001).

However, it was suggested that ‘there is still a fear of being too modern’ (LP, 2001). Part of the reason for this is rooted in the extensive national building programme of the 1960s and 1970s (*Miljonprogrammet*), which resulted in a reaction and quest for stability and connection with the past (LP, 2001). Figure 8.30 illustrates another example of pastiche architecture in Stockholm City. The interviewed County Planner compared Stockholm to Copenhagen, which was perceived to have achieved a better balance between old and new buildings. In Copenhagen, ‘they have managed to achieve an approach which combines conservation of old buildings and integration of contemporary architectural styles. This is something we are lacking’ (CP, 2000).



**Figure 8.28:** Residential area built in the 1990s at the former grounds of St. Erik's Hospital which became a symbol of the predominant use of 'pastiche' architecture in Stockholm (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.29:** Contemporary architecture in *Hammarby Sjöstad* (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.30:** ‘Pastiche’ residential development completed in 1995 in the heart of Stockholm (Negussie, 2001).

### *High-Rise Buildings and Increasing Heights of Existing Buildings*

During the 1990s there has been intensive discussion and debate on high-rise building in Stockholm. According to the County Planner,

‘These discussions come and go with economic booms. It was worse in the early 1980s, not so much in Stockholm, but in other Swedish towns. However, I think the lesson was learnt, that the qualities of a town do not necessarily improve with the existence of a high-rise tower’ (CP, 2000).

As a response to the scarcity of suitable land for redevelopment, the end of the 1990s witnessed a trend for new floors to be built on top of existing modern buildings in Stockholm’s inner city in order to maximise floor space (see figures 8.31-8.33) This may be discussed both as a matter of high-rise building and adaptive reuse. As explained by the County Planner this was due to the following:

‘There is a demand for new housing in the inner city. However, due to high levels of land value, there is a demand for building housing on top of existing buildings, which are becoming increasingly higher and for the conversion of attics in order to maximise space. This pressure for utilising every square metre may be considered as a contemporary threat

in to the city. A good economic climate strikes both ways. It contributes positively to conservation in that money and interest is available. At the same time, it creates new pressure for change' (CP, 2000).

The same interviewee suggested that it is easier to justify attic conversions than overall increases in building height around the city, since these are more defensible in terms of individual private property rights (CP, 2000).

According to the City Museum informant high-rise building, which evolved especially towards the end of the 1990s, 'may become a problematic issue' in Stockholm: 'there are proposals for a high-rise tower on Sergel's Torg, and for the adding of floors onto buildings in the city centre' (LCO, 2000). Nevertheless, the same interviewee suggested that high-rise buildings may be acceptable 'depending on the location' (LCO, 2000). These views were confirmed by another interviewee, who stated that 'high-rise building is starting to become a problem, or rather, the building of terraced houses on top of office buildings' (CCO, 2000). Another interviewee stated that while demolition of buildings in the city are rare, 'the main issues of today involve infill building to a degree which will destroy the city' (Conservationist 2, 2000).



**Figure 8.31:** Example of residential units built on top of 1960s and 1970s office and retail building blocks (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.32:** The same building as in figure 8.31 (Negussie, 2001).



**Figure 8.33:** Further evidence of a new trend for floors to be built on top of existing modern buildings in Stockholm City (Negussie, 2001).

For the Stockholm City Planning Administration, high-rise building is a sensitive issue. As explained by the the Local Planner:

'The City Planning Administration considers the safeguarding of the city's skyline important, since it forms an integral part of Stockholm's qualities. These qualities are outlined in the building by-law, which identifies different characteristics of the various parts of the city. Overall, the objective is to avoid building heights that exceed the tree heights where this has been avoided in the past. For the inner city, the objective is to protect the historic skyline. However, we think it should be possible to build high-rise buildings in the city, but with serious consideration of location and with contemplation of where high-rise buildings have been built in the past. It is difficult to handle situations where exploitation interests are measured against aesthetic and cultural-historic interests' (LP, 2001).

### *Demolition of Cultural-Historic Buildings*

According to the City Museum informant the threat of demolition of cultural-historic buildings 'is not a problem' in Stockholm City anymore (LCO, 2000). It was explained that 'the number of demolition cases is low', and 'if permission for a building demolition is granted it is proceeded with extensive debate and discussion' (LCO, 2000).

The County Planner similarly suggested that 'compared to the 1960s there is hardly any demolition' of cultural-historic buildings in Stockholm (CP, 2000). The same interviewee asserted that the ambition to conserve the past sometimes goes too far, something which is reflected in the use of old styles when building new as discussed above: 'there seems to be a fear of using contemporary architecture which expresses our time' (CP, 2000). The Local Planner also confirmed that there are no real threats against the older built heritage and that 'sometimes it is even difficult to get approval for a building demolition which is justifiable' (LP, 2001).

Nevertheless, with regard to alterations of cultural-historic values, interiors have become increasingly threatened during the 1990s, which is due to a change in the legislation (CP, 2000) (see Chapter Seven). According to the Local Planner, alterations are 'occasionally a problem, but not a major problem' (LP, 2001). Furthermore, it was suggested that an alteration that distorts the cultural-historic value of a building may sometimes be legitimate if it ensures its proper use (LP, 2001).

### *Adaptive Reuse of Cultural-Historic Buildings*

According to one informant, adaptive reuse is one of the main difficulties with regard to conservation of the built heritage (CCO, 2000). The City Museum interviewee stated that adaptive reuse of cultural-historic buildings can sometimes be problematic, for



example, in the case of attic conversions. Furthermore, proper reuse of industrial buildings was considered often a problem and a part of the built heritage which is difficult to approach generally. It was suggested that ‘all old beautiful breweries in the city have been reduced to being beautiful shells’ (LCO, 2000). The conversion of old hospitals and institutions were similarly considered as problematic issues from a conservation point of view:

‘There are quite a lot of hospitals, for example, *Konradsberg*, *Beckonberga* and *Långbro* which will be converted to housing or some other new use. The question is what is being preserved. Such uses will reduce the old buildings to being old facades. However, at the same time, the memories of large hospitals with park areas are kept which is preferable to demolition’ (LCO, 2000).

The County Planner also suggested that the problems with adaptive reuse mainly concern the industrial built heritage. Adaptive reuse of military buildings has also become an important conservation issue. It was suggested that ‘their actual survival is what is most important, that they continue to be used’ (CP, 2000). This compared with the potential introduction of new uses for churches, which was considered to be more inappropriate.

The Local Planner explained that there are two main issues regarding adaptive reuse in Stockholm. First, the desire to increase the degree of exploitation, *e.g.* by adding an extra floor to a building and the conversion of attic space, whether considered appropriate or not. Secondly, is the issue of accessibility. It was suggested that ‘the ambition of accessibility in Sweden, and in Stockholm, is very high. This is often difficult to achieve without compromising aspects of conservation’ (LP, 2001).

### *Urban Conservation in Stockholm: Challenging Issues at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*

The following reviews what the interviewees considered to be the most important challenges in Stockholm City from a conservation point of view at the turn of the twenty-first century. In general, issues related to traffic and transportation planning, the rapidity and extent of development, over-exploitation of the inner city, and the effects of the de-socialisation process were areas highlighted by the interviewees. Furthermore, legislative issues, protection of the modern built heritage and urban renewal of old industrial and harbour areas were also described as challenging conservation issues.

With regard to traffic and transportation, one interviewee stated that ‘the most difficult challenge relates to the current economic boom, which has resulted in serious traffic problems and questions of how to solve these. So far, there is uncertainty of how to approach this out of concern for conservation of the cultural environment’ (CP, 2000). This view was expressed by two other interviewees suggesting that ‘the most important issue of concern is how to address various traffic dilemmas’ (NCO, 2000) and ‘solving the traffic problems is the greatest challenge’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

As concerns the rapidity and extent of redevelopment in Stockholm, one interviewee suggested the following:

‘The political promotion of unlimited growth which is rooted in regional politics at the national level (is problematic). There is a population growth in the Stockholm region of 20.000 per year. This causes enormous pressure on demands for housing and transportation nodes. Stockholm is a city built on islands, surrounded by water. The question is how can further growth be achieved without compromising the existing green space? There is a concern now that parks may be taken up for further building’ (Conservationist 2, 2000).

This was supported by another interviewee who stated that mistakes are being made similar to those made in the 1950s and 1960s:

‘The greatest challenge is the mass movement of people into the metropolitan region and the lack of respect by politicians for environmental values. Mistakes made in the 1950s and 1960s are now being repeated. There is not much green space left in Stockholm, and the green belts, which are extremely important environmentally, are now being exploited. The approach to building is mainly large-scale and there is a lack of forward planning. The Regional Planning Department is responsible for long-term forward planning. However, it cannot keep up with the rapidity of development’ (CMO, 2000).

One interviewee suggested that the 1990s witnessed an overall change in the attitudinal climate for urban conservation:

‘Both the St Erik Society and the City Museum perceived the 1970s and 1980s as decades of favour, since their views were taken seriously. There were major efforts of refurbishment and maintenance of the built heritage in the inner city. However, the society is now sending out new signals. Buildings in public ownership are being sold and the conservative majority of the City Council has agreed that the built environment of the inner city is to be condensed. Three-story housing is now being built on top of office buildings. The City Museum, which has maintained that the roof landscape is of great cultural-historic significance (Figure 8.34), has made objections to many spectacular attic conversions, but without much success. There have also been discussions on complete re-building of Sergel’s Torg. The idea in itself is quite grotesque’ (Conservationist 1, 2001).

The same interviewee concluded that Swedish society has undergone ‘extensive privatisation of public property and public interests’ during the 1990s (Conservationist 2, 2000).



**Figure 8.34:** Roof landscape of the Old Town: threatened by attic conversions? (Negussie, 2001).

With regard to legal issues, the continued operation of the current conservation legislation was considered as a challenge: ‘in my view, the combination of the Cultural Monuments Act and the Planning and Building Act does not function well’ (CCO, 2000). Furthermore, it was stated that ‘legal protection of interiors should once again become part of the Planning and Building Act’ (CCO, 2000). Another interviewee also suggested that the question of interior protection under the Planning and Building Act ‘must be solved’ (LCO, 2000).

The same informant argued that there is a need to find a better approach to large-scale transformation of old industrial and harbour areas. The question of ‘how to achieve good conservation in such areas’ was highlighted as a major challenge (CCO, 2000).

Finally, conservation of the modern built heritage was considered a major challenge: ‘there is a risk now that those parts of the inner city which were re-built in the 1970s could be destroyed’ (LCO, 2000).

## 8.6.CONCLUSION

To conclude, since the 1970s the public ‘conservation sector’, or the ‘heritage sector’ in Sweden has been shaped by a decentralisation process with responsibilities divided between official bodies at the national, regional and local levels. In 1976, cultural environment conservation became a domain of responsibility for the county administrative boards when certain decision-making functions were transferred to the regional level from the National Heritage Board. Prior to that the county museums carried all responsibility for conservation at the regional level. However, the local planning authorities are the most essential actors with responsibility for conservation of the built heritage. In Stockholm City, conservation expertise operates within the organisation of a city museum with a clear role in conservation planning. The contemporary role of the Stockholm City Museum in urban conservation was developed in the 1970s. Its role was eventually stipulated in local authority policy in 1981, which lay down principles for integration of conservation with planning. The Stockholm Aesthetics Council exists as a separate local authority body, although without any formal power, providing expert opinion on new developments with regard to beauty aspects in the city. While it is clear that public bodies play an important role in built heritage conservation in Sweden, the evidence from Stockholm City revealed certain challenges in relation to financial cutbacks and the current division of responsibility. Budgetary cutbacks during the 1990s affected especially the city museum and the county museum with regard to their conservation work. Also, the roles of the county administrative board and the local authority often overlap due to unclear division of responsibility.

With regard to local planning policy and implementation of urban conservation in Stockholm City, a number of key points were identified. The master plan provides an important framework plan for the city and outlines a large number of areas of cultural-historic importance. The building by-law, published as a supplement to the master plan in 1997, provides an important urban design instrument presenting proposals for how conservation is to be approached in different areas. However, the principal instrument for mandatory protection of buildings is q-designation and other protection directives established in the detail plan. However, these instruments, regulated by the Planning and Building Act, have not been used extensively. This is mainly due to the slow process of preparing a detail plan and lack of financial resources. Detail plans are rarely initiated strictly for the purpose of protecting buildings. Therefore, the Cultural-Historic

Classification Map of Stockholm Inner City, a supplement to the Master Plan, constitutes an important tool for protecting cultural-historic areas and individual buildings. It depicts a grading system of the built environment in relation to cultural-historic values as identified by the City Museum. Planning applications for buildings marked blue and green on the map are transferred to the City Museum for review and expert opinion. Considering that far from all buildings of cultural-historic value have been protected in detail plans, the classification map is a detrimental instrument in the planning process.

Voluntary conservation bodies in Sweden have for a long time played a marginal role in conservation of the built heritage. The evidence from Stockholm demonstrates how conservation activities developed from being mainly voluntary-based to becoming an integrated duty of the public sector at all levels. Thus, voluntary bodies no longer play a key role in urban conservation. However, the evidence also suggests that during the 1990s, there were signs of a shift towards greater reliance on the voluntary sector in conservation matters. Thus, the role of voluntary bodies and groups concerned with conservation has become increasingly important during the 1990s due to shrinking public sector resources and overall de-regulation of the Swedish Welfare State.

The existence of *Stadsholmen AB* (Ltd) as a specialised historic property management company owned, by the local authority, has contributed significantly to the conservation and management of the built heritage in Stockholm City. By the end of the 1990s, its building stock counted for over 300 buildings in the inner city. The birth of *Stadsholmen* resulted from a voluntary initiative by the St Erik Society. However, in the 1960s it was developed into a local authority company, something which allowed for an expansion of its property since the local authority gradually transferred other buildings of special cultural-historic value to the care of *Stadsholmen*. During the 1990s, ambitions to privatise local authority housing in Stockholm City threatened the existence of the company. However, the Stockholm City Council has agreed that historic property owned by *Stadsholmen* is to remain in ownership by the local authority.

Finally, this chapter identified contemporary conservation challenges and threats to the built heritage in Stockholm City. The demolition of cultural-historic buildings is not regarded as a problem anymore. However, interiors have become increasingly threatened

due to legislative changes. Also, adaptive reuse is often regarded as a problematic issue, especially with regard to attic conversions and industrial buildings. With regard to the use of contemporary versus pastiche styles of architecture, there has been predominant use of pastiche architecture until the end of the 1990s when a change occurred as a result of revival of modernism combined with economic boom. However, there is still fear of being 'too modern', partly as a result of extensive urban renewal during the 1960s and 1970s which led to reaction and a quest for stability and connection with the past. During the 1990s there was also intensive debate on high-rise building, both in relation to new proposals for high-rise buildings and a trend of new floors built on top of existing modern buildings in order to maximise floor spaces. The most challenging issues from an urban conservation point of view related to traffic and transportation planning, the rapidity and extent of development, over-exploitation of the inner city and the effects of the de-socialisation process.

The following concluding chapter discusses the findings from the Dublin and the Stockholm case studies from a comparative perspective.

## PART IV: CONCLUSIONS

### CHAPTER NINE

#### URBAN CONSERVATION: TEMPORAL OVERVIEW, COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter synthesises the range of elements explored in this research. First, it provides an overview of the temporal developments in urban conservation in Ireland, illustrated by the case study of Dublin City. Secondly, it discusses the various themes in a comparative perspective, broad generalisations and conclusions being drawn thematically from the findings of both the Irish and Swedish case studies. The themes include societal factors with implications for conservation such as ideology and politics, cultural values and economic trends (see *App.* 1-2). Furthermore, the themes comprise legislative protection and financial incentives for urban conservation, the role of national, regional and local authorities and the voluntary sector in built heritage management, and aspects on temporal shifts in attitudes towards what is worth conserving. Thirdly, this chapter concludes by highlighting the overall findings derived from the comparative discussion, questions raised during the research and implications for further research.

##### 9.1. THE IRISH EXPERIENCE: A TEMPORAL OVERVIEW

A number of key developments in urban conservation planning can be summarised for Dublin City. This section adopts a decade by decade approach.

