

The Land Problem and Town Development in Sweden

By Gustaf Linden, Architect, Swedish Royal Building Board.

Land Ownership by the State and the Towns.

For several centuries most old Swedish towns have been owners of considerable areas of land. During Sweden's ascendancy and especially during the 17th century the development and the prosperity of these towns were of special concern to the State authorities. The building of towns was encouraged in all ways; the business and trades people in the towns were favoured with special privileges. As, however, the occupations purely pertaining to the towns were not sufficient for the economic needs of the inhabitants these occupations had to be supplemented by farming.

From the beginning, therefore, the town areas were to a great extent fixed with due regard to the importance of agricultural work for the population, and the State gave extensive farming land and forests—called "donation land"—to the towns. The size of the donation lands was often so considerable that in most of the old towns up to now they have been used only to a comparatively small extent for town extension. They are the property of the municipality and still mainly used for agricultural purposes. Generally the donation lands are subject to stipulations forbidding them, unless with special permission of the Government, to be sold to private persons or to be used for any other purpose than that originally intended.

In addition to the lands owned by the municipality the town areas often contain extensive pieces of land owned by the State. These lands were originally the remuneration, or part of the remuneration, of the State officials functioning in the towns.

The lands belonging to the State, as well as those belonging to the town, are generally leased; those of the town usually for short periods, so as to be more easily available when needed in view of the development of the town and the town planning arising therefrom. At present no leases for town development are granted on lands owned by the State, nor on lands owned by the town, unless it is done in accordance with a duly accepted and approved town planning scheme.

Relations between landownership and town planning at present and before the adoption of the Town Planning Act.

The legal possibilities for the carrying out of a town planning scheme have been regulated by law since 1908. According to the Town Planning Act of the 31st August, 1907, later incorporated as Chapter I of the Act of the 12th May, 1917, on the Formation of Real Estate in Towns, schemes must be drawn up for the building of towns and villages. These

schemes must be approved by the Government. The preparation of the scheme rests with the municipal authorities. The preparatory scheme is adopted by the town council or the corresponding authority in smaller municipalities, which in turn submits it to the Government for approval. Landowners are given opportunity to make observations on the proposed scheme; but as a rule such observations are not taken into account where they would imply technical deterioration of the scheme, or if the scheme affects the landowner's property in such a way as to entitle him to indemnification from the town for the injury he will suffer by the execution of the scheme. A duly approved scheme must be strictly adhered to and carried out. Streets and open spaces must not be built on, and special regulations are made for the erection of buildings on the land in the scheme. Land for streets and open spaces must be given up to the town. To a certain extent, however, the town is obliged to pay for land (even parts of a plot) that is not of such size and quality that it can separately form a suitable building site.

Before the adoption of the Town Planning Act conditions in Sweden were very different. Since 1876, when the Building Order, issued two years earlier, came into force, towns and villages have been obliged to prepare town planning schemes and to submit them for approval. The Building Order was, however, of a purely administrative character and consequently did not provide for necessary legal sanctions in settling economic relations between the town and individual landowners. Its provisions, therefore, could not be applied in case of conflict with the earlier Expropriation Act. The municipalities certainly had the right, but not the obligation, to acquire land in the area of the plan for streets and open spaces, but on the other hand landowners could not be refused permission to build on this land if the town council did not in time make use of their right of expropriation. These conditions were very unsatisfactory and directly favoured the efforts of individual landowners to raise the price of street land and, by threatening to build on the same, to compel the town to buy this land before it was wanted.

Other factors, however, also contributed to the increase of land values. The authorities had not yet realized their power to influence a sound development of building and to counteract the unsound increase of land values by a prudent use of their own land resources. At the end of the 19th century the city of Stockholm had almost totally disposed of the land it had owned. Building land had been sold to individual builders as wanted. It is true that there were still large areas in the southern part of the city not yet used, but these could not be disposed of on account of the still unsettled question of the new connecting railway and its stations. With the rapid increase of population, scarcity of dwellings began to be felt at the beginning of the 20th century. At the time of the coming into force of the Building Order, about the middle of the "seventies", the number of inhabitants in Stockholm was 150,000, which at the end of the century had increased to 300,000. This rapid development was responsible for an excessive increase in house rents and land values during the same period.

