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The Politics of Memory in Berlin and Stockholm: A Policy Cycle Analysis of Debates on the Preservation, Demolition, and Reconstruction of Historic Buildings, 1945–2024

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Abstract

This article compares urban planning affecting historic buildings in Berlin and Stockholm. It examines some cases of preservation, demolition and reconstruction of historic buildings: the Hansa Quarter and the Palace of the Republic in Berlin, and Sergels torg with the House of Culture and Vällingby in Stockholm. Today, while Berlin has opted for reconstruction in several cases, Stockholm is preserving the status quo achieved by the large-scale demolitions during the 1950s and 1960s. Different historic approaches in urban planning are subsumed under the categories "architecture as wellbeing" and "the automotive city." The policy cycle serves as a framework for a qualitative content analysis of debates on urban planning in both city councils. The article tests the hypothesis whether war destructions present in Berlin, but not in Stockholm, can explain the lack of plans for reconstruction of historic buildings in Stockholm. The examination of historic developments and current legislation on German and Swedish cultural policy and the case studies of the above-named buildings yield the result that the hypothesis is proven wrong. Instead, possible explanations for the lack of will to reconstruct in Stockholm are Swedish legal tradition since the 19th century, which provides little and weak protection to historic buildings, and the "people's home" ideology shaping the Swedish self-perception as a modern nation. International legislation on monument protection such as the ICOMOS-ICCROM Guidance on Post-Disaster and Post-Conflict Recovery and Reconstruction (2023), which becomes ever more encompassing, will perhaps introduce a future policy change.

Keywords: cultural heritage; heritage policy; urban planning; policy cycle; Berlin; Stockholm

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1. Introduction

The European Year of Heritage celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2025. This makes the question of what part heritage has to play—or can play—in European cities relevant again. While English Romanticists in the 18th century appreciated picturesque ruins [1], German city governments after the Second World War preferred new and intact buildings after many years of seeing bombarded cities [2]. In light of this development, in this article, we are searching for different motivations for preservation, demolition or reconstruction of pre-modern buildings in Berlin and Stockholm. The reason for choosing Berlin and Stockholm is that many historicist multi-story houses were built in both cities, and this style was later perceived as outdated; both cities have also grown out of several smaller units (the districts for Berlin and the islands *malmarna* for Stockholm). The massive bombardments

of Berlin during the Second World War stand in contrast to Stockholm, which was left untouched by the war [3,4].

A section on the development of national and regional German [5–11] and Swedish legislation on monument protection and culture policy [12–20] is included to show the extent to which the city governments' actions conform to, are explained by, or contradict them. We chose some examples from the two cities in the "demolition" and "reconstruction" categories: For Berlin, the case studies are the Hansa Quarter (new building) and the Palace of the Republic (demolition). For Stockholm, the demolition of Nedre Norrmalm/Klara[1], which resulted in Sergels torg (new building) and Vällingby (new building), forms the case study. The choice was made with the intention of including both housing quarters and representative government buildings to show the different concepts of the relationships between the city center and the periphery, and the functions of living, working, and leisure.

While there are several cases of reconstruction in Berlin (the Castle, the Alte Kommandantur, the German and the French Cathedrals on Gendarmenmarkt, the Crown Prince Palace, the Nikolai Church, the Princess Palace, the Schauspielhaus theater, St. Hedwig's Cathedral, and the Volksbühne theatre [21]), in Stockholm, not a single proposal for a reconstruction has been introduced to the City Council (e-mail from Stadsarkivet to MGP, 15 November 2024[2]). There is only a blueprint for the reconstruction of Klara, which, however, has not been presented to any politician (personal communication from its architect Linnéa Olmarken to MGP, 31 January 2025[3]).

2. Materials and Methods

This article has the following structure: The method for data collection is qualitative documentary content analysis. The comparative small-n case study relies on a thorough description of the empirical material. For Berlin, the City Council (German: *Abgeordnetenhaus*), the Senate, the first Magistrate until 1949, the Magistrate of East Berlin, and the district offices are used. For Stockholm, the City Council (Swedish: *Stadsfullmäktige*) and its committees are used. Apart from government bodies, interventions from actors in civil society described in the secondary literature are also used. The primary empirical data come from the following sources: For Stockholm, the City Archive (Swedish: *Stadsarkivet*) offers on its homepage[4] digitalized documents of City Council sessions and its committees from 1863 to 2009. For Berlin, the original documents were accessed at the Central State Archive (German: *Landesarchiv*) in Berlin-Tegel. Although the decision to build the Palace of the Republic was taken by the Central Committee of the Politburo, we analyze the minutes of the City Council, because we expect to find more debates related to urban planning. The original German and Swedish texts were translated into English by the authors.

A quantitative approach is impossible because there is no comprehensive list of the demolished buildings in Stockholm (e-mail from Stadsarkivet to MGP, 15 November 2024[5]). Therefore, qualitative content analysis was chosen. Qualitative content analysis is a method compatible with any theoretical approach. The process of data codification is interpretative and hermeneutic. It has the advantage that the researcher's knowledge can directly be translated into analytical categories. It can answer descriptive research questions, discover correlations, formulate hypotheses and theories, and test theories.

Categories differ in their degree of complexity, level of abstraction, and the period during which they emerge. The literature does not define clearly the terms "category," "code," and "concept." A category system can be linear if all categories are at the same level, hierarchical if it contains superior and inferior categories, or network if some categories are linked to others in more than one way. The main categories should be equally abstract. Categories should be connected to the research question, be mutually exclusive, and cover all interesting aspects of the research question.

Categories can be developed in a deductive way, i.e., before having examined the empirical material and based on a theory, a hypothesis, or prior knowledge; or in an inductive way, i.e., by examining the empirical material. A definition of a category contains at the least its name and a description of its content [22].

In this article, the categories have been developed in a deductive way based on prior knowledge. The two categories are "the automotive city" and "architecture as wellbeing." They are on the same level of abstraction and linearly linked to each other. The examination of a small number of buildings from different periods in Berlin and Stockholm should show the ideal images (an implicit image guiding policymaking) that have shaped urban planning and monument protection since 1945. The history of urban planning in 20th-century Europe suggests that "the automotive city" and "architecture as wellbeing" may have been influential for many decades. The term "the automotive city" is defined as an urban area designed for accommodating the needs of car traffic. It was first realized in large American cities in the 1920s and then imported to Europe. The opposite concept is the "walkable city/car-free city/human-centered city." It was predominant until the development of the automotive city and rediscovered during the oil crisis of the 1970s [23]. However, the authors decided instead to choose the more encompassing term of "architecture as well-being," which has the broader scope of architecture and urban planning designed with psychological and physical wellbeing of its inhabitants in mind. This term refers to design aspects of buildings, space planning, and use of materials; such reflections appear in the works of early modern architects like Le Corbusier, Aalto, and Howard [24].

Regardless, the analytical framework will be usable for assessing similar developments in other European cities, which have seen comparable developments: large economic growth in the late 19th century and construction of many historicist and Art Nouveau multi-story buildings; war destructions and a modernist reconstruction after the war; massive protests against demolitions from the 1970s on; and a revalorization of the historic city center from this period on.

The data collected through qualitative content analysis are then interpreted using the policy cycle as an analytical framework. First, the historical development and the current state of cultural policy and monument protection in Germany and Sweden are codified into the two categories. Next, the case studies of the chosen buildings and areas in Berlin and Stockholm are codified into the two categories and then structured according to the different stages of the policy cycle. This analysis shows the extent to which the two categories are applicable, or whether a combination of some elements of both categories or the development of new categories is necessary to explain the case studies. So, the two categories are incorporated into the policy cycle.

The logic of comparison follows the most similar systems design [25], whereby cases are matched on all relevant dimensions except one, which is hypothesized to account for the difference central to the research question. In this case, the different dimension is Berlin's demolition by the bombardments during World War II.

This is the research question: given that most other factors are equal in Berlin and Stockholm, what is the explanation for a lack of reconstruction of historic buildings in Stockholm?

Formulated on the basis of Table 1 (see end of this chapter), the hypothesis can be stated as follows: The single differing precondition—the wartime destruction of Berlin (independent variable)—helps explain why city planners in Berlin perceived their task primarily as one of "reconstruction" rather than as "urban planning," whereas planners in Stockholm (dependent variable) did not. This distinction also shaped their approach to historic buildings.

Table 1. Similar conditions concerning Berlin and Stockholm.

Feature	Berlin	Stockholm
Large city growth in the late 19th century	Yes	Yes
A large number of historicist and Art Nouveau multi-story houses	Yes	Yes
City outgrown of small units	Yes, the city districts	Yes, the malmarna islands
Many years of Social Democratic or Socialist city government	Yes	Yes
Bombardments during Second World War	Yes	No

This is the research question: given that most other factors are equal in Berlin and Stockholm, what is the explanation for a lack of reconstruction of historic buildings in Stockholm?

The analytical framework developed in Table 2 is used to test this hypothesis.

Table 2. The analytical framework of this article.

	Qualitative Content Analysis		Policy Cycle
	Architecture as Wellbeing	Automotive City	
Historical development of cultural policy and monument protection in Germany and Sweden	The gray cells will be defined following the analysis.		
Current state of cultural policy and monument protection in Germany and Sweden			
Case studies in Berlin and Stockholm			The case studies will be structured according to the following stages: – Agenda setting; – Policy formulation; – Policy implementation; – Policy evaluation and termination.