###### *1950s*

The 1950s were a decade of economic stagnation in Ireland. Consequently, the low level of economic activity exposed the building stock to benign neglect rather than active demolition. Protection of the built heritage during the 1950s operated within the parameters of the National Monuments Acts, 1930-1954. Under the acts the state as well as the local authorities were empowered to protect national monuments, either by taking buildings considered of national importance into guardianship or ownership if so wished by the owner. The state or a local authority would then be responsible for

maintenance of the monument rather than the owner. If considered endangered, a monument of national importance could also be served with a preservation order by the state, which implied protection from demolition, alteration, renovation or restoration without consent of the state. With the introduction of the 1954 Act, temporary preservation orders could also be served. In addition, the National Monuments Acts provided certain enforcement powers, *e.g.* fines and imprisonment for offences such as alteration or demolition of a national monument by any person. The state could compulsorily take a building of national importance into guardianship if it decided to do works to it and also had certain acquisition powers, although these powers were not given to the local authorities. Nevertheless, the National Monuments Acts contained important limitations. They excluded buildings used for habitual or ecclesiastical purposes, which made the acts more suitable for ancient monuments or buildings not in use and contributed to their being unsuited for urban contexts. Another limitation of the acts was their lack of power to enforce maintenance of national monuments. Furthermore, the acts, which had an archaeological orientation, were mainly applied to protect medieval and pre-medieval structures. The end-date of their scope was regarded as 1700, partly due to the legacy of the organisational structures under which national monuments were cared for but also due to a general bias against the post-1700 built heritage. Overall, during the 1950s onwards, the National Monuments Acts made little impact in protecting the built heritage in Dublin City.

With regard to institutional arrangements the Office of Public Works was the primary national body responsible for conservation through the National Monuments Acts. There is a perception that during the 1950s and 1960s, republican and anti-British sentiments help explain the limited view of conservation by this body. In 1955, Bord Fáilte was established as a statutory tourist body and was given certain powers to protect and maintain historic buildings and sites reflecting recognition of the cultural and natural heritage as a tourism interest. However, the tourist board never came to play a significant role in conservation, although it has contributed to the retention of important buildings such as castles over the years.

Local planning in Ireland during the 1950s was rather limited. The 1957 Planning Scheme was the first major planning scheme adopted in modern time Ireland. It outlined a preservation zone confined to the Georgian Merrion and Fitzwilliam Squares.



The 1950s witnessed little organised voluntary conservation activity. This should be considered in light of economic stagnation and lack of urban redevelopment. Although An Taisce had been formed in 1948, it was mainly preoccupied with the natural environment during the 1950s, coined as a ‘birds and bees organisation’ in its early years. With the formation of the Irish Georgian Society in 1958, a forum for organised lobbying, although at a small scale, for protection of Georgian architecture especially was established.

### *1960s*

The 1960s saw rapid development. Economic expansion generated an office development boom continuing into the 1970s. Cultural attitudes, *e.g.* negative perception of the Georgian building stock, and the absence of any developed policy for urban conservation at national and local levels in combination with accelerating development pressures in the built environment placed the built heritage under serious threat.

The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963, established discretionary powers for local authorities to preserve buildings of artistic, architectural or historical interest. Nevertheless, the 1963 Act lacked any guidance for conservation and it was left to local authorities to interpret the matter. In Dublin City, a listing system based on the one in the UK was introduced. However, it proved inadequate for a number of reasons. First, the listing of buildings lacked sufficient overall guidance in the development plan, mainly due to understaffed planning departments which lacked conservation expertise. Secondly, the system involved the listing of facades rather than whole buildings. Thirdly, the distinction between lists with different priority resulted in increasingly flexible attitudes towards protection for the majority of the listed buildings.

The combination of discretionary and vaguely defined conservation powers during a phase of economic boom and societal aspirations to redevelop and modernise exposed the built heritage to frequent threats of demolition.

Established in 1964, An Foras Forbartha came to exercise a leadership role in planning policy and research at the state level until it was abolished in 1988. In the field of conservation, it published research, carried out building inventories and provided advisory service to local authorities. Although it had little direct impact on heritage

issues in Dublin City, since it was regarded more advanced compared to other local authorities where state assistance was more urgent, it played an important role in establishing national guidance on planning, including conservation to some degree. The designation of prescribed bodies under the 1963 Planning Act also contributed, although these have exercised varying degree of influence over conservation issues through the planning process in Dublin City. Overall, An Taisce became the most important prescribed body in this regard.

The 1960s saw a rise in organised conservation lobbying by An Taisce and the Irish Georgian Society, mainly in reaction to the many demolition controversies, *e.g.* the demolition of Georgian buildings in Fitzwilliam Street and Hume Street. In addition, the Dublin Civic Group was formed in the mid-1960s. During a decade when national and local authorities were concerned mainly with redevelopment, these bodies and students' groups became the primary actors in mobilising public opinion for conservation.

### *1970s*

Some improvements were made in the legislative regime during the 1970s. For example, in 1976, legal provisions for protection of interiors were introduced. However, while this may be considered a positive development, the way in which it was interpreted had a negative effect overall, since it created an impression that listing of buildings only affected the exteriors. This assumption was reinforced when the first separate lists for interiors were adopted in Dublin City under the 1991 Dublin City Development Plan.

In 1976, An Bord Pleanála was established as an independent planning appeals board which provided new opportunities for conservation groups and the general public to make appeals on planning decisions. Initially, the Board lacked public confidence due to failures in taking a public stance as a result of inappropriate appointment procedures. However, this was to change with reform during the following decade.

In 1971, the first development plan for Dublin City was officially adopted, which strengthened the legal basis for listed buildings. However, its conservation policies were poorly developed and only a small number of buildings were listed for preservation, a reflection of the general lack of conservation awareness and pro-development climate at the time. Fear of legal challenge due to perceptions of property rights also contributed to

the small number of listings, based entirely on efforts made by the voluntary sector rather than on systematic national or local inventories.

The 1970s saw a rise in a new type of voluntary conservation organisation concerned with defending communal life and residential areas that had increasingly become threatened by private enterprise destruction, *e.g.* the Dublin Living City Group and various residents' associations. The controversy over Pembroke Street was one of the successful conservation battles fought by the principal conservation groups and assisted by students' groups. However, the lost battles over Molesworth Street and Wood Quay also caused public disillusionment, especially the latter. However, these events marked important events in raising of conservation awareness.

### *1980s*

The 1980s were characterised by economic slump resulting in less pressure for redevelopment. However, road-widening and other transportation plans continued to expose the built heritage to threats. The Urban Renewal Act, 1986, was an attempt by Central Government to attract investment into Dublin and other Irish cities and thereby to avert dereliction and decay away from urban areas. However, tax incentives forming part of the urban renewal scheme worked against conservation, something which came to affect the built heritage negatively, especially with the up-swing in the economy during the next decade.

Despite evident deficiencies, little legislative progress was made in terms of conservation provisions within the planning code during this decade, in spite of Ireland's signing of the Granada Convention in 1985. However, certain improvements were made providing better opportunities for the state to protect the built heritage. The 1987 amendment to the National Monuments Acts constituted a significant legislative step and provided the state with broadened powers to protect the built heritage. There was recognition that measures within the planning code were inadequate and reform of the National Monuments Acts was needed. The definition of monument was broadened to include protection of groups of buildings and structures. This provision was never applied in Dublin City although it could have been used to protect Merrion Square. The acts also introduced the term historic monument, which automatically included all pre-1700 monuments and any monument, also dating from after 1700, associated with the commercial, cultural, economic, industrial, military, religious or social history of a

place. Consequently, such monuments could be entered in the Register of Historic Monuments, which required owners to give two months' notice prior to any work to such a monument. This building category was more appropriate for protection in urban situations. However, the potential powers under the amendment were never extensively used due to the lack of necessary resources and changes in the administrative structure. It also created ambiguity and overlap between the responsibilities of the Minister for the Environment and the Minister for Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands. It has been suggested that there has always been a difference between what the National Monuments Acts could do legally and the perception of what was in the powers of the acts. However, during the next decade a limited number of pre- and post-1700 buildings in Dublin City became registered as historic monuments, mainly as a result of voluntary lobbying in cases where the local authority had failed to protect important buildings through listing in the development plan.

Under the 1982 Finance Act, provisions for tax incentives were introduced for buildings regarded by the state as being of significant scientific, historical, architectural or aesthetic interest. This provision, later known as Section 482 of the Tax Consolidation Act, 1997, has since provided favourable tax incentives for conserving a limited number of important buildings. On average, four buildings annually for the Dublin region have been added to the record of buildings meriting such tax incentives since 1982.

Some progress was made in the institutional arrangements affecting conservation during the decade, namely, the reform in the appointment procedures of An Bord Pleanála in 1983. This was in response to the general lack of confidence in the Board's ability to act in the public interest. There is a general acceptance that the Board has functioned better after the reform in relation to conservation and public interest issues. Furthermore, in 1988, the National Heritage Council was established as a non-statutory body, its main function being allocation of grants funded by the national lottery. For the first time, grants were made available for restoration and repair works to buildings undertaken by private individuals. Nevertheless, the 1980s also witnessed major cuts in public expenditure. Consequently, the abolishment of An Foras Forbartha in 1988 constituted a major setback in terms of planning research and policy at the national level which may be regarded as a resignation of behalf of the government in pursuing a leadership role in planning, including conservation.

The 1980 Dublin City Development Plan reflected an increased number of listings but not a dramatic increase considering the ten-year span since the first adopted development plan. However, although introduced on a non-statutory basis, the outlining of conservation areas must be seen as an attempt at least by the local authority to achieve an area-based approach to built heritage protection. As with the listing system, the concept was imported from England. Despite their non-statutory basis, these represented a shift towards conservation of streetscapes and areas rather than just individual buildings. Furthermore, the introduction of local authority grants in 1979 towards maintenance of non-privately-owned listed buildings, drawn from Dublin Corporation's own budget, reflected a commitment of encouraging quality conservation works by the local authority.

With regard to the raising of awareness, the public perception was improving during this decade and mainly due to the lobbying by voluntary groups. Organised activities such as the Dublin Crisis Conference contributed to a growing awareness, while Frank McDonald's *The Destruction of Dublin* (1986) became an important mind opener to the lack of strategic conservation policies.

### *1990s*

The 1990s witnessed continuing enhancement of conservation awareness at all levels, culminating towards the end of the 1990s. There was official recognition at government level that conservation of the built heritage was an important factor in society. In particular, this was confirmed by the opening statements of then prime ministers at two conferences organised by the Irish Georgian Society: 'The Future of the Country House' (in 1993) and 'The Town: Conservation in the Urban Area' (in 1995). The first major step towards legislative reform was manifested in 'Strengthening the Protection of the Architectural Heritage' (1996) which led to the enacting of a comprehensive legislative framework for conservation of the built heritage in 1999. In addition to the provisions made for architectural conservation within the planning code, the national inventory was placed on a statutory footing. Having been established in 1991, the statutory provisions strengthened the basis of its operation. Furthermore, at national level, the establishment of the Heritage Council as a statutory body in 1995 and the forming of Dúchas shortly afterwards constituted important new institutional arrangements in the field of integrated conservation. The forming of these bodies established 'the heritage' as a sector of its own.

The overall enhanced conservation awareness was also reflected in a shift in approach by An Bord Pleanála towards conservation issues, especially since the mid-1990s. Factors such as institutional reform of the body, improvements in state and local authority policy on conservation and recognition that Irish society could increasingly afford to take ‘a harder line’ on conservation issues considering the economic boom contributed to this shift.

The developments in conservation during the decade were enhanced through the influence of Europe. The Granada Convention, signed by Ireland in 1985, added to the pressure on governments to adopt appropriate legislative and administrative measures for protection of the built heritage. The influence of Europe also imposed mandatory legislative measures of relevance to the built heritage, such as, the requirement for environmental impact statements. European funding towards urban regeneration created opportunities for several heritage-related projects in Irish cities. The sheer availability of financial opportunities to conserve proved effective in a series of examples. However, in the absence of defined conservation objectives, the economically driven nature of projects and lack of monitoring also meant that such funding at times worked against architectural conservation.

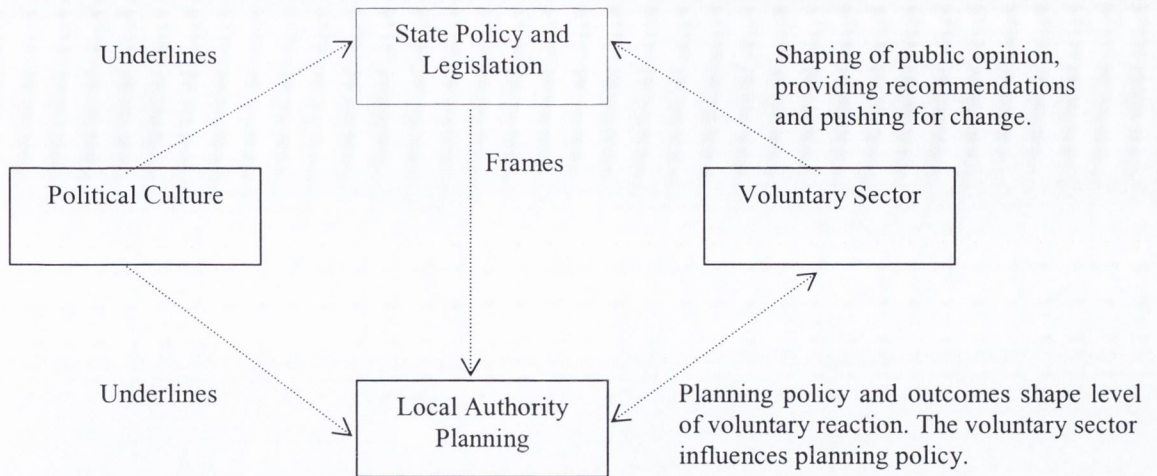
The 1990s also saw a remarkable shift in attitudes towards conservation at local planning level. The 1991 Dublin City Development Plan reflected the first significant increase in the number of listed buildings. In the 1999 Dublin City Development Plan, the increase in listings was even more dramatic. Compared to other Irish cities a significant proportion of the building fabric in Dublin City merit protection status under the current plan. For the first time, the local authority assumed somewhat of a leadership role in conservation practice by providing a model for how to combine conservation with appropriate use through a ‘Living over the Shop’ scheme.

Attitudes towards conservation developed gradually throughout the 1990s. However, the principal legislative, institutional and policy developments in conservation reached a peak at the end of the decade. Thus, the legislative and planning constraints inherited from the previous decade combined with the ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy during the 1990s often had serious implications for the built heritage. The tax regime for redevelopment discriminated against the existing building stock and a general pro-development ethos adopted by the state meant that in many cases conservation was still not a priority.

The 1990s witnessed growing recognition of the valuable role of voluntary conservation bodies by local authorities, which increasingly needed to become more professional in order to respond to more complex planning situations. For the first time, a partnership approach was adopted between the local authority and the Dublin Civic Trust, which led to the 'Historic Heart of Dublin' project. This tendency towards partnership was also reflected in co-operation between the Department of the Environment and the Irish Georgian Society in order to produce general conservation guidelines. Nevertheless, the 1990s also saw more conflict-based voluntary conservation action through legal challenge of planning schemes by Lancefort and use of the European Court of Justice as a means of putting pressure on state authorities to comply with European law.

### *Conclusion*

The evolution of conservation policy, planning and outcomes in Dublin City since the 1950s has been determined by interrelationships between national and local authorities and the voluntary sector (see Figure 9.1). Political and economic factors, cultural values and societal trends have also shaped the overall approach to the built heritage. The voluntary sector has played a crucial role in putting pressure on national authorities throughout the period between 1950-2000, by shaping public opinion and raising awareness of conservation. It has also contributed directly to local planning policy and implementation by providing building inventories, recommendations, making appeals against decisions and providing constant critique leading to improvements in the policy regime. The state dictates the legislative framework within which local planning authorities are able to protect the built heritage. State policy and local planning policy and implementation have been shaped by political culture, including cultural attitudes and socio-economic factors. Central Government plays a key role in providing policy and legislation on conservation. However, not until the late 1990s did the government assume full responsibilities for conservation of the built heritage reflected in legislation and financial support in order to promote built heritage conservation. The following section discusses in more detail and in a comparative perspective how political culture has shaped the approach to conservation of the built heritage.



**Figure 9.1:** The interrelationship between political culture, state and national authorities and the voluntary sector (Negussie, 2002).

## 9.2. URBAN CONSERVATION IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: IRELAND AND SWEDEN

The following discusses the themes explored in a comparative perspective, broad generalisations and conclusions being drawn thematically from the findings of both the Irish and Swedish case studies. In addition, policy outcomes are addressed in the context of conservation objectives of international conventions and charters.

### 9.2.1. Cultural/Political Appraisal

The purpose of the comparative dimension of this research was to explore differences from one socio-political and cultural context to another in relation to urban conservation. It has been found that a range of interconnected factors such as cultural values, ideology, and economic and societal trends shape the way in which conservation of the built heritage is approached at national and local levels and help explain variations and similarities in outcomes. The following discussion divides these factors into three categories: ideology/politics, cultural/societal values, and economic trends. However, these factors interrelate and there is no clear distinction.