The permission of the Building Order to construct high buildings (from five to six storeys) was utilized to its fullest extent within the town area of Stockholm in response to the eager demand for centrally situated dwellings, and so contributed to the continuous forcing up of land values. Another contributory cause was the claim for symmetrical

streets of unnecessary width, as prescribed in the Building Order in accordance with the taste of the time. The rectangular system of streets laid out in Stockholm during the eighties took very little account of the hilly ground and therefore the execution of the scheme proved extremely expensive.

In other towns of the country conditions were different, and fortunately only the large towns with rapid development experienced a similar rise of rents and land values. As mentioned above, the towns as a rule did not make use of their power to influence by way of competition the prices fixed by private landowners. On the contrary, being solely responsible for the carrying out of their expensive schemes and in many instances forced to buy private land at high prices for planning purposes, the towns considered it their duty to put their land policy on a profitable basis and therefore sold their own land at prevailing constantly increasing market prices.

The Building of Suburbs.

In Stockholm the high buildings, the density of the population and the increase of rents soon resulted in the formation of independent agglomerations in surrounding districts. The first sign of the movement was the foundation of the garden suburbs *Djursholm* and *Saltsjöbaden*. At first the land was exploited by private companies, selling at low prices large building areas intended for small one-family houses. This movement was at first of a very sound nature, but after a time it took less desirable forms. The districts adjoining Stockholm were rapidly urbanised and one garden suburb after another shot up. As, however, the regulations for municipal building valid for the towns were not as a rule applied in these garden suburbs—at least not until a long time afterwards—and consequently no compulsion to prepare a town planning scheme existed private profit-making had free play, both with seller and purchaser. The result was too often an ugly heap of buildings suffering from lack of every virtue and grace (*kåkstäder*). Since that time systematic planning has only been sparsely introduced in these places, at present about 70 in number. Each private landowner or company has plotted out the land according to his own ideas, for the sole purpose of quickly realising a profit. As a rule provision for adequate roads, water and sewage conduits, etc. has been of no concern to the land-exploiters. Compared with the prices of building land inside regulated town areas the prices charged by these landowners and companies have seemed temptingly low, even if they exceed many times the forest or agricultural value of the land, and prospective purchasers have always been abundant. Experience has proved, however, that the provision of necessary roads, conduits, etc. usually has been considerably more expensive in such unregulated districts than if the district had from the beginning been laid out according to a proper plan. The costs arising on this account, which must be added to the land value, have proved unnecessarily high and mean a very heavy burden for the houseowner. In the end the prices of land in such unregulated and growing districts often reach considerably higher figures than the prices of similar land in a properly regulated town area that is otherwise of the same qualities as to situation, conditions of the soil, etc. There must also be added certain costs for future planning and consequent acquisition of building sites in order to make up the worst deficiencies of the neglected system of streets.

The present land-policy of the towns and its influence on town building.