The motivation for the methodological choices follows: The policy cycle was chosen because it is relatively simple and clear and able to show circularity, i.e., loop and backlash effects of terminated policies to new policy formulations. Alternative methods could have been (1) process tracing [26], which instead traces step-by-step observable proofs within a single case rather than assuming a smooth transition from policy formulation to implementation (it also is more difficult to use for a comparative case study); or (2) the advocacy coalition framework approach, which focuses on how competing networks of actors interact with policy subsystems [27]. The latter was discarded because the city governments mostly act as top-down actors in our case studies; thus, the top-down policy cycle approach is likely to have more explanative value. The same reason applies to why the authors did not choose a multi-criteria evaluation and systems dynamics approach, which continually tests intervention impacts against conflicting stakeholder values [28].

An advantage of the policy cycle is that its linearity simplifies overly complex and multidimensional political processes. For analytical purposes, it can be useful to break down the policy-making process into separate stages. It enables the analysis of each stage either alone or together with the other stages. It also permits identifying the contribution of different actors, such as interest groups from civil society and government bodies, at different stages in the policy-making process [29]. The model enables researchers to focus

on one or two of the stages or to examine how a particular project flows between two of the stages [30].

On the other hand, the policy cycle model is criticized for its fragmented approach to explanatory factors and its unrealistic assumption about the straight-forward and one-dimensional progression from agenda-setting to policy termination. Moreover, decision-making often is an irrational, ambiguous and unpredictable process and not a rational agenda developed by actors to achieve a single goal. The policy cycle model is an abstraction. Another criticism is that the cycle only has descriptive value and does not clearly show causal mechanisms, instead suggesting a linear sequentiality of events that does not exist [29]. Because of this, it has difficulty producing testable hypotheses [30]. On the other hand, these disadvantages are mitigated by its features as an organizing tool—a useful, reliable and objective heuristic and a powerful guide to studying the policy process [30].

In our case, the policy cycle model's difficulty to produce testable hypotheses is not an obstacle, since we used an inductive approach to develop our research hypothesis, starting from observing empirical data within the comparative case study (war destruction in Berlin but not in Stockholm). The method of the comparative case study also makes the discovery of causal relationships possible.

The advantage of case studies is that they enable the exploration of understudied phenomena through rich, detailed examination. Case studies often investigate situations where limited data is available and where clear explanations and theories have not yet been developed. Often relying on thorough descriptions, they are able to discover new variables and causal relationships that had gone unnoticed, enabling theory development and testing [31]. Case studies achieve high levels of construct validity, i.e., the ability to measure the indicators in a situation that best represent the theoretical concept the authors intend to measure. There, researchers have to carry out a contextualized comparison, that is, comparison seeking for analytically equivalent phenomena. Thus, case studies achieve high levels of validity, but at the cost of producing generalizations applicable only over a smaller number of cases (a low level of external validity) [32]. While critics argue that the small sample of case studies limits its generalizability and that non-random case selection introduces bias, Dogan argues that careful case selection helps to enhance the validity and reliability of findings [31]. Moreover, case studies can provide insights into rare political events that are difficult to study using large-N or statistical methods.

3. State of the Art

Cultural policy is a policy field that has experienced comparatively little research [33]. Since the 1970s, several publications and government reports on the history of cultural policy have appeared both in Germany [6,10] and Sweden [12,13,15]. Reference [34] is the only publication using the policy cycle for analyzing a topic within cultural policy. Publications on the historical development of monument protection in Germany mostly have a legal focus and are written by practitioners in restoration [7–9,11,35]. For Sweden, some of them are written by historians and art historians [16–20]. Regarding the state of the art, there has, to date, been no comparative case study of urban planning and monument protection in Berlin and Stockholm. Comparative international case studies of architecture in capitals such as [36] or [37] often do not include Stockholm or other Scandinavian cities. Thus, this article contributes to the state of the art, highlighting how developments in Continental Europe are mirrored in Scandinavia.

4. The Development of International Legislation on the Protection of Monuments

The 1931 Athens Charter was the first document to set out the scientific principles for the preservation and restoration of historic monuments at an international level. It supported the use of modern materials and techniques. The 1964 Venice Charter supported the use of modern techniques, emphasized the importance of authenticity, and extended the concept of historic monuments to include urban and rural settings. The charter was adopted as the principal document of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) when it was founded in 1965 [38].

In 1972, UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention in Paris. The convention is based on the concept of a common world heritage of outstanding universal value and the need for the international community to cooperate for its preservation, which resulted in the World Heritage List and the World Heritage List in Danger. Art. 5 commits signatory states to adopt measures to ensure the protection, conservation, and presentation of their whole heritage [38].

The declaration of the European Year of Heritage by the Council of Europe in 1975 became a turning point regarding urban conservation [39]. The 1987 Washington Charter protects the diversity of functions and the exterior and interior appearances of buildings [40]. ICOMOS formulated a Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (1987) [40] and the Charter of Petropolis (1987) [41]. The World Heritage Committee adopted the term "historic urban landscape" in 1992, while the Council of Europe did so in 1995. Until that time, ensembles of buildings nominated to the World Heritage List were classified as "groups of buildings" [39].

The latest UNESCO concept, from 2011, is that of the historic urban landscape [42]. Using different methods of archaeology and topography, this approach transcends the traditional term of the "historic city" and speaks instead of "urban heritage," a more flexible and open-ended concept [42]. The ICOMOS-ICCROM Guidance on Post-Disaster and Post-Conflict Recovery and Reconstruction (2023) [43] defines the concept of "reconstruction" as "an action or process that aims at returning, to the extent that this is possible, a destroyed or severely damaged heritage place to a previously known state of integrity while preserving the authenticity of as many attributes as possible" [43]. It also includes the concept of "building back better," understood as ensuring that the issues that led to the loss of a heritage place are addressed in the recovery, and that new risks such as climate change, overdevelopment, obsolescence, abandonment and poorly considered interventions are assessed [43].

5. Empirical Part

5.1. History of Cultural Policy and Monument Protection: Germany

5.1.1. Historical Development in Germany

In the immediate post-war era, only fragmentary legislation on monument protection was in place. Above all, the political will to protect was missing [8]. Even the constitutions of the Länder, which included monument protection as a goal, did not have any legislative impact [44]. Many West German cities prioritized building houses and adapting infrastructure to urgent needs. In cities largely destroyed—such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Hamburg—there were extensive debates on alternative reconstructions [45]. In many largely destroyed West German cities, urban planners adopted the model of the loosened city to solve the urgent housing need. The model was developed by Göderitz, Rainer, and Hoffmann 1957 [46] and inspired by the Charter of Athens [47]. Category: "the automotive city," because the loosened city is based on the separation of housing, work, and leisure.

The East German Department for Reconstruction followed the Charter of Moscow (1950) [48], which rejected the garden city and allowed only multi-story apartment housing [47]. Category: "the automotive city."

In East Germany, cultural policy first followed the concept of humanism and the Enlightenment, but soon the SED forced culture and the arts to follow the party line [34]. Art. 18 of the GDR constitution of 1968 declared the promotion of culture as a national goal [10]. In 1952, the Regulation for the Conservation and Maintenance of the National Cultural Monuments was adopted; this was followed in 1975 with a historic preservation law that included a socialist definition of monuments [44]. The motivation for it was superficial because the GDR was never really interested in monument preservation [8]. Responsibility for monument protection lay with the Ministry of Culture, supported by the expert opinions from the Institute for Monument Protection. At the lower levels, the district councils were responsible for inventorying and protecting monuments [49]. Category: either "architecture as wellbeing" or a third category "architecture for showing the GDR's superiority."

The revolution of cultural policy in West Germany came in the 1970s, mostly led by actors at the city level, such as Hilmar Hoffmann, the intendant for culture in Frankfurt, who coined the slogan "culture for everyone" (German: *Kultur für alle*). Soon, this new concept was agreed upon by all parties [5,50]. The new cultural policy resulted in the founding of the Society for Cultural Policy and several other minor institutions, and large growth in the subsidies for the whole policy field [34]. In the 1970s, massive protests against demolitions of historic city centers resulted in the new model of the compact city, which introduced a new appreciation for historical buildings in the inner cities. Under pressure from the Charter of Venice (1964) [51] and the European Year of Heritage (1975) [52], all Länder felt compelled to create modern conservation laws or amend existing laws between 1971 and 1980 [8]. All of these laws instituted regional Offices for Preservation (German: *Landesdenkmalämter*) [44]. In West Berlin, the first law on monument protection went into force on 22 December 1977[6]. There was no preceding law until this date [35]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing" and a turning away from the post-war model of "the automotive city."

This revalorization of historic city centers continued in the late 1980s–1990s [47]. After reunification in 1990, the new Länder adopted state constitutions proclaiming the promotion of culture and/or the protection of monuments as a state goal. Between 1991 and 1993, they created conservation laws based on the laws of the West German states [44]. The Bund took over more responsibilities than before, including sponsorship of some major cultural institutions, appointing a Federal Representative for Culture and Media in 1998, and instituting a committee for culture and media in parliament. The effect was an increased importance for cultural policy, with a steadily growing budget and new cultural foundations with the participation of the Bund and Länder [34]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

5.1.2. Current Legislation in Germany

The Länder have the main responsibility for culture according to art. 30 of the Basic Law [10]. Their policy is coordinated by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (German: *Kultusministerkonferenz*, KMK). The Federal Representative for Culture and Media have the status of a permanent guest [34], and the cities are also represented[7]. The cities are responsible for culture according to art. 28 para. 2 of the Basic Law. They account for the largest part of public expenses for culture [34].