*Ireland:*

Compared to Sweden, the ideological tradition in Ireland is traditionally characterised by a more conservative approach to capital and the role of the state. This is reflected in the strong standing of private property rights in the Irish Constitution. The constitutional emphasis on property rights has in the past been an obstacle to the enacting of effective conservation legislation. There has also been a general reluctance by local authorities to list buildings for protection as a result of perceptions, amongst planners and property owners alike, that it would infringe on private property rights. Such perceptions of private property rights gave rise to a compensation culture, which affected conservation negatively until an amendment of the planning acts in 1990. Since then, local authorities have not been obliged to pay compensation if a planning permission is refused for the demolition of a habitable house or a building listed for preservation. Furthermore, the introduction of comprehensive conservation legislation within the planning code in 2000 has strengthened the legislative measures for protection of the built heritage. Thus, in recent time there has been a shift towards increasing emphasis being placed on the constitutional principles of social justice and common good.

Furthermore, the constitutional freedom of worship has also been interpreted in a way which has impinged negatively on conservation of the ecclesiastical built heritage. This resulted in a lack of state protection and control over historic buildings in regular use of worship. In general, public control of interior changes has been regarded as an infringement on this constitutional right. Not until 2000, with legislative reform, were provisions for the protection of interiors of places of public worship introduced under the planning code. Thus, the state has now interfered with liturgical matters, although planning authorities must still respect these when they assess planning applications.

Another matter which may be considered from an ideological/political perspective, is the historical associations of Fianna Fáil, the political party which has dominated government affairs in Ireland. The historical republican emphasis of the party contributed to a passive approach to the 'Georgian' and 'Victorian' built legacy of the British. Not until recently did the party promote a pro-conservation agenda, reflecting a shift in attitudes towards conservation within the party in recent times, something which formed part of a general public such shift.

*Sweden:*

A number of issues relating to the ideological culture have shaped the approach to conservation of the built heritage in Sweden. The strong position of social democracy and the labour movement in the beginning of the twentieth century, with aspirations to rebuild society and to eliminate effects of the class system, often became associated with demolition of the built heritage. On the other hand, social democracy and the building of a welfare state also meant that the public gained a strong position in society with less emphasis being placed on private property rights. Once conservation became an accepted societal norm the strong emphasis on the public was advantageous.

The social democratic tradition in Sweden has implied a strong emphasis on public ownership of buildings and land, something which has allowed for greater control of built heritage conservation once it became regarded as a public interest issue. As recognised by Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) the political left has often had the most effective means of achieving land use control necessary for successful implementation of conservation. Also, the ideological culture has resulted in a structural organisation with strong public authorities at all levels: national, regional and local.

However, since the 1980s, the Swedish Welfare State has undergone restructuring with cutbacks in public expenditure. Consequently, there are signs of growing reliance on the voluntary sector, not as a substitute for, but as an increasingly important complement, to public sector activities. There has also been a shift towards greater emphasis on private property rights. This is reflected in the relaxation of provisions on interior protection in the planning code. Also, it has led to changing ownership structures and, to some degree, relaxation of conservation legislation. Re-organisation and privatisation of state and local authority owned property has brought new challenges for the conservation sector regarding legal responsibility for the built heritage. However, there are divergent opinions on whether this is having a negative impact on conservation of the built heritage in Stockholm. One view is that the question of ownership should not be over-emphasised and that there is no automatic correlation between ownership and conservation performance. Nevertheless, another notion is that it may lead to diminished influence and public control over conservation. There is no single answer to this matter since it depends on political outlook. However, the final agreement not to privatise *Stadsholmen AB*, in spite of the continuing privatisation of other local

authority owned property, reflected recognition of the advantages of collective ownership and the existence of a specialised historic property management company.

Furthermore, the separation of the Church of Sweden from the state has also raised questions of its future consequences in a conservation perspective. The Cultural Monuments Act affords automatic protection of all ecclesiastical property belonging to the Church of Sweden built before 1940. In theory, if the Church of Sweden decides to sell some of its property, it may be difficult to exercise control over conservation, especially with regard to new uses. However, while difficult to predict the effects of this in the future, there is general uncertainty in this regard amongst conservation experts. In Ireland, a decline in especially the Protestant Church of Ireland churches has led to these being sold to private developers. In Dublin, new uses were found for several church buildings in the 1990s. For example, the former St. Andrew's Church was converted into a tourist centre, St. Kevin's Church was converted into apartments and St. Michael's and St. John's Church in Temple Bar was converted into a tourist Viking Centre.

### *Cultural/Societal Values*

#### *Ireland:*

With regard to cultural attitudes in Ireland, perceptions and associations relating to the colonial past help explain the late progression of attitudes to conservation of the built heritage. Although anti-conservation sentiments diminished since the 1970s, they contribute to an understanding of the slow progression of a comprehensive national framework for conservation. With a past reflecting a colonial economic structure, Ireland has historically been a predominantly rural society, and in a European context, has experienced late urbanisation. Consequently, the strong connection with the rural tradition took precedence over urban values and urban living in modern Ireland for a long time. The rural orientation of the culture, combined with associations of the urban as the heritage of the colonisers and with poverty, to some extent affected the overall level of appreciation and awareness of the urban built heritage. Furthermore, while Ireland has a great literary tradition it has been suggested that there has culturally been lack of emphasis placed on visual art, which affected the approach to architecture and the built environment. Nevertheless, government-led strategies to revitalise urban centres since the 1980s resulted in revival of urban identity in Ireland. Thus, the out-

migration of people from the inner city was halted. In this respect the experience of Stockholm is different in that the urban culture is stronger reflected in, for example, its high levels of a permanent residential population in the inner city.

#### *Sweden:*

The Swedish experience is different from the Irish in terms of the historical context. While the Republic of Ireland is a young nation with colonial associations historically, Sweden has a historical legacy as a former empire. Thus, anti-conservation sentiments never developed out of nationalist sentiments.

However, other societal trends have affected attitudes towards conservation in similar ways. The quest for modernisation and extensive urban renewal during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, as in many other European cities, resulted in widespread demolition of old buildings. The old housing stock was often associated with poor living conditions and both societies alike turned their backs to the old and welcomed redevelopment. In Dublin City, the eighteenth century building stock was associated with poor quality tenements flats. Likewise, in the 1950s and 1960s many old built environments in Stockholm, were seen as representing slums and should therefore be demolished and replaced with something new.

#### *Economic Trends*

##### *Ireland:*

The evidence from Dublin demonstrates how booms and slumps in the economy affect conservation of the built heritage. Economic recession and lack of redevelopment in the 1950s protected the building stock from demolition. However, the low level of economic activity also exposed historic buildings to neglect and lack of proper maintenance, something which contributed to the demolition of many old buildings for safety reasons during the 1960s. The 1960s saw rapid development and economic expansion generated an office boom which continued into the 1970s, which in the absence of effective conservation legislation led to the destruction of many historic buildings. The 1980s were characterised by economic slump resulting in less pressure for redevelopment. However, market intervention by Central Government in the form of tax incentives in order to promote redevelopment in urban areas often affected conservation negatively, especially with the ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy during the 1990s.

### *Sweden:*

Although the Swedish case study was focused on the contemporary situation, certain temporal observations were made. The espousal of the functionalist movement in town planning, large-scale approaches to urban renewal and economic growth during the 1950s and 1960s exposed the historic building stock to exploitation with some 600 properties being demolished and replaced with modern buildings during this period in Stockholm City. The wave of building demolition continued into the mid-1970s as the economy slumped. However, during the building boom of the 1980s, conservation was often compromised in favour of redevelopment although at a different scale compared to the 1960s and 1970s. The crash of the property market in the beginning of the 1990s allowed for a time of reflection and development of conservation principles. Although there has been a complete halt in the demolition of old buildings, economic boom towards the end of the 1990s created new pressures for redevelopment resulting in maximisation of floor space in Stockholm City, also threatening green spaces and the younger modern built heritage.

### *Conclusion*

The different ideological/political culture in Sweden and Ireland has resulted in different approach to urban conservation. In Ireland, the state has until recently played a passive role in effecting conservation policies by balancing private property rights against the public good. In Sweden, state intervention in private property rights and the role of public authorities in implementing conservation have been stronger.

Different cultural contexts have resulted in different societal attitudes towards conservation. The Irish experience of a bias against the old building stock due to perceptions and associations relating to the colonial past and the cultural emphasis on rural values and development rather than urban, is quite different from the Swedish. However, similarities exist in relation to associations of the old building stock with poverty in the past and as symbols of oppression by dominant classes. Also, international trends such as the modern movement in town planning have affected urban conservation in the two countries in similar ways.

Economic trends have similarly affected urban conservation, with up-swings in the economy leading to increased pressure on the old building stock. However, the extent to which the old building stock becomes threatened during economic boom is dependent

on other issues such as the existence of legislative measures and planning policies to protect the built heritage, urban renewal policies discriminating against conservation, cultural attitudes and societal norms at a particular time. In Dublin City, sudden economic boom and comprehensive urban renewal in the 1990s alongside a poorly developed framework for conservation exposed the built heritage to the threats of demolition and alteration. In Stockholm City, economic boom during the 1990s resulted in achievement of higher densities without demolition of historic buildings.

### 9.2.2. Legislative Protection of the Built Heritage

This section compares the policy and legislative frameworks for protection of the urban built heritage. The discussion on legislative provisions is divided into the following sub-themes: specific conservation legislation, legislation within the planning code, legislation within the environmental code and environmental impact statements.

#### *Specific Conservation Legislation*

##### *Ireland:*

Under the National Monuments Acts, 1930-1954, the state could declare a monument, meaning any artificial or partly artificial building, structure, or erection, a 'national monument'. With the 1987 amendment of the National Monuments Acts, the definition of monument was broadened to include protection of groups of buildings and structures. The same amendment also introduced the term historic monument, which automatically included all pre-1700 monuments and any monument, also dating from after 1700, associated with the commercial, cultural, economic, industrial, military, religious or social history of a place. Consequently, such monuments could be entered in the Register of Historic Monuments, which required owners to give two months' notice prior to any work to such a monument. This building category was more appropriate for protection in urban situations. However, as suggested above, this legislation never developed into a major state protection instrument for buildings in urban settings.

With regard to enforcement the National Monuments Acts provide the state with certain acquisition powers. Also, any person carrying out offences such as demolition or

alteration to a national monument may be fined or imprisoned up to twelve months, or both.

By 2002, there existed some 30 national monuments in ownership or guardianship in Dublin. Of these, few are located in Dublin's inner city and hardly any date from the post-1700 period. In addition, some sixteen structures had been served with preservation orders in Dublin. The current number of registered monuments in Dublin is 75. These are mainly monuments from the medieval or pre-medieval period, *e.g.* ring-forts, castles and ecclesiastical structures although a limited number of eighteenth and post-eighteenth century houses have been entered in the Register of Historic Monuments more recently.

The government has recently made proposals for amendments to the National Monuments Acts in relation to the architectural heritage, for example, that the automatic exclusion of buildings used for religious purposes should be ceased and that a new uniform Register of National Monuments be put into place. However, during the drafting process of new architectural conservation legislation within the planning code during the 1990s, it was decided that the National Monuments Acts would not be developed as the main instrument for protecting the post-medieval built heritage.

*Sweden:*

The Cultural Monuments Act affords strong protection of designated building monuments. However, it mainly concerns buildings of 'outstanding' interest for reasons of their cultural-historic value, which makes it limited in scope. In addition, issues of compensation and resources required for designation of building monuments have contributed to the limited application of this protection instrument.

The scope of protection of this legislation is comprehensive. Buildings, groups of buildings, parks, gardens as well as other structures can be designated a building monument. More mundane structures may also be protected if they form part of a settlement of outstanding cultural-historic interest. The Cultural Monuments Act provides automatic protection of all Church of Sweden churches built before 1940. Permission for any demolition, relocation and reconstruction, alteration, *etc.* is required from the County Administrative Board.

A building monument is not automatically protected in its entirety. Its protection is dependent on the protection order in which detailed directives are stipulated in relation to what an owner can or cannot do to a building. Protection orders may be framed against the will of the owner, although as a principle the best results are achieved when there is close co-operation and agreement between the state and the private property owner. A significant feature of the act is the right of any person to propose a designation of a building monument by application to the county administrative boards.

The act contains provisions for compensation. The owner of a property declared a building monument is entitled to state compensation if the protection order constitutes a hindrance to the demolition of a building and if the entailed damage is substantial in relation to the value of the property and if it considerably impedes the current use of the land within the property.

With regard to enforcement, if an owner of a designated building monument neglects the instructions of the protection order, the county administrative board may order the owner to take necessary measures within a reasonable time period. If the owner fails to comply, the county administrative board may itself carry out the works required at the owner's cost. If the owner has made alterations to a designated building monument the county administrative board may insist that the owner reverses the alteration if this is possible. The owner may also be fined for such actions. In addition, fines can be imposed on any person who demolishes, destroys or alters a building monument contrary to a protection order. This also applies to any violation against prohibition measures taken by the county administrative board during the process of a building monument designation.

Building monuments in state ownership are regulated under a specific ordinance with guiding principles established by the state for its own advice. The scope of protection, the criteria for a building monument designation and the provisions for protection orders are all similar to the ones under the Cultural Monuments Act. However, the question as to whether a state owned building should be declared a building monument may only be raised by the National Heritage Board, jointly with the State History Museums, which are also responsible for providing protection orders. The government then makes the final decision on the matter.



By 1999, there existed some 150 buildings monuments in Stockholm City with approximately another 70 buildings placed on a temporary 'waiting-list', with a notification duty on behalf of the owner in case of demolition or alteration. However, not all buildings considered of 'outstanding' interest have been designated as building monuments, partly due to an informal agreement having been made between the Local Authority and the County Administrative Board to protect the built heritage mainly through the planning code. This has been considered appropriate since there are lofty conservation ambitions and competent conservation expertise in Stockholm City. It is also considered that it is better to manage conservation at the local level if this works.

### *Legislation within the Planning Code*

#### *Ireland:*

In Ireland, the main legislative provisions on protection of the built heritage exist within the planning code, for which the responsibility lies at the local authority level. It is only recently that effective powers in relation to the built heritage protection within the planning code exist. Under the old regime local authorities had discretionary powers to include in their development plans objectives for the preservation of buildings of artistic, architectural or historical interest. There was also a lack of provisions for area-based protection and of enforcement powers in relation to protected buildings.

Under the new regime local authorities have a duty to protect the built heritage. Also, the state can exercise a certain influence by recommending structures for protection. However, the final decision on whether or what to conserve lies with the elected local council. Based on the Granada Convention of 1985, it includes mandatory protection of designated structures of architectural, historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural, scientific, technical or social interest. Once a building has been afforded protection status, the building as a whole must be protected and any works which might affect the character of the building require planning permission. Planning authorities are obliged to issue a declaration regarding a protected structure stating what type of works which would or would not materially affect the character of the structure. With the introduction of architectural conservation areas, provisions for area protection now exist. Legislative provisions for the protection of interiors of protected ecclesiastical buildings in use have also been introduced.

New enforcement measures have been introduced with a system of penalties, including fines and imprisonment, against owners who neglect protected structures. Powers for local authorities to assist owners to carry out works considered necessary in order to prevent structures from becoming endangered and to acquire protected structures if owners fail to maintain them adequately have also been introduced.

In 1990, the legal basis for compensation was changed. With regard to conservation, it stipulated that compensation would not be payable if a planning permission was refused on the basis of the demolition of a habitable house or a building of artistic, architectural or historical interest listed for preservation. Furthermore, compensation would not be payable where a condition is attached to any planning permission granted in respect to the preservation of buildings of artistic, architectural, or historical interest or to the preservation of plasterwork, staircases, woodwork or other features of such buildings.

*Sweden:*

Flexible legislation exists within the planning code under which local authorities are responsible for protecting the built heritage. In theory, at least, this legislation is implemented under supervision of the regional authorities.

Under the Planning and Building Act all buildings must be placed and designed in a way which respects the townscape or the landscape and the natural and cultural values of a site. Buildings of special historical, cultural-historic, environmental or artistic value, or buildings which form part of an area of such character must not be altered. Such buildings must also be maintained in a way which respects their special character. The most important instrument for local authority protection of buildings and sites is '*q-designation*' in the statutory detail plan. It can be applied to both new and existing buildings of special cultural-historic, *etc.*, value. The detail plan may contain specific directives on how alterations to a building should be carried out. It may also contain special 'protection directives' for buildings or sites to which the 3§12 clause may be applied. In addition, it may specify the prohibition of demolition of such buildings. For important areas or environments, a local authority may increase the requirements for planning permission through special directives in the detail plan, *e.g.* for control of maintenance of buildings regulated by the 3§12 clause. However, these instruments have not been used extensively due to the slow process of preparing detail plans and lack of financial resources. Detail plans are seldom produced strictly for the purpose of

protecting buildings. Furthermore, with regard to scope, buildings are to be protected in their entirety. However, interior alterations no longer require planning permission. Since 1997, public control of interior alterations made to buildings of special cultural-historic value is exercised through a process of notification, consultation and adoption of a monitoring plan.