Most regional constitutions contain text on the protection of monuments[8] because legislation on monuments falls within the competence of the Länder. Monuments enjoy

public protection as visible signs of local identity during former periods, which presumes a minimum amount of preserved building substance. For classification as a monument, a building does not need to be of extraordinary artistic value, and in some cases, not even of a minimum age[9].

The procedure to place a building under protection is as follows: Either protection already applies to a building by law, so it only has to be added to the register (notification system), or a building can be protected by the formal legal act (declaration system) of registering a building[10] Alterations of monuments or their surroundings may only be carried out with the consent of the Office for Preservation. All laws for monument protection call for a balance between preservation and the owner's interests. Occasionally, the claim from the Charter of Venice to use appropriate materials and techniques is followed[11].

The law on monument protection in the Land of Berlin was issued on 24 April 1995 [53]. Its predecessor was issued on 22 December 1977. The law distinguishes between buildings, monumental areas, and garden and soil monuments. The 1995 law replaced the former constitutive system with a notification system. The Senate Administration for Urban Planning, Building, and Living is Berlin's Superior Office for Preservation. The State Preservation Authority, however, lies under the Senate Administration for Culture and European Affairs. The 12 district offices (German: *Bezirksämter*) and the Foundation Prussian Castles and Gardens Berlin–Brandenburg serve as the Lower Office for Preservation. Other laws concerning monuments are the federal Law on Building (German: *Baugesetzbuch*, BauGB) and the Law on Area Planning (German: *Raumordnungsgesetz*, ROG) [35,54].

5.2. History of Cultural Policy and Monument Protection: Sweden

5.2.1. Historical Development in Sweden

Sigurd Curman, Royal Antiquarian from 1923 to 1946, with training in art history and architecture and international professional experience, professionalized the Royal Antiquarian Office (Swedish: *Riksantikvarieämbetet*) by requiring its staff to have a relevant degree [17]. Monuments in public ownership were finally protected in an ordinance from 1920[12], which falls under the "architecture as wellbeing" category, since it has the purpose of protecting monuments. The Stockholm exhibition in 1930 established the way for the success of functionalism and modernism in architecture. It was acknowledged that, at the utmost, one could preserve a few individual historic buildings [14]. Category: "the automotive city."

This debate finally resulted in the 1942 law on cultural and historic buildings of exceptional importance, which targeted privately owned buildings[13]. Regional governments could protect buildings of cultural and historic value with the consent of the Royal Antiquarian Office and the owner [55]. The consequence of the voluntary character of the law was that buildings could only be protected after long negotiations between the owner and public authorities [55]. In 1956, only 106 buildings had been registered according to the 1942 law, 41 of which were privately owned. The main reason why this law was not applied more often was the owners' economic interests [55]. In 1942, a new law on archaeological remains[14] replaced the law of 1867. This new law placed archaeological remains in a very strong position. They are to be protected in every case. By contrast, to place a building under monumental protection, the antiquarian has to prove at every step of a complicated procedure why the building is worth preserving [14]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

After the end of the Second World War, Sweden developed a new identity based on modernity. One of the effects of this mentality was the large-scale demolition of historical cities in the 1960s [14]. Category: "the automotive city." In 1953, the government commanded a new report because of the limited effectiveness of legislation on privately

owned buildings[15]. The report "Expertise on Built Monuments" (Swedish: *Byggnadsminnesutredningen*)[16] noted that public interest in the largest and most spectacular monuments had gradually broadened, so legislation had to adapt. The report called for cooperation between urban planners and protectors of historic buildings [55]. It resulted in the Law on Monuments (Swedish: *lag om byggnadsminnen*) [56][17], which introduced the possibility to declare a building a monument, independently of the owner's consent [55]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

In 1974, the Swedish parliament adopted the first comprehensive policy document for a cultural policy covering all areas. The new Swedish Arts Council (Swedish: *Statens kulturråd*) was founded, which is, up to the present, the executive body for Sweden's cultural policy [13]. In the preliminary works of this policy document, the goal of preservation was not even supposed to be mentioned; instead, only the left-wing goals of equal rights, development, change, and criticism were to be included. In practice, the experts from the museums realized that many measures by the state could only be legitimized by preservation, so a sentence about preservation was added and affirmed [14]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

A working group for developing a comprehensive law on cultural heritage was appointed in 1987 [55]. The novelty of this law was that the presence of a certain level of cultural value in a building was enough for it to be declared a cultural heritage [55]. Threats against cultural environments should be recognized at an early stage through planning and cooperation between bodies [55]. In 1989, the Law on Monuments was enacted [57]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

Five years after the Law on Monuments was passed, the government appointed a new working group with the task of easing the procedure for declaring a building as a monument. In 1996, the working group presented the report "Protection of Cultural Environments" (Swedish: *Skyddet av kulturmiljön*). The report asked for the introduction of a new form of protection that would be easier and quicker to apply—the cultural reservation [55]. In the following bill, one novelty was the recognition that cultural value was a common interest to be taken into account in all planning. In 1996, a new bill on the guidelines of cultural policy was passed, which defined cultural heritage as one of the central goals in cultural policy [14]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

5.2.2. Current Legislation in Sweden

The Law on Cultural Environments (Swedish: *kulturmiljölagen*), also called the Law on Cultural Heritage [57], is the central law for the protection of cultural heritage. Its chapter 3 defines which buildings count as monuments, while chapter 4 protects churches built before 1940. Public protection of heritage has not substantially developed since 1942. The ability to classify a building as heritage even against the owner's will is introduced, but only under the condition that the owner's interest is taken into account as far as possible [55]. The Ordinance on Statal Monuments (2013)[18] states that the government can declare a building a national monument after an expert assessment by the Royal Antiquarian Office. The Royal Antiquarian Office may decide which areas are of national interest for the protection of cultural environments. In 1999, this law also introduced the possibility of creating cultural reservations. Other laws contain ordinances concerning cultural heritage[19].

The responsible institutions include the Royal Antiquarian Office, which is responsible for supervising the protection of historical environments, interpreting the Law on Cultural Environments, and identifying national interests according to the Law on Environmental Protection. The Regional Governments (Swedish: *länsstyrelser*) are the national coordinating offices with the responsibility for implementing legislation and granting subsidies for conservation. The City Councils (Swedish: *kommunerna*) also take part in implementing

the protection of cultural heritage. The regional museums are responsible for increasing knowledge on cultural heritage, documenting the region's history, and preserving cultural environments. They may help with consultations on the preservation and restoration of buildings[20]. The City Museum (Swedish: *Stadsmuseet*) in Stockholm is responsible for classifying buildings of cultural and historic value for the city of Stockholm following a four-grade scale (from highest to lowest value: blue, green, gray, and dashed)[21].

5.3. Analytical Framework: The Policy Cycle

The policy cycle contains several steps, from agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation, eventually leading to termination[22]. Actors from government and civil society constantly try to influence the agenda by dramatizing a certain problem or advancing a certain problem definition. They can use experts to do this, and moving an issue from its recognition by interest groups to the political agenda can include many substeps. Many interacting factors and variables can contribute to the process, showing that agenda-setting is far from a rational process[23]. In the stage of policy formulation, the selected problems and proposals are transferred into government programs. This includes the definition of objectives to be achieved with the policy, the consideration of different alternative actions, and the choice of one alternative. This stage also involves coordination between different public and private actors. Mayntz and Scharpf 1975 [58] argue that interdepartmental interaction usually follows the pattern of negative rather than positive coordination. The stage of implementation, ideally, includes the steps for which bodies should execute the program, which resources are allocated to it, and how individual cases will be decided. Evaluation research can determine the intended outputs and the unintended outcomes of policy. The perspective is not limited to the cycle's final stage but can be applied at any time, and the political process and debate in society and media form part of this perspective[24].

5.3.1. The Case Studies: Berlin

For Berlin's urban planning after the Second World War, there was no need for intentional agenda-setting by government or civil society actors, since the need for city reconstruction resulted from the city's large-scale war destruction. Policy formulation can be said to have begun by the appointment of Hans Scharoun (non-partisan) as director of the department for building and housing in May 1945 by the Allies. The first Magistrate included members of all parties and non-partisan members. In August 1946, Scharoun presented his planning considerations from 1945 as a kind of accountability report from the city's building administration. This proposal involved breaking up the city's concentric urban structure in favor of a linear grid of freeways, separating large units of 80,000 inhabitants, divided into smaller units of 5000 inhabitants [59]. The city center was supposed to be dissolved in favor of an even distribution of housing and working areas. The radial and circular road system from the 1870s was supposed to be replaced by a rectangular system of high-speed roads leading through quarters with many green areas [60]. Category: "the automotive city."

However, in 1947, the SPD won the elections. Scharoun's successor Karl Bonatz (SPD) had a more realistic approach [60]. He argued that Scharoun's plan's motorway network would demand too many financial resources [59]. So, the mayor of Zehlendorf Wittgenstein charged Walter Moest to write the Zehlendorf plan as a counterproposal, which provided for inclusion of the existing urban structure, transport network, and building substance [59]. In April 1946, the Magistrate's building committee welcomed the Zehlendorf plan and rejected the collective plan [60]. Bonatz integrated these different plans into a single plan known as the Bonatz Plan 1948, which was the basis for the construction of West Berlin

from mid-1949 onwards and the last plan for both West and East Berlin—it preserved the historic city with its center, which again was supposed to become the most important part and host a few skyscrapers. Several low-speed roads were to be built around the neighborhoods [60]. This integration of two alternatives into one policy still belongs to the stage of policy formulation. Partly category "architecture as wellbeing" and category "the automotive city."

In summer 1949, the General Construction Plan by Wils Ebert was presented, which included elements of both plans; this became the new city plan for West Berlin [60]. This plan marked the end of the policy formulation stage. The immediate reconstruction of Berlin was concluded with the exposition "Achievements in Building" (German: *Bau-Leistungsschau*) in autumn 1948 with the participation of the department for building and housing. The Superior Office for Urban Planning presented a plan with separate areas for living, working, hospitals, universities, and government institutions. At the end of 1948, the city was divided. Plan 1948 was in force as a building plan for the whole city, so only minor changes could be made to it. The planning law of 1949 led to the adoption in 1950 of an area-use plan for West Berlin and approved by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. This plan focused on the road system, and all other buildings were subordinated to it. These decisions already belong to the stage of policy implementation, since they have to follow Plan 1948, which was decided during the policy formulation and decision-making stage. Category: "the automotive city."

From 1949 on, West and East Berlin used urban planning as a means of carrying out their conflict. The *Berliner Zeitung* published a blueprint for the construction of a new center for Berlin on 27 August 1950 [61], developed in the GDR department for construction. Berlin was supposed to become the model for urban planning for the GDR and for all of Germany. This measure constitutes policy formulation because it establishes long-term guidelines for urban planning. Its focus lay outside the historic city center, particularly along the newly built Stalinallee (1951–1955) (Figure 1), "the first socialist road in Germany." In 1950, the East Berlin government began to demolish the remains of the Berlin Castle in spite of massive international protests. On 27 July 1950, the East German government published the booklet "16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus" (Sixteen Principles on Urban Planning). The separation in urban designs and concepts for East and West Berlin took place in 1950 with "Sixteen Principles for Town Planning of 27 July 1950" or the "Building Act." Both systems had in common the inclination to destroy the existing structure of streets and squares, and the almost total demolition of old buildings. In both cases, Berlin should become a city for the car [62]. Category: "the automotive city."

On 9 June 1950, the People's Chamber issued the Law on Aufbau with its Principles of Urban Construction. From December 1950 on, responsibility for urban planning in East Berlin fell to the City Planning Committee, which consisted of representatives of the department for Aufbau and the corresponding office in the Magistrate [60]. The Sixteen Principles of Urban Design stated that architecture henceforth should be "democratic in substance and national in form." As part of the GDR's National Reconstruction Program, the municipal authorities announced an urban development competition for Stalinallee in the summer of 1951. Egon Hartmann's winning design was clearly influenced by the requirements for a "compact city," as laid down in the Sixteen Principles of Urban Design [63]. As a "compact city" and with its use of historical forms, the reconstruction of Stalinallee was dismissed in the West as backward-looking, and the architecture was disparagingly labeled as gingerbread style [64]. These measures belong to the stage of implementation, since they transfer responsibility to bodies, and the issuing of laws and demolitions are implementations of a long-term policy formulated earlier. Category: "show-

ing the superiority of the GDR," since the use of historical architectural forms was probably not made with the intention to increase the people's wellbeing.



Figure 1. The Stalinallee, today Karl-Marx-Allee.

Due to its exceptional location in the city (proximity to Tiergarten and Reichstag), the area of the Hansa Quarter (Figures 2–4) was an object of interest to various governmental and private organizations. Various ideas for its occupation were raised, such as its annexation to the Tiergarten area and its transformation into a park, or its incorporation into projects such as those for the new government quarter, or a university town on Ernst-Reuter-Platz (project of Georg Pniower in 1947 [65]). It was also suggested that the area should pass an expressway tangent to the city towards the north. In November 1951, the Bezirksamt Tiergarten announced the opening of the Hansaviertel Reconstruction Ideas Competition in Berlin. At that moment, the complete destruction of the neighborhood was already decided. However, first on 13 June 1953, the Berlin Senate made the contest known to the public. A Senate ruling of 3 August 1953, officially defined the area south of the Hansa Quarter as the nucleus of the first International Architecture Exhibition after World War II [62]. Karl Mahler and Ludwig Lemmer had developed the idea of a building exhibition in Berlin in 1951, when they saw the exhibition Constructa in Hanover. The date of the exhibition was planned for 1953 but then postponed to 1954 [66].

Using the motto "The City of Tomorrow" (*Die Stadt von Morgen*), the organizers wanted to redeem from the miseries of the past and destruction of war and create a social housing model for upcoming reconstruction projects in other war-torn cities [59]. The removal of the rubble began in 1954 and was completed in 1955. Most of the still-inhabited houses were emptied in 1954. One of the main objectives of the contest was to destroy the old structure parceled in small lots and to redivide it into large areas. From the beginning, it was decided that the new Hansa Quarter would consist of isolated buildings among open green spaces and that the established density would be achieved in large part by tall buildings, leaving

most of the land free. The relationship between the Tiergarten and the new neighborhood was thus to be redefined. The only requirement in the competition rules was to maintain the width of the Altonaer Straße. All the other streets could be modified. The proximity to natural elements such as the Tiergarten and the river Spree was important for the configuration of the new Hansa Quarter. However, the area surrounding the Tiergarten was also intended to include government buildings once Berlin again became the capital. Thus, the banks of the Tiergarten would include both residential and government buildings.



Figure 2. The Hansa Quarter. The different height and shape of the buildings and their green surroundings are clearly visible. Source: Peter Kuley, CC BY-SA 3.0.

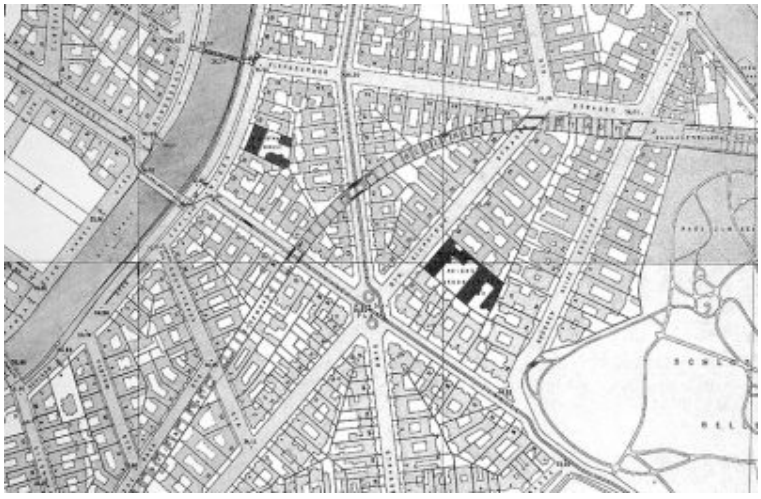


Figure 3. The Hansa Quarter, plan of 1908–1910. Source: hansaviertel.berlin.



Figure 4. The Hansa Quarter today. Compared to the dense building structure before the war, it becomes clear that the building structure had been loosened. Source: CC BY-SA 2.0.

The reconstruction of the Hansa Quarter was financed by the United States through the Marshall Plan for European reconstruction. This was achieved by a corporation founded for this purpose, Hansa AG. Buildings were constructed to meet state requirements for social housing, which meant a limitation on rental prices and on apartment size [62].

By contrast to Stalinallee, the new Hansaviertel would be the replica of the "free and democratic society" and the difference in both projects are evident in all aspects of urban and architectural development. The "regimented communist" ideologies of the East were expressed by the linear style of urban planning with rectangular and uniform apartment blocks of Stalinallee, so the organizers of the West should rid any limitations to claim the realization of a "free society" [67]. The apartment blocks on Stalinallee are all of a uniform, rectangular shape, while the apartment blocks in Hansa Quarter differ greatly in shape and size. Both housing developments are significant exercises in ideologies [68]. West Berlin minister of construction Karl Mahler stated, "Interbau is a clear commitment to the western world. It should show what we understand to be modern urban development and decent housing in contrast to the false ostentation of Stalinallee" [69].