Enforcement provisions exist for building activities which require planning permission. The Town Building Committee may impose a prohibition order against the continuation of any illegal building activities. Furthermore, fines may be imposed on offenders of such actions. Fines may also be imposed on a developer who fails to make a building notification and to appoint a quality officer, as required for certain interior changes. The Town Building Committee may itself carry out the works required at the owner's cost in cases of failure to comply.

An owner may claim compensation under the Planning and Building Act if a building demolition is prohibited in the detail plan or through special area provisions, or if it is refused on the basis of the 3§12 clause. An owner may also claim compensation if a building is regulated by protection directives in the detail plan, or by special area provisions.

#### *Legislation within the Environmental Code*

##### *Sweden:*

Legal protection instruments exist within the environmental code under which national and regional have shared responsibilities. With the introduction of the Environmental Code in 1999, provisions on areas with cultural-historic values previously regulated under the Natural Resource Act, 1987, now form part of an integrated approach to legal protection of the environment. However, the Environmental Code also introduced a new protection concept with relevance to the cultural environment, entitled 'cultural reserve' as a cultural equivalent to the environmental 'natural reserve' protection mechanism.

The 'areas of national interest' instrument is considered a useful protection instrument although mainly in indirect ways. Such areas must, as far as possible, be protected from any 'obvious damage' on natural and cultural values. The county administrative boards may interfere with local planning affairs if plans and developments contradict the

national interest. The 'national city park' instrument, which implies that this area must, as far as possible, be protected from any 'obvious damage' of natural and cultural values, is considered to be a somewhat stronger protection instrument compared to 'areas of national interest'. It is too soon to evaluate the effectiveness of the newly introduced 'cultural reserve' instrument. However, it has given county administrative boards and local authorities new powers to protect culturally significant landscapes.

Similar provisions for protection of the built heritage within the environmental code do not exist in Ireland.

### *Environmental Impact Statements*

#### *Ireland:*

The introduction of environmental impact assessment in the planning process under the European Communities (Environmental Impact Assessment) Regulations, 1989, provided new opportunities for evaluation of environmental impact of new development in urban and rural environments. However, the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) instrument has so far had little effect in relation to conservation of the built heritage in Dublin City. A number of reasons for this have been identified. Firstly, EIS are not carried out by independent expertise and are therefore often biased in favour of developers. Secondly, they have been considered to make planning applications more difficult to deal with for environmental organisations. Thirdly, they are thought to have been improperly transposed into Irish law in regard to urban settings since developments under two hectares do not require an EIS. Fourthly, there has been a perception that EIS do not relate to the architectural heritage. At the same time, it has been suggested that the instrument has been important in creating environmental awareness.

#### *Sweden:*

The obligation to provide an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for a proposed development has gradually been integrated into the Swedish planning system since 1987. As a result of the EES agreement, adaptation to the EU-directive on EIS imposed certain legal changes in 1994. However, it did not bring upon any change regarding content and examination procedures for EIS, since these were in conformance with the EU requirements. The Planning and Building Act stipulates that an EIS must be

provided for a proposed development in the detail plan, which implies changed use of land or buildings that 'significantly affects' the environment, the public health, or sustainable use of natural resources. The local authority is to judge whether a proposed development 'significantly affects' the environment and thereby requires an EIS. The National Heritage Board has published various guideline documents in order to clarify and promote the cultural-historic dimension of the EIS instrument. In Stockholm, there is a perception that environmental impact statements are less important in relation to protection of the built heritage compared to the natural environment. Firstly, there is a perception that this instrument involves overlap of the City Museum's role to provide the local authority with knowledge and information on cultural-historic values and that of the private consultants who carry out EIS. Secondly, EIS are considered to lack depth from a cultural-historic point of view and consultants often have little understanding of the cultural-historic context. However, it has been suggested that the EIS instrument is important in that it promotes cultural-historic issues at an early stage of the planning process.

### *Conclusion*

The Athens Charter (1931) recommended that problems of preservation of historic sites should be solved by legislation at national level for all countries. Later, the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975) called for member states of the Council of Europe to take legislative, administrative, financial and educational measures in order to achieve integrated conservation. The Amsterdam Declaration (1975) emphasised that the legislative and administrative measures required should be strengthened and made more effective in all countries. In Ireland, legislative protection remained weak for a long time, although amendments were made gradually to legislation within the planning code and the National Monuments Act.

Under the Granada Convention (1985) the contracting parties undertook to take statutory measures to protect the architectural heritage, including monuments, groups of buildings and sites and to prevent disfigurement, dilapidation or demolition of protected properties. Also, although any state could reserve the rights not to do so, it recommended that provisions were put in place permitting public authorities to require the owner of a protected property to carry out works, or to do so itself, and to provide powers of compulsory purchase of protected property. Both Ireland and Sweden signed the Granada Convention on its opening date. While Sweden ratified the convention in

1990, Ireland did not ratify the convention until 1997. Ireland reserved the right not to comply with provisions under Article 4 (paragraphs 2c and 2d) due to constitutional problems and problems of domestic law. These contained provisions permitting public authorities to require the owner of a protected property to carry out works to it, or to do so themselves if the owner fails to do so, and powers of compulsory purchase of protected property.

Measures required under the Granada Convention have been taken in both countries concerned. However, in Ireland, there was long delay before the government initiated the process of producing the sort of legislation which the Granada Convention required. It has been suggested this was due to reasons such as the weak economic disposition of Ireland until recently, general problems of enforcement, 'public service inertia', a general lack of commitment on behalf of the government and lack of a societal context where conservation was seen as a priority.

In Dublin City, lack of enforcement has been a major obstacle to urban conservation in the past. It remains to be seen whether newly introduced enforcement provisions within the planning code will be enforced. In Stockholm City, although a system for enforcement of conservation has long existed, legal enforcement provisions are seldom exercised. With regard to penalties, they are considered ineffective since all building in urban contexts involves large amounts of capital, which makes the cost of penalties insignificant overall. Immediate intervention by the county administrative board through prohibition of on-going building-work is considered a more forceful measure, mainly due to the high costs involved with interruption of planned building as well as compulsory restoration of previous structures. According to the Planning and Building Act, all built structures should be approached in a way which considers their character. However, it is difficult to exercise control over this. Nevertheless, the City Planning Administration has in a number of illegal planning cases imposed strict enforcement where it has been considered necessary in order to maintain respect for the planning permission system. Local authority supervision and quality control of works to cultural-historic buildings has proved a difficult task for the City Museum, mainly due to lack of resources. The Town Building Committee is responsible for supervision of building works. Under the current system, quality control officers act on behalf of the Town Building Committee to ensure that works comply with policy and regulations. However, there are cases where appointed conservation expertise have failed to report illegal

building to the Town Building Committee, and where a developer, after it has become known to the Town Building Committee, has had to reinstate alterations made to the building.

Compensation has been regarded as a problematic issue in both countries. In Sweden, a major obstacle with the Cultural Monuments Act is when a property owner is resistant to the idea of a building designation and claims compensation from the state. Under the Planning and Buildings Act, local authorities also have to compensate owners under certain circumstances, something which discourages them from taking full action to protect cultural-historic values. Under the Swedish system, the question of compensation arises before alteration or demolition of a building has been proposed, something which is considered as something negative. It is due to a reluctance of interfering with private property rights.

The issue of compensation has constituted a major hindrance to effective protection of the built heritage also in Ireland. The operation of the planning system under the 1963 Act became characterised by a constant awareness amongst planners that every refusal of planning permission could result in a compensation claim and this could only be avoided by the inclusion of non-compensatable reasons. Consequently, local authorities often gave permission for developments which contravened the objectives of the development when claims for compensation were received. However, the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1990, changed the legal basis for compensation. With regard to conservation, it stipulated that compensation would not be payable if a planning permission was refused on the basis of the demolition of a habitable house or a building of artistic, architectural or historical interest listed for preservation.

Conservation legislation in Sweden is based on a two-tier system, with different legislation operated by regional and local authorities. The evidence from Stockholm City suggests that there are both advantages and disadvantages of having two pieces of legislation implemented by the state through the regional planning authorities and the local authorities independently and simultaneously. The Cultural Monuments Act affords stronger protection to designated building monuments compared to the Planning and Building Act. It also provides the state with opportunities to protect buildings regarded of national importance. However, overlap of legal responsibilities between the

local and central levels can also be problematic. There is an opinion that the two pieces of legislation do not function well in combination. In addition, the Cultural Monuments Act also raises immediate questions of compensation, rendering it a difficult instrument to manage financially.

In Ireland, the state has played an insignificant role in protection of the urban built heritage. One disadvantage of a system in which the responsibility for legal protection of the built heritage lies solely with the local authority is that in local authorities where there is lack of political will to conserve, or lack of conservation expertise and resources, there are few opportunities for the state to enforce conservation as a national interest. It remains to be seen whether proposed amendments to the National Monuments Acts will be implemented and useful in this respect.

The Washington Charter (1987) stated that the conservation of historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at all levels. However, it also suggested that rigidity in approach should be avoided since individual cases may involve specific problems.

In Sweden, integration of conservation with planning has been achieved at both regional and local planning authority level. The need for cross-sector co-operation and the importance of an integrated approach to conservation policy at a national politics level, since cultural environment conservation is affected by developments within other political spheres besides that of culture, has also been recognised. Furthermore, with regard to avoidance of rigidity in approach, in Stockholm, the use of flexible protection instruments within the planning code has been considered the most appropriate.

In Ireland, the integration of conservation with planning has been sketchy and quite uneven between local authorities in the past. However, Dublin City has experienced a gradual integration process which intensified towards the end of the 1990s with the introduction of legislation, financial resources and conservation expertise. While progressive conservation legislation has been achieved within the planning code, there is need for further integration of built heritage protection into other political spheres and national policies, *e.g.* on transportation and agriculture.

The Amsterdam Declaration and the Granada Convention alike proclaim the importance of capable legislative regimes for protecting the built heritage. Well-developed



legislation is a prerequisite for proper conservation in a context where a high level of conservation awareness is lacking and during periods of immense pressures for redevelopment. In Dublin City, widespread urban dereliction and decay in the 1980s, in combination with a sudden economic boom in the 1990s, alongside a poorly developed legislative framework for conservation exposed the built heritage to the threat of demolition and alteration. Despite the growing awareness of the built heritage during these decades, especially during the 1990s, redevelopment has often been prioritised over conservation. However, the Swedish experience indicates that legislation is not always the answer, or at least, it is not the only answer. In Sweden, a comprehensive legal framework has been in place for longer than in Ireland, although certain legal aspects have been suggested as rather vague. Nevertheless, the Stockholm case study showed that despite certain deficiencies in the legislation, other areas such as public opinion and information, a clear division of responsibility and a competent conservation sector is equally and often more important. It may be concluded that unauthorised building activities will always exist no matter how strict the rules. At the same time, while proper legislation does not necessarily ensure conservation, unless pro-conservation attitudes are in place, it can be useful in changing the attitudinal climate.

During the 1990s, the developments in the Irish and Swedish legislative frameworks for protection of the built heritage were shaped by two contrary processes. In Ireland, the constitutional emphasis placed on property rights has been restricted by the principles of common good and social justice in order to achieve stronger legislation. Consequently, under the 1999 Planning Act, interiors of protected buildings are for the first time afforded automatic protection. The 1999 Planning Act also introduced provisions for the protection of interiors of places of public worship. Thus, for the first time, the state is interfering with the constitutional freedom of worship. Furthermore, stronger powers have been given to local authorities to enforce conservation of buildings. In Sweden, a process of decentralisation and strengthening of private property rights has led to a somewhat more relaxed legislative framework. This is reflected in the shift from the requirement of planning permission for interior changes to buildings protected through the planning code. The idea is to move towards a regime where the individual carries a greater responsibility while the role of the conservation sector is concerned mainly with provision of information and knowledge of how to achieve good conservation. However, as discussed in Chapter Seven, there are divergent opinions on the consequences of this change.

### 9.2.3. Financial Incentives for Conservation of the Built Heritage

This research explored the existence of financial incentives to promote conservation of the urban built heritage. The following discusses and compares financial incentives under the following headings: state conservation grants, tax incentives, state grants/loans, local authority conservation grants, local authority sponsorship through ownership of historic property and financial support from the European Union.

#### *State Conservation Grants*

##### *Ireland:*

State conservation grants were introduced in Ireland towards the end of the 1980s and were allocated by the National Heritage Council mainly for restoration and repair works to buildings undertaken by public organisations and private individuals. The new independent Heritage Council has since 1997 continued to allocate grants towards a wide range of community-based heritage projects, architectural grants towards restoration and repair works to buildings in public and private ownership and through its 'Buildings at Risks Grant Scheme', introduced in 1998.

The first comprehensive national conservation grants scheme came into operation in 1999. An annual grant-aid scheme was established for the carrying out of preservation and conservation works on protected structures. Under the scheme local authorities have been given the right to adopt their own criteria for how to prioritise grant applications. However, a standard criterion was established that grants should amount to 50 per cent of the cost of works up to a maximum of £10,000, and in exceptional circumstances, 75 per cent of the cost of works up to a maximum of £20,000. While the introduction of the scheme reflected the government's acceptance of its financial responsibilities for the maintenance and rehabilitation of protected structures, the level of funds allocated to the scheme was significantly smaller than what was initially proposed. Also, four years after its introduction the annual budget allocated for the grant scheme was reduced significantly.

##### *Sweden:*

In Sweden, the need for a grant system became highlighted during the European Architectural Heritage Year, 1975, and a state grants system was put in place shortly

after, administered by the National Heritage Board. With the introduction of the 1993 Ordinance on Grants for Cultural Environment Conservation, this grant-giving function was delegated to the county administrative boards in order to create efficiency, integration with other activities at local and regional level and to promote closer contact with the grants beneficiaries. The conservation grant system is based on the principle of 'cultural-historic extra costs'. The concept implies that conservation of cultural-historic buildings often involves extra costs of renovation, restoration, and alteration, which may lead to financial consequences such as 'reduced exploitation and other more obvious costs of conservation works. Swedish society has imposed a duty on behalf of owners of any building, whether of cultural-historic importance or not, to maintain and alter buildings with care. Therefore, there is an assumption that financial assistance may only be granted for those costs that are greater than normal due to the conservation of cultural-historic values. The term 'additional antiquarian costs' is used for a more precise definition of those conservation measures and requirements which may impose 'extra costs' on the owner compared to use of the simplest possible materials and methods.

Financial state support for conservation is differentiated according to the cultural-historic significance of a building. Grants may cover up to 90 per cent of the 'extra costs' for buildings for which the cultural-historic value corresponds to the requirements of a building monument designation under the Cultural Monuments Act, or to buildings within designated areas of national interest. A maximum of 50 per cent of the 'extra costs' may be granted for other buildings of cultural-historic importance. Certain conditions exist, for instance, assistance may only be granted if the future conservation of a building is guaranteed.

In Stockholm, where the system functions relatively well, the contemporary operation of conservation grants involves the distribution of small grants to a limited number of property owners. The use of smaller conservation grants allows for a fair system which does not in itself determine conservation. Any owner of a cultural-historical building may apply although the levels of funds are strictly limited. One advantage of conservation grants as a funding instrument over the use of tax-relief is that it creates opportunities for dialogue between owners and conservation officials, something which contributes positively in terms of transferring of knowledge and awareness. The priority given to special building categories, *e.g.* buildings in the Old Town has proved

successful in achieving quality conservation works. However, it has been suggested that the system could be improved by the attachment of stricter conditions. Also, due to lack of resources the County Administrative Board is often unable to undertake proper monitoring work. Although the existence of financial state support is an important means of achieving conservation, the grants are not always distributed where there is greatest need. Furthermore, many housing co-operatives in the more prestigious parts of the city are able to benefit financially from proper care of their already valuable property in other ways, *e.g.* through capital gains.

### *Tax Incentives*

#### *Ireland:*

With regard to tax incentives specifically designed to support conservation of the built heritage the most important development was the provisions introduced under the 1982 Finance Act. These were later consolidated under Section 482 of the Tax Consolidation Act, 1997, under which owners of a building or garden declared of significant scientific, historical, architectural or aesthetic interest could receive tax concessions. However, only a limited number of buildings in Dublin City have received a determination under the act.

However, tax incentives of relevance to conservation have also been provided under urban renewal schemes. The use of tax incentives in order to revitalise inner city areas through private sector-led redevelopment has formed an important part of urban renewal programmes since 1986. However, the incentives often had a negative impact on the built heritage as they tended to be geared towards new construction rather than the rehabilitation of older buildings. Under the urban renewal scheme put in place for Temple Bar, the tax incentives were designed to support building conservation by the provision of a 100 per cent tax allowance for refurbishment and a maximum of 50 per cent for construction of new buildings. Nevertheless, the conservation record under this scheme often proved poor due to the lack of conservation policy and quality standards, scarcity of conservation expertise, lack of proper building inventories, and the continued availability of tax allowances for developments replacing demolished buildings.

The use of tax incentives to support conservation of the built heritage has not been promoted by the state in Sweden.

*Sweden:*

Until 1993, a large proportion of the state financial support for housing with cultural-historic values was transferred through the housing finance system, operating on three levels. First, the state contributed to the refurbishment of cultural-historic residential property by assisting developers with grants towards payment of interest costs. Secondly, increased financial support was granted for refurbishment of residential property which involved 'additional antiquarian costs' due to special consideration for cultural-historic values. Thirdly, special loans free of interest and amortisation during the first five years for residential buildings were granted for those costs for which a property could not yield any interest after the refurbishment and required that protection directives were established for the building concerned. Such loans were of great significance for refurbishment work undertaken by *Stadsholmen AB* in the Old Town of Stockholm. This system was operated mainly after the wide-scale demolition of buildings in urban cores when extensive refurbishment programmes were carried out.

Until the mid-1970s, the building industry had been pre-occupied with new construction and traditional building skills were on the verge of being lost. At this stage, most property owners and developers had a negative perception of old buildings and legal and financial instruments were often used to justify new construction rather than conservation. Eventually, the need for refurbishment with care was recognised, and, in 1982, conditions for such terms of care were introduced in the directives for housing finance.

Due to deregulation of the state housing finance system, which may be placed in the context of economic slump and restructuring of the Swedish State during the 1990s, special loans and grants towards interest costs for refurbishment work have been replaced with a system of non-recurrent grants. The state considered that such a system would:

- contribute more positively to conservation compared to interest grants and special loans for which future conditions are more uncertain;
- be easier to calculate and administer;
- diminish the demand for capital gains and reduce some problems of bankruptcy on the part of the property owner;

- lead to a less radical approach to refurbishment through smaller and more cultural-historic considerate building interventions;
- imply the inclusion of other buildings than residential property.

The same type of system of state grants/loans towards housing refurbishment has not been applied in Ireland.

#### *Local Authority Conservation Grants*

##### *Ireland:*

In the absence of comprehensive national conservation grants for protected structures prior to 1999, Dublin Corporation introduced a system of grants towards maintenance of listed buildings in Dublin City allocated from its own budget. This scheme operated between 1979 and 1999. However, these grants ceased to exist with the introduction of the scheme of state grants for building conservation.

##### *Sweden:*

Local authority funding towards urban conservation in Stockholm City exists mainly through refurbishment and ownership of a significant number of cultural-historic buildings. Through the historic property management company *Stadsholmen AB* the local authority has over the years financially sponsored the refurbishment of a significant share of the cultural-historic building stock in Stockholm City.

#### *Local Authority Sponsorship through Ownership of Historic Property*

##### *Ireland:*

In Dublin City, there has been a failure by the local authority to use its own importantly located buildings as flagship refurbishment projects to the private sector in the past. However, the 1999 Dublin City Development Plan expressed a commitment to demonstrating best design and conservation practice through the use of pilot schemes, including the subdivision of a Georgian house, a 'Living over the Shop' scheme and old warehouse conversions. To date, No. 2 St. Andrew Street, No. 9 Merchant's Quay and Nos. 2 and 3 Capel Street have been refurbished as demonstration projects by Dublin City Council.

### *Sweden:*

In spite of comprehensive privatisation of local authority owned housing in Stockholm during the 1990s, and onwards, the benefits of collective control and management of cultural-historic buildings through *Stadsholmen AB* have been recognised as something important. The evolution and development of *Stadsholmen* is unique in Sweden and has proved a successful approach to conservation and management of cultural-historic property. However, it is not necessarily a model which can be applied in all places and at all times. Its first properties were acquired during a time when property values were relatively low. Furthermore, it expanded as the Stockholm Local Authority decided to transfer a significant number of cultural-historic buildings into its ownership after it came under local authority control. This occurred during a time when emphasis was placed on public ownership which stands in sharp contrast to developments during the 1990s. Thus, its development into a large local authority owned company depended on factors such as:

- ❑ successful achievement of pilot work undertaken by the voluntary sector;
- ❑ generous local-authority financial support towards refurbishment;
- ❑ a recognition by the local authority of the importance of its continuance through the company's transformation into a local authority ownership;
- ❑ expansion of the company through transferral of historic property owned by the local authority itself;
- ❑ an economic climate which enables acquisition of property for refurbishment;
- ❑ the willingness of the local authority not to privatise the property concerned.

### *Financial Support from the European Union*

#### *Ireland:*

During the 1990s, combined EU and government funding towards urban conservation projects initiated by local authorities or voluntary bodies comprised the most important financial public support towards conservation of the built heritage in Ireland. However, it has been suggested that relatively little funding has been allocated to conservation in a strict sense. Furthermore, the funding had been restricted to public orientated rather than private projects such as housing refurbishment. However, the integration of heritage funding into EU supported development programmes has from a conservation point of view involved the following problems:

- ❑ a confusion between heritage and tourism projects, the latter often being economically driven without defined heritage objectives;
- ❑ the fact that heritage conservation and economic development objectives can be contradictory;
- ❑ overlap in EU instruments and sources can lead to conflicting objectives of different measures, which may have opposing effects on heritage conservation;
- ❑ lack of monitoring mechanisms to evaluate and ensure effectiveness.

### *Sweden:*

In contrast to Ireland, EU funding towards cultural environments in Sweden has mainly concerned rural areas rather than urban. This should be considered in the light that Sweden has not experienced the same immediate need for regeneration of urban cores during the 1990s, as have Irish cities.

### *Conclusion*

The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975) recommended that governments of member states of the Council of Europe should take necessary financial steps in order to achieve integrated conservation policies. In addition, the Amsterdam Declaration (1975) stipulated that it is necessary for adequate financial assistance to be made available to local authorities and financial support and fiscal relief to private owners in order to aid the cost of restoration and maintenance of buildings and areas of architectural or historical interest. In Sweden, a state conservation grants system was introduced and placed on a statutory basis shortly after. In addition, special grants and loans were introduced for refurbishment of residential property with the scope of the housing finance system. In Ireland, the first step towards financial assistance towards built heritage conservation was introduced in form of tax incentives in 1982. In the absence of national grants for support towards refurbishment of protected buildings, the local authority for Dublin City distributed smaller grants to a limited number of owners of listed buildings allocated from its own budget. In contrast, local authority funding towards urban conservation in Stockholm City has existed mainly through refurbishment and ownership of a significant number of cultural-historic buildings. Such an approach has on the other hand, with the exception of a few recent cases, been more or less absent in Dublin City.

Furthermore, under the Granada Convention (1985) the contracting parties undertook to provide financial support by public authorities for maintaining and restoring the architectural heritage. Also the Washington Charter (1987) emphasised that



conservation of historic towns and historic urban areas should form an integral part of policies of economic and social development. The introduction of a national grant scheme towards protected structures designated by local authorities is a comparatively late phenomenon in Ireland. On the other hand, although limited in scope a system for tax incentives was put in place at relatively early stage, something which has never been undertaken in Sweden. Finally, in contrast to Sweden, EU funding constituted an important source of support towards the urban built heritage in Ireland during the 1990s.

#### 9.2.4. The Role of National, Regional and Local Authorities

This section discusses and compares the role of national, regional and local authorities, and other agencies concerned with protection of the built heritage. The roles of authorities at the national, regional and local levels are discussed together for each of the two countries.

##### *Ireland:*

In Ireland, the existence of an overall conservation, or 'heritage sector' has been skeletal in the past, although the 1990s witnessed the birth of new institutional arrangements. Management of the built heritage has in the past been characterised by a fragmented and special interest-orientated approach. There has been no clear division of responsibility between national and local authorities and not until the mid-1990s did the Irish State develop a defined leadership role in built heritage management. When this research was carried out the main responsibility for developing and establishing policy on the urban built heritage lay with the Department of Environment and Local Government and the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Island. The former is responsible for policy on the urban environment through the local government system, *e.g.* urban renewal, physical planning and environmental protection. The latter, which has now ceased to exist, was responsible for Dúchas, with its National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, a planning service and for management of national monuments in state care.

For a long time the Office of Public Works was the main government agency responsible for conservation through its powers under the National Monuments Acts. However, its involvement with the post-1700 built heritage in the past was minimal, something which affected urban conservation negatively. Not until 1991 did it establish

a national inventory for the architectural heritage. However, the establishment of the Heritage Council as an independent statutory semi-state heritage body and the forming of Dúchas as a special state organisation for heritage protection has equipped Ireland with leadership in conservation at the national level.

There is a lack of conservation planning at the regional level in Ireland. This should be placed in the absence of regional planning authorities, something that has resulted in lack of co-ordination of local authority planning.

Local authorities are the principal bodies responsible for conservation of the built heritage in Ireland. Local planning policy and implementation of urban conservation in Dublin City has gradually developed since the introduction of the planning act in 1963. Policy on conservation in the development plan, which has legal binding, has gradually developed along with legislative reform. There has been a shift from a flexible listing system of mainly building exteriors to the establishment of a record of protected structures with mandatory protection of buildings in their entirety. The use of conservation areas as a policy objective, and later the use of residential conservation zones, demonstrates attempts by the local authority to introduce area-based conservation planning prior to the recent introduction of legislative measures for this.

Development agencies and authorities are concerned mainly with regeneration of inner-city areas. However, they have developed an important role in that they can exert direct or indirect influence over the way in which the historic built environment is shaped in designated urban renewal areas, *e.g.* Temple Bar Properties Limited, Temple Bar Renewal Limited and Dublin Docklands Development Authority. Such agencies will be required to have a more conservation-orientated approach in the future, something which has been reflected in the latter.

The division of responsibility between public bodies concerned with conservation is characterised by uncertainties. The relationship between state and local authorities is still rather vague and it remains to be seen whether the levels of national funding allocated to the heritage sector towards the end of the 1990s will continue and increase in more austere economic climate, especially considering recent cutbacks.

*Sweden:*

In Sweden, national, regional and local authorities and agencies concerned with conservation of the built heritage have developed into a specialised 'heritage sector' or 'conservation sector'. Developments within the conservation sector have occurred in different phases. In the 1970s, the primary goal was to achieve integration of conservation with planning at local and regional levels and concern lay mainly with the physical dimension of the built heritage. In the mid-1980s, the scope of the conservation sector was broadened to include responsibilities for wider environmental issues. There was also recognition of the special relationship between cultural and environmental politics. With the introduction of legislation such as the Natural Resources Act and the Planning and Building Act, the role of the conservation sector was broadened towards guidance, monitoring and interaction with actors from other sectors. During the 1990s, the role and emphasis of the conservation sector became focused on generating knowledge and evaluation of the cultural heritage in order to influence processes taking place outside of the sector itself.

At national level, the Ministry of Culture carries the overall responsibility for developing conservation policy and legislation. The National Heritage Board operates as a public authority ensuring that the cultural heritage is considered in the different spheres of society. Lately, attempts have been made towards integration of environmental and cultural politics in order to facilitate a more integrated approach to conservation of the cultural heritage and to equip the cultural environment conservation sector with greater power. There has been somewhat of an overlap of the responsibilities between the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Culture, which sometimes results in confusion regarding their roles in cultural environment conservation. With two different political tracks, one cultural and one environmental, there is a risk that the cultural environment becomes isolated in between these two. At the same time, concern has also been raised that there is risk of integrating cultural with environmental politics in that the conservation or heritage sector may lose its cultural standpoint and become purely environmental.

The current division of responsibility was established in the mid-1970s when certain responsibilities of the National Heritage Board were transferred to the regional level. The county administrative boards were to be responsible for implementation of the Cultural Monuments Act and for allocating conservation grants, while the county

museums were to act as regional banks of conservation knowledge and expertise. This formed part of a decentralisation process where powers were shifted from the national to the regional level. The role of the county museums as banks of knowledge and expertise has reinforced conservation at the regional level, although their diminished role and resources during the 1990s have had negative implications for their pro-active conservation work.

While conservation management at the regional level is significant in Sweden, local authorities still carry the overall responsibility for managing the built heritage through implementation of legislation within the planning code. In Stockholm City, the existence of a well-established city museum is of great significance. The museum is an independent local authority body which has attained a clear role in conservation as a specialised bank of expertise and knowledge. It also undertakes conservation monitoring at the local level.

In Stockholm, co-operation between the County Museum and the County Administrative Board functions relatively well, despite the declining resources of the former. However, co-operation between the regional and local levels is more limited. The County Museum works mainly with other local authorities in the Stockholm region since the City Museum has assumed a role that overlaps with that of the County Museum. In addition, an embedded conflict between state and local authority governance partly explains the relatively low level of co-operation between the City Museum and the County Administrative Board. However, this is also due to the local authority having assumed full responsibility for conservation itself.

Local planning policy and implementation of urban conservation in Stockholm City is characterised by a flexible approach to planning. The master plan provides an important framework plan for the city and outlines general conservation objectives and a list of cultural-historic areas to be protected. Although mandatory for land use planning, it is not legally binding. The building by-law provides an important urban design instrument by outlining area-based objectives for conservation. The principal and only legally binding planning instrument for protection of buildings is q-designation and other directives established in the detail plan. These instruments used extensively. However, due to the role played by the City Museum and the use of other planning instruments, *e.g.* the Classification Map of Stockholm Inner City, this has not determined the success

of urban conservation in Stockholm. Considering that far from all buildings of cultural-historic value have been protected in detail plans, the classification map is detrimental to conservation in the planning process.

While it is clear that public bodies play an important role in built heritage conservation in Sweden, the evidence from Stockholm City revealed certain challenges. Budgetary cutbacks during the 1990s affected especially the City Museum and the County Museum with regard to their conservation responsibilities. Also, the roles of the county administrative board and the local authority often overlap due to unclear division of responsibility.

### *Conclusion*

The Amsterdam Declaration (1975) stipulated that architectural conservation must be considered not as a marginal issue but as a major objective of town and country planning. It also recognised that local authorities have a special responsibility for the protection of the architectural heritage since most planning decisions are made by these. Also, the Granada Convention (1985) emphasised the necessity for parties to involve public authorities, cultural institutions and associations, and the public in the decision-making process in relation to architectural heritage protection. Compared to the Irish, the Swedish State has taken a stronger leadership role in conservation through cultural politics, although this has not always had a significant effect at the local level. Also, the Swedish system demonstrates a clear role of regional planning authorities in conservation which stands in contrast to the Irish system.

#### 9.2.5. The Role of the Voluntary Sector

This section discusses and compares the role played by voluntary conservation bodies in promoting and effecting conservation of the built heritage.

##### *Ireland:*

Voluntary conservation bodies in Ireland have since the 1950s played a more crucial role compared to Sweden often having functioned as a substitute rather than a compliment to state activities in conservation. In Dublin City, voluntary conservation bodies have played a crucial role in conservation planning throughout the post-war period both in terms of providing building inventories, restoration and management of

historic property, monitoring planning applications and lobbying for legislative reform. Groups such as An Taisce, the Irish Georgian Society, Dublin Civic Group, Dublin Civic Trust, student groups, residents' associations, and action groups such as Lancefort have served as important vehicles for voluntary conservation action. While this research has concentrated on the activities on organised conservation groups, the influence of individual opinion raisers such as Frank McDonald, who has over many years influenced public opinion and raised conservation awareness as environmental correspondent through the media and the Irish Times, should not be underestimated.

The contemporary situation in Ireland is a phase of uncertainty. Developments in the legislative regime and the institutional arrangements indicate that national and local authorities are taking on conservation responsibilities to a degree which may lessen the burden of voluntary conservation bodies. At the same time, there is a tendency towards a professionalisation of voluntary bodies which have had to respond to more complex planning processes since the 1990s.