The exhibition was planned to be inaugurated in 1956. Since in July 1955, no individual building project was ready, it was postponed to 1957. It finally was open from 6 July to 29 September 1957, but many buildings were only completed in 1962 [62]. As promised by Ludwig Lemmer, the Senate's Director of Building, Interbau was the largest exhibition on reconstruction in post-war Germany and received much public attention. It attracted 1.3 million visitors, of which 36 percent came from East Berlin and other parts of the GDR and Eastern Europe. On an area of 25 hectares, 1300 residential units were built [64]. A total of 55 architects from 13 countries were invited, and 35 buildings were built based on their sketches. The Hansa Quarter consists of six 8-story rows of houses, six 16- or 17-story single skyscrapers, one 4-story house, an area of 19 connected bungalows, and four 1- or 2-story villas. These were complemented by one underground station, a library, two churches, a shopping mall, and one entrance pavilion[25]. The architecture competition and the new construction of the Hansa Quarter were part of the Plan 1948 implementation stage, the long-term policy formulated earlier. The policies formulated by the East and West Berlin government bodies and the implementation measures following from them

show clearly the aim to show the superiority of their respective systems. Both the rules set up in the architecture competition and the final design of the Hansa Quarter belong to the categories "architecture as wellbeing" and "the automotive city," since they aim to combine both functions. Perhaps a third category of "showing the West's superiority" can be added.

From 1950 on, several design plans for a new building on the former Schlossplatz were presented. On 21 May 1973[26], the City Council of East Berlin unanimously decided upon the construction of the Palace of the Republic (Figures 5–7), agreeing to the decision of the Central Committee of the Politbüro of the SED and the Council of Ministers. It is called "an impressive building" and has been said to contribute to the enrichment of social and cultural life in the center of the capital (Minutes of the 6th session of the City Council of East Berlin on 21 May 1973[27]) and to East Berlin's development into a Socialist capital. A change in the plan for building investments in 1973 during the Magistrate session of 29 August 1973 states that the Palace would set new standards in architecture and arts, ultimately finding a worthy place in the architecture of Socialist GDR history. The building was said to meet the political significance of the Marx-Engels-Platz through its urbanistic and architectural qualities. It would also become a point of attraction for GDR citizens and their guests. The decision was approved without emendations. Other documents, such as the theses for press information and the speech of the building minister on 21 May 1973[28], or bill no. 95 in the City Council session of 19–20 April 1961[29], confirmed the decision to build the Palace and repeated the praises for it. Heinz Graffunder's team of architects was charged with the construction works, achieved in 1976 for the 9th party congress of the SED [70]. The construction used expensive materials from Belgium, Italy, Canada and Denmark. The Palace was inaugurated on 23 April 1976 with a lavish celebration. Afterward, it was used for the SED party congresses and the People's Chamber sessions, together with concerts and television entertainment. This is why the GDR people had diverging opinions on the Palace: on the one hand, they were impressed by its splendor and enjoyed the entertainment opportunities and identify themselves with it. On the other hand, they made fun of it by calling it "Erichs Lampenladen" (Erich Honecker's lamp shop)[30]. The literature evaluated does not mention any protests or voices against the building. Category: "showing the GDR's superiority" and perhaps in part "architecture as wellbeing."



Figure 5. The Palace of the Republic. Source: CC BY-SA 3.0.

An evaluation of the documents concerning the Palace reveals no evidence of debate or public presentation of its design. Apart from a few mentions of its architectural and urbanistic qualities, which were never developed in detail, the speeches contained nothing but praises of the GDR and rejections of the former "militarism" and "imperialism." The building of the Palace is an instance of the implementation stage. This results clearly from

the rhetoric with which it was presented, which considers the guidelines for urban planning published in 1950 in the *Berliner Zeitung*.

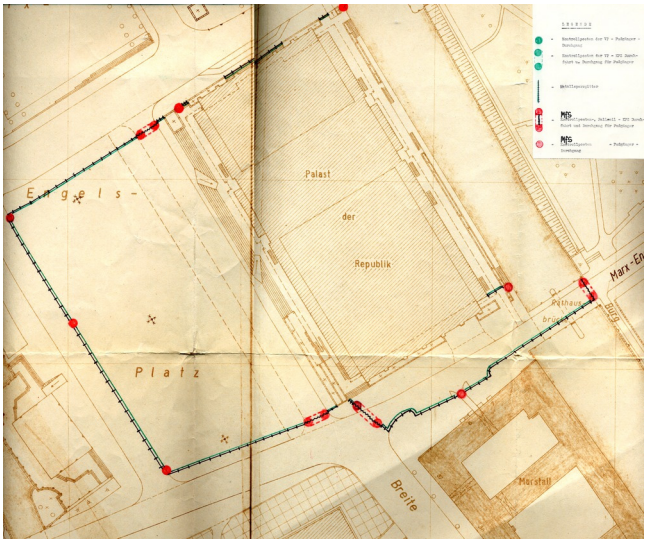


Figure 6. The area of Marx-Engels-Platz (now Schlossplatz) with the Palace of the Republic.



Figure 7. The current area surrounding the newly built Castle.

In the 1970s, massive protests by actors from civil society against demolitions of historic housing areas caused a change in urban policy among politicians of all parties [5,50]. Wolf

Jobst Siedler and Elisabeth Niggemeyer publish a pamphlet with the title *Die gemordete Stadt* (The Murdered City, 1964) [71], featuring a photograph of the old Hansa Quarter on its cover [72]. Under the effect of the newly founded Society for Cultural Policy, growth in the subsidies for the whole policy field [34], the Charter of Venice (1964) [51] and the European Year of Heritage (1975) [52], the first law on monument protection went into force on 22 December 1977[31] in West Berlin. There was no predecessor law until this date [35]. These measures were part of the evaluation stage, which considers intended outputs and unintended outcomes of the policy formulated during the policy formulation stage. It resulted in the termination of the reconstruction policy adopted in the post-war area in favor of a policy focusing on monument preservation. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

The next Interbau exhibition in 1983 shows a policy change compared to the exhibition of 1957: The cautious urban restructuring of Kreuzberg's old town and southern Friedrichstadt became models for managing historic building substance [72]. A few weeks after the People's Chamber's decision to reunite with the Federal Republic, the Palace was closed because of asbestos pollution[32]. The German reunification was an incentive for continuing the new policy of monument preservation formulated in the 1970s. The new measures adopted in the 1990s—including the transfer of greater responsibility for cultural issues to the Bund, the appointment of the Federal Representative for Culture and Media, the establishment of the parliamentary Committee on Culture and Media, increases in the cultural budget, and the creation of new cultural foundations involving both the Bund and the Länder [34]—belong to the implementation stage because they allocated resources and established institutions for implementing cultural policy. The declaration of the Hansa Quarter as a monument in 1995[33] also falls into the category of implementation at the lower level of decisions on single urban areas. Since the laws and programs of subsidies were still in force, the evaluations carried out in the meantime have probably given positive results and led to a policy continuation. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

In 2001, an international expert committee of architects, urban planners and historicians was established. The committee suggested the demolition of the Palace and a new building. In 2002, the Bundestag voted in favor of the demolition and the reconstruction of the Humboldt Forum with the baroque facades of the Castle. The demolition began in 2006[34]. In 2007, Berlin's mayor Klaus Wowereit published an article on the "civilizatory effects of the European city." Federal Minister of Construction Wolfgang Tiefensee declared "the European city" as a model for future urban planning, and his secretary of state announced the proclamation of a Leipzig Charter on sustainable European cities during the German EU Council presidency [72]. Both of these measures count as a re-evaluation and termination of the pro-modernist architectural policy of the post-war years and a return to the traditional European city. This change was not motivated with the sense of "wellbeing," but instead of sustainability and civilization. However, more broadly it still may fit in the "architecture as wellbeing" category.

5.3.2. The Case Studies: Stockholm

The preliminary works for the post-war demolitions known as the Norrmalm (Figures 8–10) regulation began with the General Plan for Stockholm by Albert Lilienberg in 1928 [73]. The need for agenda setting came from the city's outgrowth of Stadsholmen, which resulted in traffic problems and a shortage of housing. In 1932, the City Council called for an international architecture competition for a new design for Nedre Norrmalm. The competition received 350 contributions, including designs by Alvar Aalto and Le Corbusier, among others. The latter provided for the demolition of Norrmalm and Södermalm and its replacement with skyscrapers [74]. These measures initiated by government bodies

can be interpreted as part of the agenda-setting stage, since they contribute to the definition of the problem. Category: "the automotive city."



Figure 8. Norrmalm according to the map of 1930. The place which later became Sergels torg is at the intersection of Klarabergsgatan and Hamngatan. The quarters are small and separated by narrow streets. Source: Stockholmskällan.



Figure 9. Proposal for the regulation of Nedre Norrmalm according to the City Plan of 1946. The area of Klarabergsgatan, Sveaplatsen and Hamngatan in this map, indicating its densely populated quarters, are later demolished and became Sergels torg. Source: Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor.



Figure 10. Norrmalm currently, showing how Sergels torg was moved east compared to Sveaplatsen, according to Plan 46. Its location on two levels can also be seen from Malmskillnadsgatan leading over Hamngatan. Source: stockholmalltiett.blogspot.com, Blogpost of 1 November 2012.

The policy formulation stage began with the decision by the City Council on 18 June 1945[35] to establish the 1946 city plan, the first part of the Norrmalm regulation. City plan part I from 1951 included Klarabergsgatan; city plan part II from 1952 included the area from Hötorget to Sveaplatsen; city plan part III from 1953 included the area south of city plan part II and west of Drottninggatan and Tegelbacken; and city plan part IV included Sveaplatsen and the four skyscrapers on Sveavägen, which later became five[36]. The whole area to be rehabilitated was between Vasagatan in the west, Kungsgatan in the north, Norrlandsgatan in the east, and Tegelbacken in the south[37].

On 18 June 1945, the city planning committee's proposal to broaden and lengthen Sveavägen to Gustaf Adolfs torg, and the opposing proposal by the road committee—prepared by Paul Hedqvist—to extend it only to Sveaplatsen, were debated. Priority was given to public transport, especially the underground, and to distribute traffic from north to south over as many bridges as possible. The expected growth in the number of employees in offices and shops was also mentioned. The City Council voted in favor of the road committee proposal, with 53 to 35 votes. The choice of one alternative is part of the policy formulation stage. Category: "the automotive city."

A proposal from 1952 to preserve Bethlehem Church and the Sergel house was examined by the city planning committee on 6 March 1952. The Royal Antiquarian Office and the Council for Beauty demanded their preservation. The building committee argued that the plan would place the structures in a strange and unsuitable environment. The Sergel house had the status of a monument, but this only meant that, drawings, photographs, and descriptions of the building had to be made before demolition. The city planning committee declared its preservation to be irreconcilable with the creation of a business hub

and a modern city building instead of the current slum area. In 1952, Bethlehem Church and the Sergel house were demolished [75]. This demolition counts as an implementation of the policy formulated earlier. Category: "the automotive city."

The suburb of Vällingby and its corresponding decisions were divided in different areas (I–VIII). Vällingby VII was to be built with villas and town houses, shops, and a school[38]. The city plan for Vällingby II provided for offices, workshops, and housing for 3000 inhabitants, with department stores, post offices, banks, theaters, and other cultural places[39]. The plans for the other parts of Vällingby VI and III[40] contained similar content. The language in the expert opinions on Vällingby was neutral and descriptive; it neither mentioned the demolitions of historic buildings or the "slums" in Nedre Norrmalm, nor praised the new buildings in Vällingby as promises for a better future. Car traffic was not mentioned; instead, the underground was presented as the great innovation. The planning and building of Vällingby counts as policy implementation, since it is a consequence of the long-term policy formulated in the Plan of 1946. The category "the automotive city" should be reformulated as "the city with separate areas for working, living and leisure, shaped by modern architecture" in order to be applicable, since Vällingby (Figure 11) was developed for commuting by the underground.

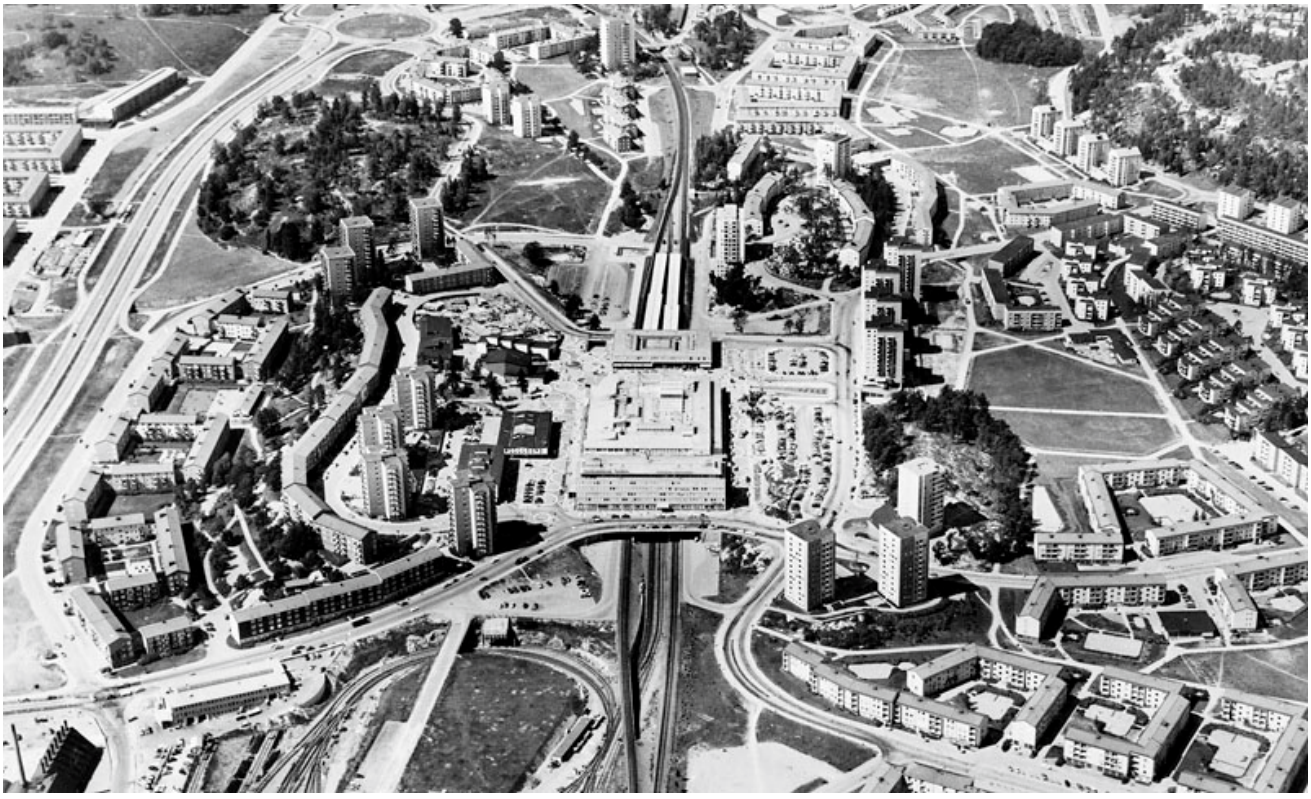


Figure 11. Vällingby. Source: Oscar Bladh, Stockholm's City Museum.

Sergels torg (Figures 12 and 13) was a creation from the Plan of 1946. In the first design by the chief city architect, Sven Markelius, Sveaplatsen (as it was called until 1960) was still a small area with some banks and trees beside a traffic intersection. In 1954, this had been extended to a two-story square, with the lower plan on the same level as the underground. In 1959–1960, the final design was ready. Car traffic was reduced in the eastern part of the square[41]. The drafting and amendments of Sergels torg are part of the implementation stage, since they concern a single urban area. Category: "the city with separate areas for working, living and leisure, shaped by modern architecture."

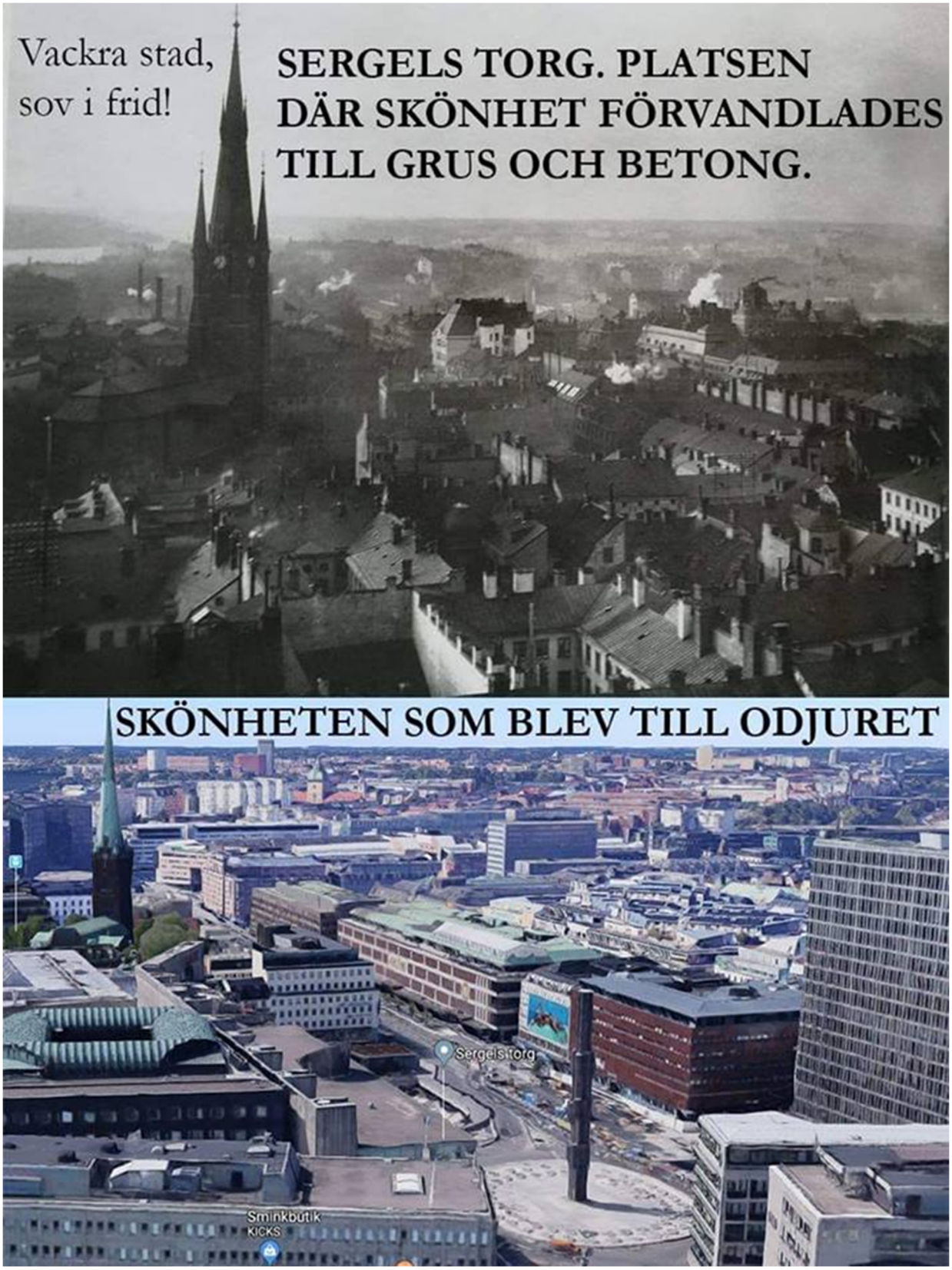


Figure 12. In the upper half, the intersection of Klarabergsgatan and Hamngatan before the demolition. In the lower half, Sergels torg as it is today. The photograph is labeled "Beautiful city, rest in peace!", "Sergels torg, the place where beauty was transformed into gravel and concrete," and "The beauty which became a beast." Source: www.arkitekturupproret.se, accessed on 1 June 2026.