*Sweden:*

The experience of Stockholm City demonstrates how conservation activities developed from being predominantly voluntary to becoming a duty of the public sector at all levels. The role of voluntary bodies concerned with conservation diminished as national and local authorities accepted their responsibilities for conservation since the 1970s. Certain developments marked direct transferrals of responsibilities, which previously had been left to voluntary bodies. The St. Erik Society played an important role during the first half of the twentieth century through building inventorying and refurbishment work in the Old Town. The City Museum eventually took over much of that responsibility, which had previously depended on voluntary engagement. The gradual assembling of property by the St. Erik Society led to the foundation of *Stadsholmen AB*, which later came under local authority ownership and developed into a major historic property management company managing a significant number of cultural-historic buildings. Thus, the development of *Stadsholmen AB* demonstrates the progression of conservation activities in Stockholm City from being based on voluntary initiatives to becoming completely integrated with local authority affairs. During the 1960s and 1970s, the conservation protest movement played an important role in lobbying for a halt in the destruction of old buildings in Stockholm. The Battle for the Elms became a symbol for change in attitudes towards conservation and a system wherein voluntary

bodies played a limited role in conservation was achieved. Nevertheless, during the 1990s there was a shift towards greater reliance on the voluntary sector in conservation issues. The role of voluntary bodies and groups in conservation has become increasingly important during the 1990s, partly due to shrinking public sector resources and overall deregulation of the Swedish Welfare State.

### *Conclusion*

Compared to Sweden, voluntary conservation bodies have played and continue to play a far more significant role in urban conservation in Ireland, at least since the 1970s. However, certain parallels may be drawn between the experiences of the cities of Dublin and Stockholm. During the 1960s and 1970s, the cities experienced a similar type of protest movements as a reaction to inconsiderate urban renewal. The acquisition and restoration of buildings during the 1990s by the Dublin Civic Trust in order to demonstrate the significance of historic buildings is similar to the assembling and refurbishment of buildings by the St. Erik Society in the Old Town of Stockholm during the 1930s. However, although the Dublin Civic Trust has been successful in purchasing and restoring a limited number of buildings through the establishment of a revolving fund, escalating property prices during the second half of the 1990s seriously constrained its ability to act more widely.

#### 9.2.6. What is Worth Conserving?

##### *Ireland:*

The evidence from Dublin City shows that there has been a gradual shift from a concern mainly for the oldest elements of the built heritage, *e.g.* medieval buildings, spectacular landmark buildings of extraordinary architectural quality and isolated buildings, to more recent and modest architecture and to more area-based approaches. There has also been a shift away from protection of a small fraction of the Georgian core in financially viable areas of the city, especially in the south inner city, towards a somewhat broader spatial scope. In addition, there has been a shift away from viewing reproduction, which became widespread during the 1970s, as an acceptable alternative to conservation. However, the retention of facades alone continued throughout the 1990s. These shifts are not always clear-cut, although some generalisations may be drawn.

During the 1950s, the official view of what was worth conserving in Dublin City included a limited number of medieval buildings, great architectural set pieces and two Georgian squares in the south inner city: Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square. Preservation of these two squares was considered sufficient by the local authority. The state was mainly concerned with buildings from the pre-colonial past such as early Christian churches, monasteries and castles, maintained as national monuments. The Casino at Marino, an architectural masterpiece building from the Georgian period taken into guardianship by the state in 1932, was for a long time the only national monument representing the legacy of the eighteenth century. However, important state-owned Georgian set-piece buildings such as those designed by James Gandon were maintained by the OPW.

During the 1960s, appreciation for the Georgian built heritage deepened somewhat, reflected in the 1971 Dublin Development Plan, first published in draft form in 1967. Priority was given to the preservation of old churches, eighteenth-century Georgian landmark buildings and terraced buildings in the south side Georgian core. A few landmark buildings and high profile residential squares in the inner suburbs from the Victorian period were also listed for preservation. Although regarded as less worthy, consideration was also given to Georgian terraces in the north inner city as well as additional buildings in Victorian districts in the south inner suburbs. The modest approach to listing was a reflection of the value judgements, not only of the local authority, but also of voluntary conservation bodies. For example, the Irish Georgian Society was mainly concerned with important Georgian architecture. The listings were based on An Taisce's view of what to conserve in Dublin city. However, only those classified as of major architectural importance were listed, while An Taisce had also outlined several areas which required special consideration in terms of development control.

In the 1970s, while there was growing concern for Georgian buildings, there was also an increased degree of appreciation for buildings from the Victorian period. This was reflected in the 1980 Dublin City Development Plan, which contained a significantly increased number of listed landmark buildings from the nineteenth century. To some degree the local authority agenda for conservation also reflected recognition of some structures such as shop-fronts, important turn of the century buildings and certain industrial buildings. However, these were not afforded strong protection. The 1980



Development Plan also reflected recognition of the necessity for a more area-based approach to conservation through the introduction of conservation areas, outlined on the development plan map, although as a non-statutory concept.

The 1980s saw a general broadening in scope of buildings considered worthy of conservation. There was a growing appreciation for the Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian buildings, all regarded as colonial legacy. Furthermore, more emphasis was placed on protection of streetscapes. There was a call for listing of the best architecture representing all periods including modern. Critique by conservationists was also directed at the lack of preservation status for ordinary and more mundane buildings, or 'vernacular architecture'. For example, An Taisce began to promote the conservation of vernacular architecture. The organisation also highlighted lack of protection of Georgian buildings in the north inner city, and the need for a more holistic approach by including mews and interiors for protection. These considerations were to some degree manifested in the 1991 Dublin City Development Plan, reflecting a shift, albeit limited, towards concern for more recent architecture, industrial buildings, cottages, streetscapes and residential areas.

During the 1990s, there was a growing concern for industrial buildings. However, many warehouses had been lost in Dublin City before awareness began to arise in the 1980s. Part of the reason these buildings were neglected in the past was that they were located in areas where the middle classes lobbying for conservation had little interest. Towards the end of the 1990s a growing concern for Art Deco and modern buildings was also expressed and manifested in the 1999 Dublin City Development Plan. The awakened concern for Victorian and Edwardian buildings was reinforced by economic boom when they began to have a monetary value. The lack of emphasis placed on these buildings before was partly due to neglect and decay as a result of the middle-class flight from the inner suburbs where most of these buildings were located. However, many of these escaped demolition during the 1960s and 1970s since they were in areas where there was less redevelopment pressure.

Nevertheless, in spite of these shifts, a few points require attention in regard to scope of listings. The selection of buildings meriting protection status to date is not based on a comprehensive survey. Furthermore, the reason for many buildings having been included for listing in the past is the result of lobbying by individuals, residents'

associations and conservation bodies, often by submissions made by such groups during the review of the development plan. This has resulted in inconsistency in selection procedures. For example, areas with strong and informed residents' associations, especially in the south inner suburbs, often have greater numbers of protected structures. Furthermore, there exist building categories from older periods which are underrepresented in the current record of protected structures, *e.g.* vernacular buildings. These are often two-storey buildings, designed by builders rather than architects with the same building materials. Cottages are another underrepresented building category. Although there is no overall official strategy as to how to approach conservation of the modern built heritage in terms of selection procedures, individual buildings have received public attention and have been listed for protection in recent years.

#### *Sweden:*

The evidence from Stockholm shows similar shifts in conservation over time. For example, during the 1960s and 1970s, the most intense decades of urban renewal, few old buildings were regarded as worthy of conservation. Societal ideas and values of what is worth conserving have gradually progressed.

During the 1980s, there was a conceptual shift in cultural politics from 'cultural monument conservation' to 'cultural environment conservation' in order to mark a shift from an object orientated approach to a more structural 'environment' and 'area'-based approach. However, the legitimacy of this shift has been questioned. It has been suggested that there has been a shift within the conservation sector from preoccupation with individual monuments to concern for wider geographical settings.

In recent times there is a general consensus regarding conservation of buildings older than 50 years. Consequently, conservation debate has shifted towards buildings dating from the 1960 and after. The greatest challenge now concerns questions of how to approach conservation in the many large-scale housing areas built in the 1960s and 1970s. The awakened awareness for this heritage was partly triggered by attempts to improve this building stock visually through alteration since the 1980s.

#### *Conclusion*

To conclude, a range of international charters have addressed perspectives on what to conserve. For example, the Athens Charter (1931) stipulated that attention should be

given to the protection of areas surrounding historic sites. Similarly, the Venice Charter (1964) stressed that the sites of monuments must be given special care in order to safeguard their integrity. It also established a broad definition of ‘historic monument’ embracing the urban or rural setting in which it is found, including more modest works of the past. These principles have been established in the legislative regimes for both Ireland and Sweden.

The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975) emphasised that the architectural heritage consists not only of the most important monuments but also groups of lesser buildings and that the structure of historic centres is conducive to a harmonious social balance. The Amsterdam Declaration (1975) also stipulated that the architectural heritage constitutes not only individual buildings of exceptional quality but also of areas of towns of historic or cultural importance. Similarly, the Granada Convention (1985) stressed that the architectural heritage comprises both monuments, groups of buildings and sites. Furthermore, the Washington Charter (1987) stipulated that qualities contributing to the historic character of the town or urban area should be preserved, such as urban patterns defined by lots and streets, relationships between buildings and green and open spaces, the relationship between the urban area and its surrounding setting, and, the different function that an urban area has acquired over time. In Ireland, the introduction of conservation areas as a planning policy concept and the listing of streetscapes in the 1980s reflected somewhat of a shift towards area-based conservation. In Sweden, there was a conceptual shift during the 1980s from ‘cultural monument conservation’ to ‘cultural environment conservation’ in order to mark a shift from an object orientated approach to a more structural ‘environment’ and area-based approach.

The Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (2000) stressed the vulnerability and importance of conserving the vernacular built heritage. The underrepresentation of old vernacular buildings in Dublin’s record of protected structures demonstrates the need for such attention. In Stockholm, historic property management by *Stadshomen AB* has enabled conservation of the surviving old wooden cottages in the south inner city.

There is somewhat a difference in the newly awakened interest and approach to conservation of the modern built heritage in the two countries. Although the actual protection of modern buildings reflects a similar selection of a few architectural icon

buildings, *e.g.* the Carroll's building in Dublin and the five towers at *Sergels torg* in Stockholm, the degree to which debate has taken place differs. In Sweden, the state has responded to the intensity of conservation debate on modern buildings that arose during the 1990s by the launching of a government programme which stressed the importance of integrating cultural-historic and architectural values into an overall approach to social development issues and the built environment. However, it is estimated that 80 per cent of the building stock in Sweden has been built after the Second World War, which stands in sharp contrast to Ireland.

There is a political dimension to decisions of what to conserve in the urban environment. Conservation values also change over time. It is important that conservation debate is not limited to a discussion on individual buildings and areas but that it also forms part of a culturally and politically conscious approach to the built heritage. What a society chooses to conserve forms part of broader systems constituted of both political and cultural ideas and values. Conservation value judgements are subjective. Also, as suggested by Ashworth (1997) the heritage involves contemporary uses of the past as a commodity, drawn from interpretations of a selection of histories, memories and imaginations of the past of everything that has happened. In order to achieve some degree of objectivity in terms of decisions about what to conserve there is a need for a systematic approach to inventories embracing a broad range of aspects, including cultural and social considerations. As discussed in Chapter One, Knox (1987) argues that architecture can be seen as a product of culture and politics. This argument may also be valid for what gets conserved in the urban environment. Thus, conservation of the built heritage can be seen as being conditioned by the structure and dynamics of political power. What and where built structures get conserved, like the production of new architecture, is governed by a system of laws and codes (or lack of such) which reflect the interests of political powers and pressure groups. Furthermore, as suggested by Jacobs (1992), the past which is celebrated, or in other words considered worth conserving, is not given but refracted through the present and thus subject to differently empowered interests and ideologies.

In Sweden, a number of official reports issued by the Ministry of Culture have sought to address the political dimension of how and what should be conserved in the urban environment. However, in Ireland, while there have been significant improvements in the overall approach to conservation, especially in a legislative context, there is still a

need for a conservation agenda which takes into account the political aspects of what society decides to conserve. There is a need to take seriously the fact that, now that legislation and funding towards conservation has been released, a socially critical debate on the cultural-political dimension of conservation is important. Finally, value judgements must constantly be re-assessed since values shift over time.

### 9.3. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis explored differing approaches to urban conservation in the cities of Dublin and Stockholm. The research firstly explored how Ireland and Sweden differ in how they protect the built heritage and investigated the role of national, regional and local authorities as well as the voluntary sector. It explored how value judgements on what is considered worth conserving in urban environments have changed over time and evaluated the impact of the cultural and political contexts. It also examined the development of conservation policies as well as general attitudes to the built heritage in both countries and these findings were finally synthesised in a comparative analysis. The data was drawn from two main sources: an in-depth study of a broad spectrum of relevant documents from Irish, Swedish and international sources and in-depth interviews with key people in the Irish and Swedish conservation and heritage sectors.

The research provided empirical insights into conservation planning in the cities of Dublin and Stockholm. Temporally, this research supports the observation that national reactions to conservation, including conservation attitudes, policies and outcomes, follow a particular sequence from apathy to action in both Ireland and Sweden, although they develop at different paces in each. Referring to the model developed by Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) (see Chapter One), which suggests that countries experience various phases of national conservation reaction, Negussie (1996,70) concluded the following regarding the Irish experience:

‘Ireland has not yet reached the third step towards a framework for urban conservation. Ireland is still somewhere between phase one (inventorisation) and phase two (legislative protection). Thus, it is still a major task of local and national authorities to carry out inventorisation, and interests of private property still conflict with the protection of listed objects. A third step towards urban conservation involves conservation legislation, which implies the Government’s acceptance of financial responsibilities and rehabilitation of old buildings. However, there is new conservation legislation being developed, but this is a very slow process...’

Since these conclusions were drawn, progress has been made in the legislative regime as well as in the planning system. Ireland has recently experienced a shift into a third phase of conservation reaction. However, while the model of national reaction to conservation is useful in understanding developments in conservation and management of the built heritage, these do not always follow clear-cut phases. For example, in Ireland, a national inventory for the built heritage was not established until 1991, while legislative protection by listing of buildings through local planning was introduced in Dublin in the 1960s. In Sweden, the overall high levels of public awareness of conservation has allowed the conservation sector to focus on immaterial values and ideological discussions, *e.g.* underlying reasons and goals of conservation. Sweden has reached a mature stage of conservation in the contexts of cultural attitudes and policies. However, although consensus regarding conservation of the older built heritage has been achieved, new attitudes may in the future give rise to a less conservation minded regime. Younger generations not having experienced the bitter lessons of large-scale urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s may in the future aspire to create something new at the cost of conservation.

Comparatively, this research demonstrated that the differing cultural-political contexts of Ireland and Sweden have shaped the approach to and outcome of conservation in the two cities. However, as demonstrated above, both differences and similarities in approach and outcome have been identified.

Value judgements as to what buildings are worthy of conservation are not neutral or objective. Thus, it is important that the debate on conservation is not limited to a discussion on individual buildings and areas, but that it forms part of a culturally and politically conscious approach to the built heritage. The undertaking of systematic building inventories is crucial in the identification and re-evaluation of the built heritage. The state plays a key role in stimulating public debate on conservation. This is an area which requires improvement in the Irish context.

Furthermore, this research showed that effective management of the built heritage is dependent on a clear division of responsibility between national, regional and local authorities. Also, the existence of an effective legislative framework for urban conservation is crucial. However, other areas such as education and information are equally important. The evidence from Stockholm City suggests that flexible protection

within the planning code is preferable in systems where conservation expertise, resources and a pro-conservation climate exist. However, in local contexts where a conservation commitment is lacking, it is useful to have a two-tier legislative system, with legislation operated at both state and local authority levels, although it can lead to certain overlap. Voluntary conservation bodies play an important role in urban conservation. Although in recent decades they have had a more significant role in Ireland, there is evidence of growing reliance upon the third sector for urban conservation management in Sweden.

This research raised a number of questions. First, what are the implications of the new liberal economy in relation to urban conservation? The Swedish case study demonstrated tendencies towards structural and legislative change which has had implications for management of the built heritage.

Secondly, what is the future role of the voluntary sector in urban conservation? Voluntary conservation bodies play an important role in conservation. It is likely that they will continue to play an important role in Ireland and increasingly so in Sweden. However, they often lack resources to carry out their work properly. Some form of state-subsidy is needed. At the same time, it is important that these do not become too much a part of the establishment since it would undermine their force as independent actors.

Finally, to what extent is the new legislative framework for conservation in Ireland going to be successful in protecting the built heritage? This study was carried out during a time of major change and improvements in the legislative regime as well as institutional arrangements for built heritage conservation in Ireland. The full effect of these changes need yet to be evaluated.

Drawn from these questions, this research identified a number of areas which require further research. In the Irish context, there is a need for further research on the outcomes of recently introduced conservation and heritage policies in Irish cities. There is also a need for policy development in the area of conservation of the built heritage in Ireland. Research and debate on urban regeneration and conservation in Ireland has to date been limited to uniform approaches to conservation, focusing mainly on the physical aspects of conservation. There is need to expand the scope of earlier conservation studies by

exploring the built heritage as representing a selected past which is shaped by competing interests and values. Research on integrated area planning has so far focused on socio-economic aspects. Further in-depth and multi-dimensional studies of conservation and integrated area planning are therefore needed. In the Swedish context, there is need for further research on the implications of structural change on management and conservation of the built heritage, both in relation to changing ownership structures, the changing role of public authorities and relaxation in the legislative framework.



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# APPENDIX ONE

TENTATIVE MODEL FOR THE RESEARCH

Theoretical framework:

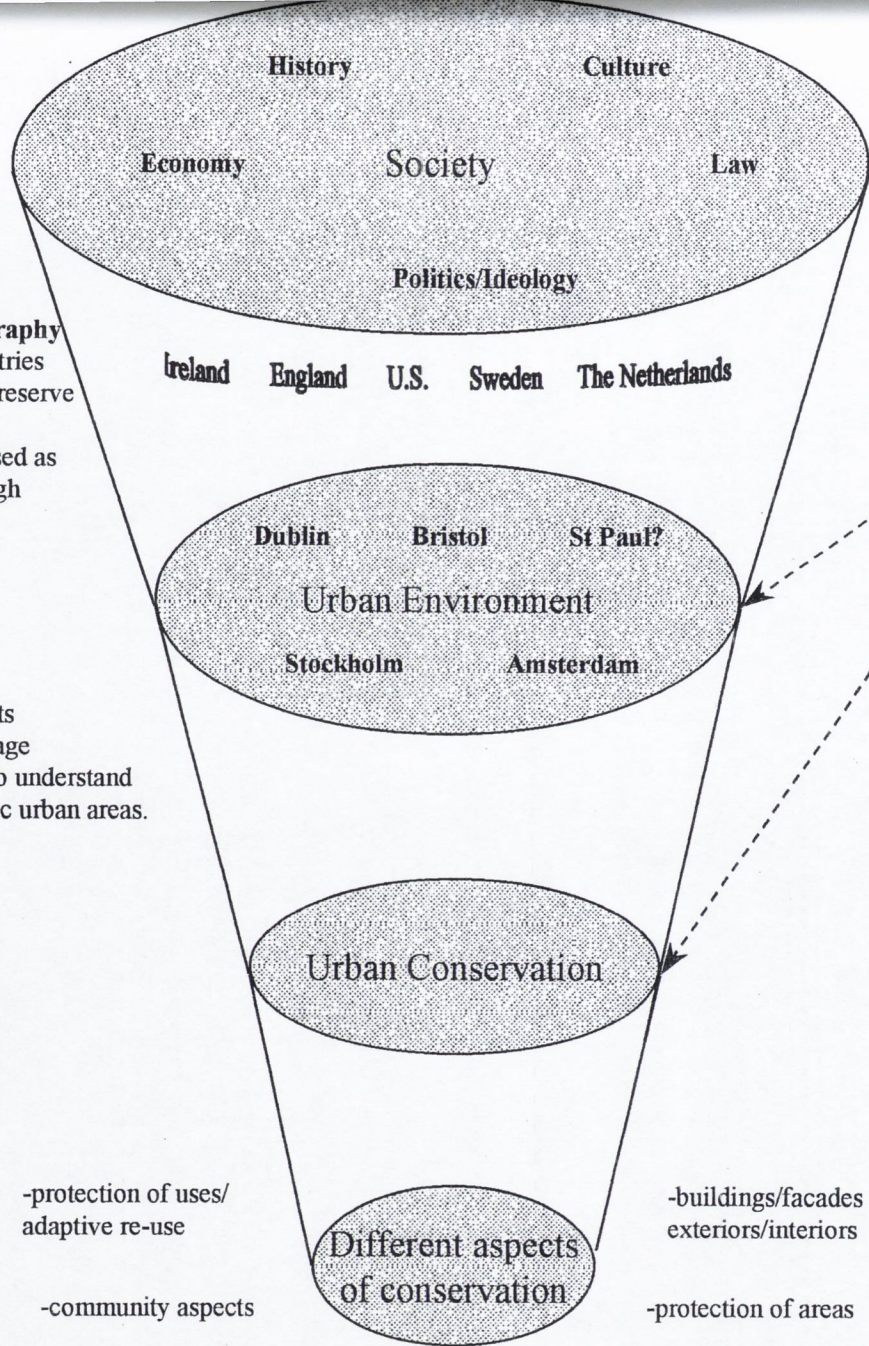
No general theory has been developed on urban conservation. Therefore, the theoretical framework will consist of a synthesis of different theories on the urban environment. Theories on **psychology and the urban environment** are useful in a discussion on different arguments for conservation. The approach of **cultural geography** is useful when exploring what different countries choose to preserve and how they choose to preserve the urban environment. Different **theoretical approaches to planning** may also be discussed as urban conservation is mainly managed through the process of planning.

Policy and Management:

In order to understand a country's approach to urban conservation, one must understand its policy and law on cultural/architectural heritage protection. Furthermore, it is of importance to understand how this heritage is being managed in specific urban areas.

Questions of interest:

- What have different countries considered worth conserving?
- In what ways are old buildings being adapted to new uses in different countries?
- In what ways have different countries responded to community conservation?
- What is the approach to new architecture in historic areas?



Planning operates within the framework of a particular society, shaped by a number of different factors. In order to understand the planning system of a country, one must also understand the structure and organisation of its society as planning takes place within a particular context.

Planning

Planning is used by society as a tool for shaping the urban environment. In order to fully understand how planning operates one must also be aware of different interpretations and theoretical approaches to planning.

Urban conservation is one aspect of the urban environment and one area within planning. As with planning, in order to understand different attitudes and approaches to conservation, one must also understand the wider context of a society.

Policy level:

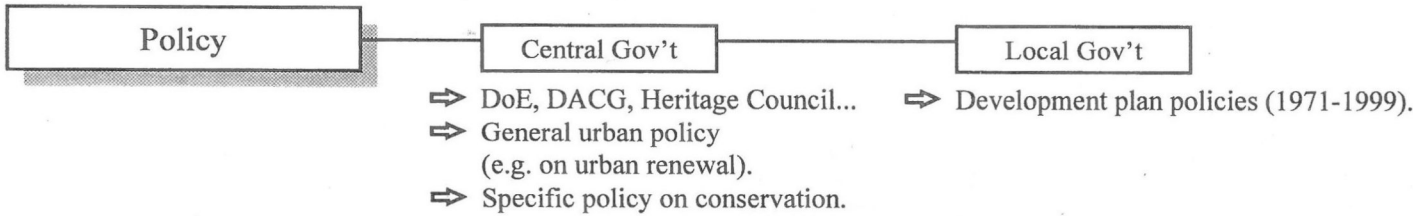
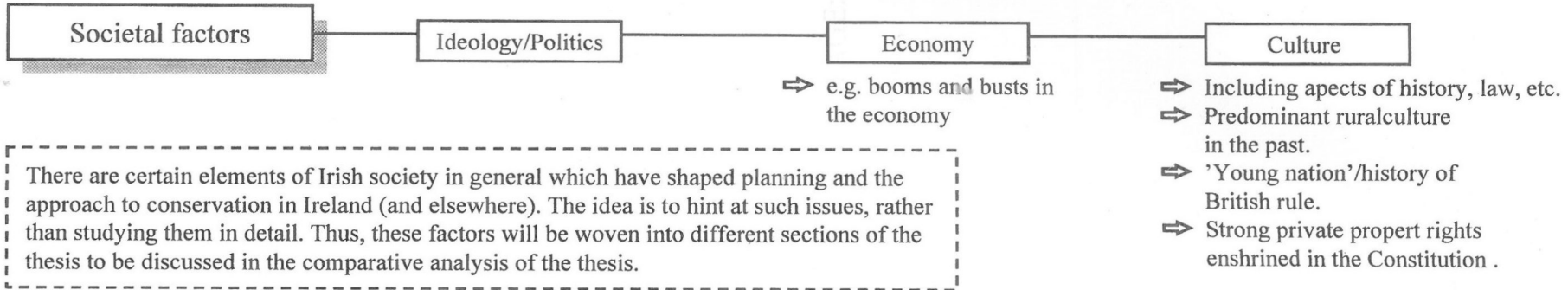
- financial aspects
- legal aspects
- administrative aspects
- education and information
- voluntary sector

-contemporary vs. pastiche architecture in historic areas

# APPENDIX TWO

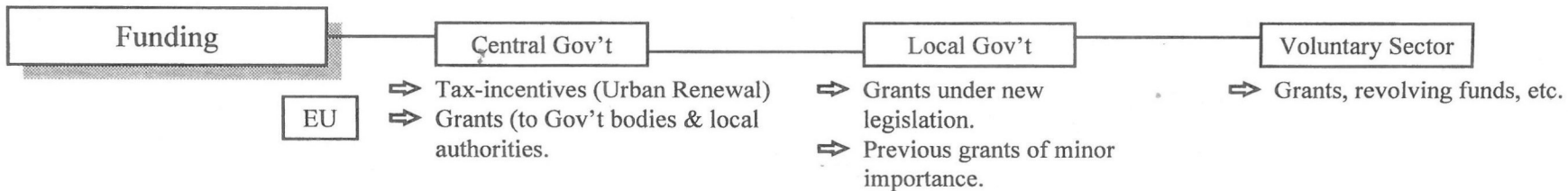
THEMATIC OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

# Urban Conservation in Ireland



**Legislation**

This section will give an introduction to the evolution of conservation legislation in Ireland. My previous thesis contains an overview of this. Discussions with person at DACG may give further insight into the development of the new legislation. Conservation experts may have viewpoints on possible loopholes of the newly introduced legislation. This section will also look at enforcement, and inventory of the built heritage.



**Planning**

Heritage management and implementation of conservation policy takes place mainly at the local level through planning. My previous study will form basis for this section.

**Voluntary Sector**

The role of the conservation movement will be identified. Its influence and importance will be analysed. My previous study illustrated conservationist opinions on legislation, planning and conservation in Temple Bar. One further interview has been undertaken for the pilot study. Further interviews with conservation groups may focus on renewal in Smithfield and possibly improvements in legislation and in the planning system.

# APPENDIX THREE

PROTECTION OF THE CULTURAL/ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE:  
BASIS FOR COMPARISON

PROTECTION OF THE CULTURAL/ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE  
- A BASIS FOR COMPARISON

**Administration:**

- national level
  - legislative function
  - policy function
  - advisory function
  - heritage management
  - inventory
- regional level
  - advisory function
  - heritage management
  - inventory
- local level
  - advisory function
  - heritage management
  - inventory

**Financial aspects:**

- grants
- tax-incentives
  - rates rebates
  - special loans (free of interest)
  - others
- grant-giving authority
  - central authority
  - regional authority
  - local authority

**Legal aspects:**

- legislation within the Planning Code
- complementary legislation (i.e. monuments acts, derelict sites act, housing acts, etc.)
- specific conservation legislation
  - protection of areas
  - protection of buildings in their entirety
    - protection of interiors
    - protection of uses
  - maintenance responsibilities

**Enforcement:**

- penalties
- fines
- expropriation by the State
- compulsory purchase orders by planning authorities
- appeals authority

**Inventory:**

- thematic inventories
- listing system
  - by grading
  - by systematic identification/classification (i.e. list 1, 2 , 3 )
- draft listing period
- buildings at risk register
- national criteria
- implementation of inventories
  - national level
  - regional level
  - local level
- monitoring of protected buildings

**Conservation assistance and expertise:**

- planning departments
  - conservation officer
  - city architect
- assistance to the public (owners, professions, industry, training agencies, etc.)
  - national level
  - regional level
  - local level

**Voluntary sector:**

- NGO's , (i.e. trusts, environmental organisations etc.)
- residents' associations
- local history societies

# APPENDIX FOUR

CODES FOR INTERVIEWEES FOR THE IRISH CASE STUDY



## CODES FOR INTERVIEWEES FOR THE IRISH CASES STUDY

<input type="checkbox"/> Planner 1, 2000	Date: 16 March, 5 April, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Planner, 2, 2000	Date: 12, 13 April, 15, 30 June, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservation Officer, 1999	Date: 2 June, 1999
<input type="checkbox"/> City Architect, 1999	Date: 25 May, 1999
<input type="checkbox"/> Policy Advisor 1, 2000	Date: 29 May, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Policy Advisor 2, 2000	Date: 14 April, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Local Politician, 2001	Date: 21 June, 2001
<input type="checkbox"/> National Body Representative 1, 2001	Date: 29 June, 2001
<input type="checkbox"/> National Body Representative 2, 2001	Date: 7 June, 2001
<input type="checkbox"/> National Body Representative 3, 2001	Date: 26 June, 2001
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservationist 1, 2000	Date: 3, 10, March 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservationist 2, 2000	Date: 15 April, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservationist 3, 2000	Date: 12, 13 April, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservationist 4, 2000	Date: 12 May, 2000
<input type="checkbox"/> Conservationist 5, 1999	Date: 22 June, 2000

# APPENDIX FIVE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE IRISH CASE STUDY

**Part 1: Central policy and legislation, local planning policy/implementation and the voluntary sector (including funding).**

**1950s:**

*Central Policy and Legislation:*

1. The National Monuments Acts (1930-1954) were the main legal instruments protecting built heritage structures *during the 1950s*.

- Did this piece of legislation have any direct impact on the urban built heritage in Dublin?
- If so, how?
- If not, why not?

2. The Tourist Traffic Act (1952) gave the Tourist Board (Bord Fáilte) some powers to protect historic buildings, sites, etc.

- Were these powers used during the 1950s onwards?
- If so, how?
- If not, why not?

3. Did any other elements of policy exist in relation to conservation of the built heritage during the 1950s (e.g. funding policy etc.)?

*Local Planning Policy: --*

*Voluntary sector:*

4. An Taisce was formed in 1948.

- Did the organisation have any direct or indirect influence on the built heritage in Dublin during the 1950s?
- If so, in what ways?

→ Was the organisation respected amongst policy makers, planners, city management, etc.?

- If not, why not?
- If so, to what extent?

5. Generally, how successful was the range of elements as they existed in the 1950s, including policy, legislation, and environmental lobbying (especially in relation to the degree of change in the built environment and to the actual threats towards the built heritage in Dublin during this period)?

**1960s:**

*Central Policy and Legislation:*

6. The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963 recognised the need for preservation of buildings of artistic, architectural or historical interest.

- Did this piece of legislation have any particular relevance for conservation issues during the 1960s before the first Development Plan for Dublin was adopted in 1971 (e.g. through the establishment of Conservation Orders and Special Amenity Area Orders)?

7. The Local Government (Sanitary Services) Act of 1964 gave powers to local authorities to serve Dangerous Buildings Notices and to provide owners with recommendations on necessary works in order to provide a building with safety.

- During the 1960s onwards, was this Act ever used to enforce building maintenance?
- If so, how and where was it applied (e.g. type of buildings, etc.)?
- If not, why not?

8. This Act has been used to justify demolition of old buildings.

- Was this the purpose of the Act, or was it interpreted in such a way as to legitimise the demolition of buildings?
- If so, why?
- Was it only used to permit demolition of buildings?

9. An Foras Forbartha (the National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research) was established in 1964.

- Did its work have any direct impact on the approach to urban conservation in Dublin?
- If so, how?
- If not, why not?

→ Why was the organisation abolished (in the late 1980s)?

10. Did any other elements of policy exist that affected the conservation of the built heritage (negatively or positively) during the 1960s (e.g. funding policy)?

- If not, would you describe the policy and legislative regime for the protection of the built heritage as similar to that in the 1950s?

#### *Local Planning Policy:*

11. Did the Draft development plan (although non statutory) have any impact on attitudes towards conservation during this decade?

#### *Voluntary sector:*

12. The Irish Georgian Society was formed in 1958.

- Did the organisation have any direct or indirect influence on the built heritage in Dublin during the 1960s?

13. To what extent were *voluntary conservation bodies* influential during this decade and did *student lobbying* have any significant impact on planners, management, professionals, developers, etc. during this decade?

14. To what extent did Prescribed Bodies such as the Office of Public Works, the Arts Council and Bord Fáilte promote and exercise influence on conservation issues in Dublin in the 1960s onwards?

- Did the role and influence of An Taisce change with its designation as a Prescribed body?
- Did planners take the views of prescribed bodies into consideration?
- If so, how?