Figure 13. Sergels torg in 2024. Source: CC BY-SA 4.0.

A group of craftsmen, led by the textile artist Elsa Gullberg, protested against the Norrmalm regulation and demanded the preservation of Norra Smedjegatan, which contained their workshops and shops. The Academy of Fine Arts and the tourism association supported the protests, but in 1955, they conceded because their negotiations with the city did not yield any results [75].

The Royal Antiquarian Office did not express an opinion on the Plan 46 as a whole. So, although the Office was equipped with qualified staff, it was powerless against a higher political level in the government hierarchy, both at the national and municipal levels, which was not interested in preservation [14]. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

After the Social Democrats' victory in 1962, City Councilor for Finances Hjalmar Mehr led the negotiations for extending Plan 46 to Plan 62[42]. This extension is an instance of policy reformulation, i.e., confirmation of a policy formulated earlier. In a speech on 12 June 1962, Mehr declared that there was no romanticism in the old buildings in Nedre Norrmalm, Vasastan, and Kungsholmen. His colleague, City Councillor Joakim Garpe, added that without demolitions the city would reach its death in beauty. Opposition against demolitions was expressed by intellectuals such as Ingmar Bergman, Karl Gerhard, and Per Anders Fogelström. Anders Åman asked whether 19th-century buildings are dangerous to look at [75]. Other actors opposing the demolitions recommended by the city planning committee included the Council for Beauty and the building committee[43]. Nevertheless, City Plan 62 was adopted in 1963, and City Plan 67 was adopted in 1968, built on the same City Council decision. Even this extension was a policy reformulation. Category: "the city with separate areas for working, living and leisure, shaped by modern architecture."

The city planned the construction of a House of Culture (Figure 14) with a theater exactly at the same place as the Preissiska house from 1680 on the south side of Sergels torg, which was classified as a monument and housed the Regional Government. City Plan 62 provided for its demolition [75]. The city called for an architecture competition in 1964, and each contribution was supposed to include one design with and one without the Preissiska house [75]. This is an example of policy implementation, since it was part of City Plan 62. Peter Celsing's design for the House of Culture (built in several stages from 1966 to 1974) won the competition[44]. There was no consensus concerning which cultural institutions should move to the House of Culture (among the proposals were a hotel, a theater, and a reading room). In a City Council session, Mehr observed that the House of Culture was supposed become not a status symbol that is only good to look at, but a place where something for all ages happens, full of life, movement, change, and openness[45]. Several plans to fill the House of Culture with life, such as shops open at night, as imagined by Mehr, failed. The building was unpopular among the people of Stockholm, and many wanted to see it demolished [75]. Later City Council minutes often mention Sergels torg as a site of drug abuse and crime. These observations belong to the stage of policy evaluation. However, they did not lead to policy termination, which would have meant to demolish the House of Culture and perhaps to reconstruct the Preissiska house. Category: "the city with separate areas for working, living and leisure, shaped by modern architecture" and "architecture as wellbeing," because the House of Culture was supposed to become a center of leisure, although it failed.



Figure 14. The House of Culture. Source: Järnvägsmuseet, CC BY-SA 4.0.

With the completion of the House of Culture, Sergels torg was considered to be finished. The western part was ready in the spring of 1971 and hosted the new one-chamber parliament. On 15 October 1974[46], the whole House of Culture was inaugurated. Parliament held its sessions there until 1983, and later, the European Security Conference. The fifth skyscraper, bought by the city for 49 million SEK (Swedish krona) with the intention of hosting another bank, stood empty except for a toy shop and a bookshop on

the ground floor and the youth pub Träff, which closed after a short time[47]. Even this example of the empty skyscraper reveals negative policy evaluation and an unintended policy outcome, which did not lead to policy termination.

Bo Lagercrantz of the City Museum stated that his museum could not manage to deliver the expert opinions and inventories on the houses destined for demolition quickly enough, because demolitions were numerous and rapid. He demanded better laws and more weight for the antiquarian expert opinions against the economic and technological ones. He mentioned old Swedish wood cities as models for the human measure and wellbeing as primary motives in modern city building. Lagercrantz referred to American urban planners such as Kevin Lynch, who drew on medieval Italian cities as a starting point for developing ideas of urban legibility and imaginability.

During the session of the City Council of 6 December 1971, Social Democrat City Councilor for Finances Albert Aronson mentioned that there still were 25,000 antiquated apartments in the inner city, which could not be modernized without simultaneous new production[48]. He also asked where the green city had gone and blamed the Center Party for not taking ecology seriously. City Council Member Söderqvist (Communist Party) said that an inner city of administration, bank palaces, and insurance companies was being built, while the working population was sent out to live in other municipalities. Soon, not a single person would live in the city area any longer, while carparks there continued to receive city subventions[49].

Liberal City Council Member Rydberg asked during the 16 October 1972 session who was actually in charge of preserving buildings of cultural value. He argued that the office for building permissions, which had the last say, should consider cultural and historic needs. Rydberg asked for a program to preserve such buildings in cooperation with the City Museum. This was the first time that documents of the City Council or its committee mention historic buildings in a positive way, calling them "culture houses" (Swedish: *kulturhus*) instead of "slums." These three examples of critical voices show some unintended policy outcomes: the loss of buildings of cultural value, no respect for environmental questions and depopulation of the inner city. However, they are not sufficient for terminating this policy. This is achieved no sooner than through the massive protests to save the elms in Kungsträdgården park in 1971: They managed a temporary halt to the demolitions[50] and a change in direction. City Plans 75 and 77 cancelled all planned large roads and road extensions, reduced the number of planned parking slots, turned roads into pedestrian zones, and protected more historic buildings. Stockholm's City Museum also began an inventory of historic buildings in the city center[51]. All of these protests against the Social Democratic demolition policy count as "architecture as wellbeing." They take up different aspects of wellbeing: historic value, ecology and social aspects.

Since then, only minor changes have been made to the structure of Stockholm's city center, such as the demolition of the cinema Astoria on Nybrogatan 15–17. Currently, the buildings having replaced the historic buildings demolished according to Plans 46–67 are partly classified as monuments. Other buildings from the early to mid-20th century continue to be demolished[52]. Nevertheless, due to the encompassing and still ongoing documentation by the City Museum, one can observe that the demolition policy of the early City Plans has been terminated and replaced by a policy with more focus on preservation of monuments. Category: "architecture as wellbeing."

6. Results

In this section, we aim to explain the results in table form. Table 3 explains the comparison of Berlin and Stockholm based on the policy cycle model. Here, the two cities

have developed different perspectives in the postwar years and will continue to do so in the future.

Table 3. Comparison of the policy cycle stages.

Stage of the Policy Cycle	Period	West Berlin	East Berlin	Stockholm
Agenda-setting	After-war years	War destructions	War destructions	Population and traffic growth
Policy formulation	After-war years	General Construction Plan by Ebert (1949), Plan 1948	Principles for Urban Construction (1950), Law on Aufbau, Sixteen Principles on Urban Planning	Plan 1946
Policy implementation	1950s–early 1970s	Architecture competition and building of Hansa Quarter	Demolition of the Castle, building of the Stalinallee, building of the Palace of the Republic	Demolition of Bethlehem Church and Sergels house, design plans for Sergels torg and House of Culture
Policy evaluation	1970s	Protests against demolitions of historic housing	No data available	Unpopularity and lack of use of Hötorg skyscrapers, House of Culture and Sergels torg
Policy termination and reformulation	1970s	West Berlin law on protection of monuments, on higher levels: new cultural policy, European Year of Heritage	Law on protection of Socialist monuments	Change in directions in Plans 75 and 77, the City Museum's documentation, on higher levels: Swedish government document on cultural policy, European Year of Heritage
Policy continuation	1990s–today	German reunification, need to preserve East German monuments, more subsidies for cultural policy, more responsibilities for the Bund		Continuation of City Museum's documentation, but no massive growth for cultural policy

Stakeholder Positions

Tables 4–6 explain stakeholder positions. Here, it is clear that different monuments undergo different stages of demolition and reconstruction in Berlin and Stockholm.

Table 4. The Hansa Quarter.