→ Did consultation with these bodies at a planning level lead mainly to conflict, or was there co-operation with these bodies during the 1960s?

15. How successful was the range of elements as they existed in the 1960s, especially in relation to the degree of change in the built environment and to threats towards the built heritage in Dublin?

### 1970s:

#### *Central Policy and Legislation:*

16. The first major conservation policy outcome of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963 came into legal effect in 1971 (through the listing of historic buildings stated in the first Development Plan for Dublin).

→ What actual impact did this legislation have on the built heritage in Dublin during the 1970s? (Did it have any significant impact?)

→ If not, why not?

17. The 1963 Act stresses public participation.

→ To what extent has the public been able to participate and have influence on conservation issues in the planning process since the introduction of the Act (e.g. through objections to planning applications, appeals against decisions taken by the Planning Authority, and through representation during public display of the draft development plans)?

18. The Housing Act of 1969 established a certain degree of protection to residential historic buildings.

→ Was this piece of legislation significant in relation to conservation in Dublin during the 1970s onwards?

→ If so, to what extent?

→ If not, why not?

19. An Bord Pleanála was established as a result of the 1976 Planning Act.

→ How would you describe its overall approach to conservation related appeals in Dublin?

→ Do you see any major change in An Bord Pleanála's approach to conservation issues since its establishment onwards?

→ If not, why not?

→ If so, in what ways?

→ What are the reasons for such a change?

→ To what extent have conservation interests been protected through the system of third party appeals?

20. In 1976, the Planning Act was revised to include the listing of interiors.

→ Why were there not any listed interiors until 1991?

→ Why were so few interiors listed in the 1991 Development Plan (a survey of 600 interiors was undertaken by William Garner in the early 1980s)?

21. Regulations in 1976 introduced restrictions on the exempted developments as listed in the 1963 Act. This implied that listed buildings were excluded from such exemptions (with the exception of "painting of any previously painted part of a building or structure").

→ Did these regulations have a direct impact on the conservation of the built heritage in Dublin?

→ If so, to what extent?

→ If not, why not?

22. Did any other elements of policy exist that affected the conservation of the built heritage (negatively or positively) during the 1970s (e.g. funding policy)?

### *Local Planning Policy:*

23. The 1971 Development Plan reflects a rather vague approach to conservation policies, with a low number of listed buildings/structures (25 to be *secured* for preservation, 101 to be *considered* and 25 that *wished* to be preserved).

→ Why was the number of listings so low?

### *Voluntary Sector:*

24. Did the role and the perceptions of voluntary bodies change significantly during the 1970s?

25. The 1970s witnessed major environmental lobbying amongst the public causing political contention (e.g. Wood Quay).

→ To what extent did this raise conservation awareness amongst policy makers, planners, management, etc.?

→ Can you think of any other such important incidents?

26. Generally, how successful was the range of elements as they existed in the 1970s, including policy, legislation, and environmental lobbying (especially in relation to the degree of change in the built environment and to the actual threats towards the built heritage in Dublin during this period)?

## **1980s:**

### *Central Policy and Legislation:*

27. Amendment to the National Monuments Act in 1987 gave ministerial power to protection of monuments of commercial, cultural economic, industrial, military, religious or social significance and to take buildings into state care if an owner fails to protect a structure after the issuing of a preservation order.

→ Was the amendment ever applied in Dublin?

→ If so, to what extent?

→ If not, why not?

28. The 1986 Urban Renewal Act, combined with the Finance Act of the same year initiated a serious attempt towards private sector led urban regeneration through the designation of areas with special tax incentives towards refurbishment.

- How would you describe the success of this renewal package in terms of conservation against the background of the inherited legislative framework from earlier decades?
- To what extent did it work in favour of conservation?
- To what extent did it work against conservation?

→ Are there any specific areas in Dublin where this package of incentives has been more successful in terms of conservation from the 1980s onwards?

29. The Act also established the Custom House Docks Development Authority (later the Dublin Docklands Development Authority) as an independent Special Purpose Authority.

→ What impact has the Authority had on the built heritage in the area that it oversees (especially the industrial heritage)?

30. Ireland signed the Granada Convention in 1985, which stresses the importance of a strong legislative framework for conservation. However, it was not until 10 years later that the first major step towards such legislation was taken.

→ Can you identify any specific reasons for this delay?

31. Did any other elements of policy exist that affected the conservation of the built heritage (negatively or positively) during the 1980s (e.g. funding policy)?

#### *Local Planning Policy:*

32. The concept of conservation areas was introduced in the 1980 Development Plan (non-statutory) through the designation of areas with special consideration to the setting of historic buildings.

→ How did conservation areas add to the normal degree of control of development to achieve conservation?

33. The 1980 Development Plan reflects a more logical listing system although the number of listings was still relatively low. However, a substantial number of buildings had been demolished or damaged by the mid 1980s.

→ What were the main reasons for the continuing demolition of listed buildings?

34. In 1979, Dublin Corporation's grant scheme towards maintenance of listed buildings was introduced (initially £30,000 but later raised to £70,000).

→ What was the take up (of grants towards building maintenance) since 1979?

→ Was there any central support towards such grants?

→ If not, why not?

#### *Voluntary Sector:*

35. The 1986 Dublin Crisis Conference:

→ To what extent did this voluntary initiative affect policy makers, planners, city management etc.?

→ Did perceptions and the impact of voluntary conservation bodies and student campaigners (e.g. SADD) change significantly during the 1980s?

36. How successful was the range of elements as they existed in the 1980s, including policy, legislation, and environmental lobbying (especially in relation to the degree of change in the built environment and to the actual threats towards the built heritage in Dublin during this period)?

**1990s:**

*Central Policy and Legislation:*

37. The Derelict Sites Act of 1990 gives planning authorities powers to prevent sites from becoming derelict (through fines, compulsory purchase, etc.).

- Has this Act been used to enforce conservation of the built heritage?
- If so, are there any specific examples?
- If not, why not?
- Was it difficult to enforce this Act since Dublin Corporation itself owned much of the derelict land the city centre?

38. Building Control Act (1991)....

39. The 1990 Amendment to the Planning Act (Schedule 2) allows planning authorities to encourage reuse of redundant buildings without paying any compensation in case of a refusal to permit demolition.

- What impact did these provisions have on the conservation of the built heritage in Dublin?

40. The 1992 Amendment to the Planning Act increased fines (to a maximum of £1 M/£10 000 per day) for illegal damage to listed buildings.

- What impact did these provisions have on the conservation of listed buildings?

41. Environmental Impact Statements were introduced in the 1990s.

- To what extent have they contributed positively to conservation in the built environment?

42. The Temple Bar Area Renewal and Development Act (1991) established Temple Bar Properties Ltd as a semi-state development company and Temple Bar Renewal Ltd as an approval company to ensure the mixture of a certain range of activities.

- How would you describe their role and impact on conservation matters in Dublin during the 1990s?

43. The mid-1990s witnessed major concern of the negative impact of urban renewal in terms of its lack of sensitivity towards urban conservation and community issues. As a result, the Government launched a new urban renewal scheme in 1998 with guidelines on Integrated Area Planning.

- Has this form of planning had any significant impact on the approach to conservation so far?

- Has it had any impact on the integration of community aspirations and influence over conservation matters?



44. European/Government funding was available to local authorities towards conservation during the 1990s (e.g. through Sanitary Services Operational Programme between 1989-91; Operational Programme for Local Urban and Rural Development, 1994-1999).

→ To what extent was this funding utilised for conservation of the built heritage in Dublin?

45. Can you think of any other elements of policy exist that affected the conservation of the built heritage (negatively or positively) during the 1990s (e.g. funding policy)?

#### *Local Planning Policy:*

46. The 1991 Development Plan reflects a major increase in the number of listed buildings, with the introduction of a specific list for interiors. It also reflects more clear conservation objectives.

→ What were the reasons for this seemingly new awareness towards conservation?

47. The 1991 Plan designated zones of specific conservation interest similar to the 1980 Plan (e.g. through the designation of intact streets and terraces).

→ Did the outlining of such areas have any greater impact during the 1990s (e.g. was there a stricter enforcement of development control)?

→ If so, how?

→ Did they have any impact on listed buildings?

→ If not, why not?

#### *Voluntary Sector:*

48. The 1990s witnessed further voluntary conservation initiatives (e.g. the IGS Urban Conservation Conference in Dublin in 1995, and the first joint project between Dublin Corporation and voluntary conservation body (Historic Heart of Dublin).

→ To what extent did perceptions and the role of voluntary conservation bodies change during the 1990s?

49. Generally, how successful was the range of elements as they existed in the 1990s, including policy, legislation, and environmental lobbying (especially in relation to the degree of change in the built environment and to the actual threats towards the built heritage in Dublin during this period)?

51. Policies biased against conservation:

→ Can you think of any specific policies that have worked *against* conservation during these decades?

**Part 2: General questions on value in the urban historic environment, influential actors, professional attitudes and cultural/economic/political factors.**

1. From a temporal perspective, what has been considered worth conserving in the urban environment (planning level, other local authority sections, management, professionals)?  
(see appendix 1)

→ Why were these buildings/structures considered important/ vs. not important?

→ Recently introduced legislation includes archaeological, cultural, scientific and technical considerations of value. Thus, this legislation reflects a widened approach to conservation value in the urban built environment. Why were these elements not included in the conservation agenda before?

→ In what ways have interpretations and conceptions of urban conservation changed over time, e.g. amongst planners, management, policy makers, professional groups, developers, conservationists and the general public? (e.g. narrowly defined agenda vs. holistic approach)  
(see appendix 2)

2. From a temporal perspective, what actors/interests have determined what is worth conserving in the urban environment?

→ Why were these actors influential/not influential? Has the approach to conservation become 'more democratic' in recent years?

→ From a temporal perspective to what extent has there been conflict between local groups (communities, conservationists), public agencies, professional groups and developers as to what is worth conserving?

3. From the 1950s onwards, can you identify specific cultural ideas and values that have shaped the approach to urban conservation (e.g. ideas shaped by rural cultural heritage, private property rights, perceptions of colonial past, or any other general societal trends)?

→ In what ways have such societal/cultural trends been reflected in attitudes and approach towards the built heritage and how have these been transformed over time?

4. From a temporal perspective, in what ways has the economic climate affected the approach to urban conservation?

→ E.g. is there a difference in approach during the recent economic boom compared to earlier ones? If so, why?

→ To what extent do you see a link between economic development and destruction in Dublin (e.g. more destruction during 1960s and 70s than in the 1980s)?

→ Were there times when there was less destruction? If so, when?

5. From the 1950s onwards, in what ways have political and ideological issues shaped the approach to urban conservation?

### **Part 3: Future Implications.**

#### *Central Policy and Legislation:*

1. Local Government (Planning and Development) Act 1999 brings in a number of new elements (e.g. mandatory listing, protection of entire buildings, statutory support for conservation areas, measures of enforcement, powers for local authorities to acquire listed buildings).

(The Architectural Heritage (National Inventory) and Historic Monuments (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1999 places the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage on a statutory basis with systematic identification and national standards).

→ Is the new legislation the answer to successful conservation of Dublin's built heritage in the future?

→ Are there any loopwholes in the new legislation?

2. A new grant-scheme has also been introduced by Central Government.

→ To what extent does this reflect a new commitment towards conservation?

3. Do you see any specific needs for any other policy or legislation as regards conservation of the built heritage?

#### *Local Planning Policy:*

4. Policies in the 1999 Development Plan reflect a greater commitment to conservation (e.g. through greater use of conservation expertise, and aspirations to encourage rehabilitation and renovation of unlisted older buildings).

→ What is further required at a planning and management level as concerns the conservation of Dublin's built heritage?

*or:*

→ To what extent is there a need for further integration of conservation with urban planning?

#### *Voluntary Sector:*

5. Do you anticipate any major changes in terms of role, authority and perceptions of voluntary conservation groups in the future?

# APPENDIX SIX

CODES FOR INTERVIEWEES FOR THE SWEDISH CASE STUDY

## CODES FOR INTERVIEWEES FOR THE SWEDISH CASES STUDY

- Chief National Conservation Officer (NCO, 2000)      Date: 22 November 2000.  
Former Director (*Överantikvarie*) at the  
Swedish National Heritage Board
  
- Chief County Museum Officer (CMO, 2000)      Date: 25 October 2000.  
Director at the Stockholm County Museum
  
- Chief County Conservation Officer (CCO, 2000)      Date: 22 November 2000.  
Director (*Länsantikvarie*) at the Heritage Division of the  
Stockholm County Administrative Board
  
- Chief County Planner (CP, 2000)      Date: 23 November 2000.  
Director at the Planning Division of the  
Stockholm County Administrative Board
  
- Local Planner (LP, 2001)      Date: 15 February 2001.  
Planning Secretary at the  
Stockholm City Planning Administration
  
- Chief Local Conservation Officer (LCO, 2000)      Date: 27 October 2000.  
Director at the Building-Historical Division of  
the Stockholm City Museum
  
- Voluntary Conservation Body Representatives
  - Conservationist 1, 2001      Date: 16 February 2001.  
Samfundet St. Erik
  
  - Conservationist 2, 2000      Date: 17 October 2000.  
Stockholm Local Heritage Federation

# APPENDIX SEVEN

LIST OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS IN DUBLIN

## Monuments in Ownership and Guardianship

Dublin	Church, Tower	Baldongan	310	O	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	Church Tower	Balrothery	590	O	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	Castle	Dunsoghly	230	O	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	St. Mary's Church	Howth	36	O	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	Round Tower	Lusk	157	G	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	Castle	Swords	340	G	Fingal Co Co
Dublin	Gallery Grave	Ballyedomonduff	437	G	
Dublin	Dolmen	Brennanstown	291	G	
Dublin	Round Tower, Church, Cross	Clondalkin	32	O	
Dublin	Tully's Castle	Clondalkin	285	O	
Dublin	Archbold's Castle	Dalkey	444	G	
Dublin	Early Christian Church	Dalkey Island	33	O	
Dublin	<b>St. Audoen's Church</b>	Dublin City	34	O	
Dublin	<b>St. Mary's Abbey (Cist.)</b>	Dublin City	401	O	
Dublin	Standing Stone	Glencullen	276	O	
Dublin	Grange Abbey	Grange	605	G	
Dublin	Cross	Kilgobbin	226	O	
Dublin	Church	Kill of the Grange	207	O	
Dublin	Well & Bullaun Stone	Kill of the Grange	587	O	
Dublin	Church	Killiney (Loughlinstown)	35	O	
Dublin	Kilmainham Gaol	Kilmainham		O	
Dublin	Wedge-Shaped Gallery-Grave	Kilmashogue	493	O	

Dublin	Dolmen	Kiltiernan Domain	343	G	
Dublin	Crosses/Cairn	Laughanstown	216	O	
Dublin	Tully Church	Laughanstown	225	O	
Dublin	Casino, Marino	Marino	302	O	
Dublin	Monkstown Castle	Monkstown	494	O	
Dublin	Rathfarnham Castle	Rathfarnham	628	O	
Dublin	Church, Round Tower, Cross	Rathmichael	162	O	
Dublin	Cairn	Tibradden	464	G	

# APPENDIX EIGHT

LIST OF MONUMENTS COVERED BY PRESERVATION ORDERS IN  
IRELAND



National Monuments are monuments in Ownership, Guardianship and covered by Preservation Orders.

**Preservation Orders**

153	2 Chambered Cairns & 2 Barrows at Knockananiller Summit	Slievethoul	24	15/10/40
154	Cairn passage grave and barrow at Knockandinny and Knockananiller	Crockaunadreenagh	24	15/10/40
157	Giants Grave (chamber in cairn) & Stone circle	Ballybetagh	26	15/10/40
1/66	Remains of Church	St. Patrick's Island	5:8	06/09/66
22/76	Passage Grave Cemetery	Bremore	2:9	19/07/76
36/76	Leadmine flue & chimney	Ballycorns		27/08/76
6/77	Site of Brazil House	Brazil	11:11	08/03/77
13/77	Promontory Fort	Drumanagh		13:04/77
3/81	Abbey	Grange		19/05/81
8/83	Motte	Brazil	11:11	16/06/83
5/84	Wreck of the Paddle Steamer "Queen Victoria"	Baily Howth		21/06/84
2/86	Rathfarnham	Rathfarnham	22:7	27/08/86

# APPENDIX NINE

AN TAISCE VIEW OF DUBLIN: AMENITY STUDY OF DUBLIN AND  
DUN LAOGHAIRE (AN TAISCE, 1967)

# AN TAISCE. VIEW OF DUBLIN.



Areas worthy of preservation.



Areas requiring maximum care in development, subject to specific and detailed control.



Areas requiring development to be sympathetic to their special character or scenery.