Stakeholder	Magistrate of West Berlin (from 1945 to 1950), Senate and Regierender Bürgermeister of West Berlin (from 1950 on)	Magistrate of East Berlin (from 1948 to 1990)	City administration (Bezirksämter)	Allied, mostly United States	Administration responsible for social affairs	Private estate owners, CDU, some conservative architects	Architects in favor of modern architecture, SPD, KPD

Table 4. *Cont.*

Measures	1953 decision to destroy the old Hansa Quarter and to call for a competition	Passing of the Building Act, building of the Stalinallee	Announcement of competition in 1951	Appointment of Scharoun as city councilor for reconstruction; financing of building of Hansa Quarter by Marshall plan	Limits on rental prices, apartment sizes	Criticizing policy of new building	Supporting policy of new building
Position	Showing West Berlin's superiority; realizing the automotive city. Being a model for other war-torn cities; taking distances from architectural past	Showing the GDR's superiority; realizing the automotive city. This was an effect and perhaps also an intention	Following the Senate's line	Showing the effects of the Marshall plan	Providing accessible housing for people in need	Reconstruction of the old Hansa Quarter	Realizing a new Hansa Quarter, taking their distances from the past

Table 5. The Palace of the Republic.

Stakeholders	Central Committee of Politburo of the SED, Council of Ministers, City Council of East Berlin	GDR people	No actor in the GDR
Measures	Unanimous decision to build the Palace	Using the Palace's opportunities	Opposition
Positions	Building a representative center for a GDR gaining international recognition; filling the void; creating opportunities for the people to spend their free time	Joy over the entertainment opportunities provided by it; being impressed by its splendor, pride; identification; making fun of the GDR government	Preventing the building of the Palace, voting against it

Table 6. The demolitions in Central Stockholm.

Stakeholder	Social Democratic government in City Council	Opposition in city council (Left Party, Right Party, Center Party, People's Party)	Royal Antiquarian Office, Council of Beauty, Academy of Fine Arts, City Museum	Civil society (craftspeople, tourism association, demonstrators, intellectuals)
Measures	Deciding on Plan 46, the building of Vällingby, Plan 62, Plan 67	Voting against Social Democratic measures, holding speeches in city council	In some cases protesting against the demolitions, setting up a n inventory of historic buildings (City Museum)	Protesting against the demolitions; they are being listened to from 1971 on
Positions	Modernizing the city center, building the automotive city and skyscrapers for banks and business	Preserving the historic buildings or at least slowing down the demolitions	Preserving the historic buildings	Preserving the historic buildings with their workshops and as tourist assets

7. Discussion

The results of the qualitative content analysis are that the two categories "architecture as wellbeing" and "the automotive city" are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. The GDR's monument protection policy and urban planning falls within a third category, "showing the GDR's superiority." Also, the planning and construction of the Hansa Quarter shows both elements of "architecture as wellbeing," "the automotive city," and "showing the West's superiority." On the one hand, urban planners in post-war West Berlin wanted to create more green spaces and low-story houses and disaggregate the center, following the model of the loosened city. On the other hand, the programmatic documents on urban planning both from East and West Berlin, such as the Sixteen Principles, the General Construction Plan or the Plan 1948, favor the automotive city. It does not indicate whether this was an intention or an occasional outcome.

Planners in Stockholm wanted to remove housing from the city center in favor of skyscrapers and high-speed roads—that is, a compacting of the city center. Their model contained many of the elements of the automotive city of the 1960s. When looking at the arguments used by the Stockholm City Council and its committees, car traffic was not the only point made. The speakers also argued in favor of the underground, bicycle, and pedestrian traffic, shop and business areas, growing administration, and more hygienic housing. So, the category "the automotive city" should be reformulated as "the city with separate areas for working, living and leisure, shaped by modern architecture." On the whole, the argumentation in favor of a modern city and against slum areas prevailed, so that one could even classify this argument as being part of the "architecture as wellbeing" movement.

So, the category system can be extended to the following categories:

- Architecture as wellbeing (including sustainability and civilization);
- The city with separate areas for living, working and leisure, shaped by modern architecture;
- Showing the West's superiority;
- Showing the GDR's superiority.

Many early Swedish measures for monument protection fall within the category "architecture as wellbeing," but they are too weak to be effective. From the 1930s on, one possible explanation could be the "people's home" ideology with its preference for modern architecture. However, this does not explain why monument protection in Sweden has a weaker institutional position than in Germany, where it is a state goal in the Weimar constitution, even before the 1930s.

The comparison of the two case studies according to the different stages of the policy cycle showed many parallel developments and tendencies. Proven wrong is the hypothesis that the war destruction in Berlin and the desire among Berlin's city planners to overcome them is the explanative variable, since urban planning in the early post-war years in Berlin is first concerned with providing housing and roads, and later, new modernist architectural projects such as the Hansa Quarter. Instead, the explanative variable is probably either the modernist "people's home" ideology that shaped the Swedish self-perception as a modern nation with no need for heritage. This self-perception is likely to have influenced and to still influence city planners' way of thinking. It certainly was the reason that Swedish legislation on protection of historic buildings developed into a complicated procedure involving many steps and justifications to the regional government, while German legislation makes it much easier to declare a historic building a monument, and also for the fact that Swedish legislation developed into providing far more protection to archaeological remains than to historic buildings, and today, that no proposal for reconstruction has been made in the city council. In Germany, monument protection is codified in the constitution and the Länder constitutions, while in Sweden, it only appears at the level of a framework policy document

for cultural policy in 1974 (and even there, it was nearly not included at all). An alternative explanation is Swedish legal tradition as a causal explanation for these developments, which offers a weaker institutionalization of monument protection and cultural policy than in Germany. The examined material does not offer any explanation concerning the origin of this legal tradition. Therefore, Tables 7 and 8 give alternative scenarios for Sweden and Germany.

Table 7. Explanative variable: Alternative 1.

Explanative Variable	Sweden	Germany
Modernist "people's home" ideology present in Sweden, but not in Germany	More complicated procedure for declaring a building a monument	Simple registration or notification system
	More protection for archaeological remains that for historic buildings	Same degree of protection
	Cultural policy codified as a policy document	Cultural policy codified in the national and regional constitutions

Table 8. Explanative variable: Alternative 2.

Explanative Variable	Sweden	Germany
Swedish legal tradition offering a weaker degree of protection to monument protection and cultural policy than in Germany	More complicated procedure for declaring a building a monument	Simple registration or notification system
	More protection for archaeological remains that for historic buildings	Same degree of protection
	Cultural policy codified as a policy document	Cultural policy codified in the national and regional constitutions

However, the two cases also show some similar developments:

- An era of low conjuncture for monument protection from 1945 to the mid-1970s, with inadequate legislation;
- A preference for modernist architecture in the post-war years;
- Adoption of an encompassing strategy for cultural policy in the 1970s;
- Massive protests against demolition in historic cities in the 1970s, which led to policy change and reformulation.

8. Conclusions

This article develops an analytical framework which enables a better understanding of the historical development of European cities since the late 19th century. Apart from the conflict between East and West Germany, which is not easy to generalize to other cases, the established categories can be applied to all cities which have seen large growth in the late 19th century, war destruction, modernist reconstructions and a revalorization of historic old towns since the 1970s. International legislation and often, also national legislation, influenced by it, tends towards an ever more encompassing protection that includes more aspects. An example is the ICOMOS-ICCROM Guidance with its definitions of the terms of "reconstruction" and "building back better."

It is not possible to state "historic architecture equals to wellbeing" and "modern architecture equals to automotive city," but that both tendencies can appear within both policies: When the historicist multi-story buildings were built, there were both aesthetic

and economic motives. When they were rediscovered and appreciated in the 1970s, it was for the sake of wellbeing. On the other hand, modern architecture can result in both a loosened city, as in Vällingby and the Hansa Quarter, which were also designed with different needs of their inhabitants in mind, and in a densified city, as in the different plans for Stockholm's inner city, which were designed completely past the inhabitants' needs.

The development of international legislation on monument protection does not have any influence on the examined events in the two cities, apart from the European Year of Heritage, which marks a change in the way of thinking about historic buildings: away from growth, technology and the automotive city and towards a city aware of its past, of ecology and of low-income earners. Since, then, more needs and target groups have been added to these: in the 1980s and 1990s, the demands of tourism and, since then, sustainability and other goals. It remains to be seen which other future challenges urban planning will meet and how historic buildings will be integrated in the cities of the future.

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Notes

1 The two terms are used interchangeably in historic documents of the City Council.
2 E-Mail from Stockholm's City Archive to MGP, 15 November 2024.
3 Zoom Call by Architect Linnéa Olmarken to MGP, 31 January 2025.
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10 See Note above.
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14 Lagen om skydd för kulturhistoriskt märkliga byggnader (Law on Protection of Buildings of Particular Cultural and Historic Value) (SFS 1942:354).
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21 www.raa.se/stoddokument-bebr/lagar-och-ansvar/, accessed on 25 July 2025.
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23 See Note above.

[24] See Note above.
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[31] See Note 6.
[32] See Note 30.
[33] See Note 25.
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[47] Special Supplement No. 55 of 12 July 1970 regarding state properties in central commercial zones.
[48] Minutes of the Stockholm City Council session of 6 December 1971.
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[50] See Note 36.
[51] See Note 37.
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