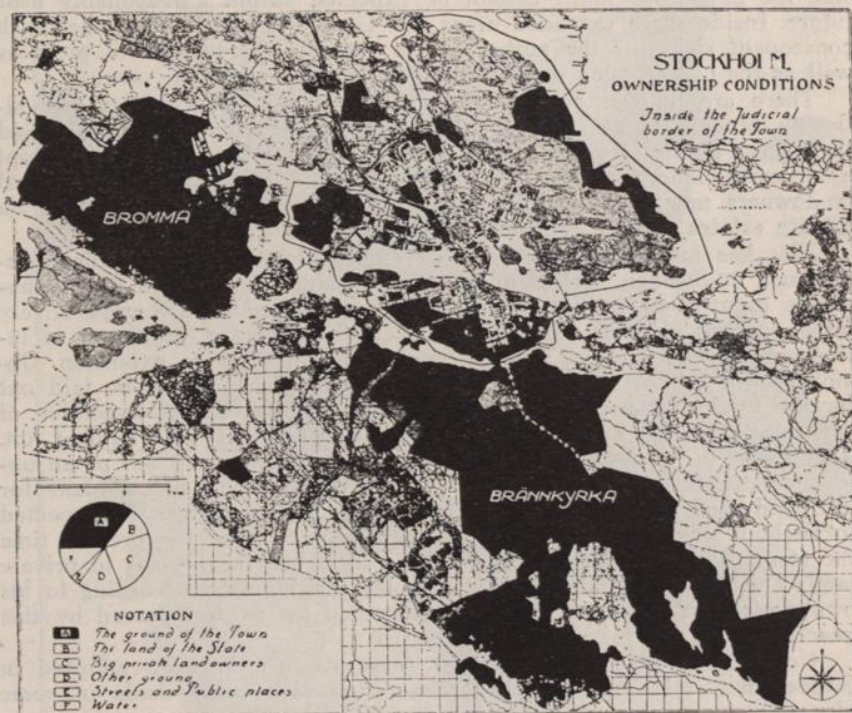
As pointed out above, the unbuilt area around Stockholm was at the beginning of this century in the hands of private owners. To prevent the formation of undesirable districts and to regulate suburban development the town council has purchased, since 1904, chiefly for dwelling purposes, large estates (more than 4,500 ha) in the adjoining districts Brännkyrka and Bromma, now incorporated in the town. This land amounts to more than three times the area of Stockholm at that time. The total sum expended was about 14,200,000 Swedish crowns. From the beginning the administration of these estates was placed in the hands of a special Board, under the direction of which, since 1908, garden suburbs of 9,000 and 8,500 inhabitants respectively have been built in Brännkyrka (at Enskede and Skarpnäck) and in Bromma (Äppelviken, Ulvsunda, Smedsslätten and Älsten). The method adopted for the lease of building land has been *the right of disposal during a period not exceeding 60 years.*

This system of leasing land for town building purposes has been used only to a very small extent in other parts of Sweden; almost solely in the suburban parts of the large towns. Although the experiences of the new system have proved very satisfactory the confidence and interest of the general public have not been fully acquired. "A Swede prefers to live on his own land" it is said, and as long as there are possibilities of obtaining land with full ownership this is considered more desirable. On the other hand the towns themselves realise more and more the advantages of retaining ownership and thereby the possibility of using their right over the land in order to create adequate and beautiful plans and adequate and cheap dwelling-houses. The suburban land policy adopted by the city of Stockholm for some 20 years past has proved to be right. The town has been able to compete successfully with private sellers of land in providing suitable building sites on favourable conditions in well regulated areas and has reached an influential position as against private landowners. As a consequence the unsound increase in land values has reached its limit and a tendency to a fall in prices can be observed.

The diagrams reproduced in this paper show the prevailing conditions of ownership in Stockholm and in Linköping, a medium-sized Swedish town. As to the respective sizes of these two towns, the number of inhabitants in Stockholm on 1st January, 1926, was 442,528 and in Linköping 29,110. The dark spaces on the two diagrams indicate land owned by the municipality, the hatched spaces land owned by the State. Thus 36% of the present total area of Stockholm belongs to the municipality (to which should be added 3.5% for streets and open spaces in the old parts), 10.2% belongs to the State, 24% to private owners, 15.7% miscellaneous, and 10.6% water. In the case of Linköping the diagram includes only those parts of the outer districts that can be expected to be wanted for town building purposes within a reasonably near future, and for which a general plan is laid out. Of this 35% is owned by the town, 28% by the State and 37% by private owners.

Linköping is an interesting example of what a municipality in possession of land well adapted for building purposes can do to control the increase in land values. Up to 1911 the unoccupied "donation lands" of the town were for a large part subject to donation stipulations. In connection with an extension of the town plan the municipality obtained the Government's permission to dispose of and sell these lands for private

use and building. At that time a period of great building activity and consequent increase in land values set in, leading to the erection of higher buildings with a larger number of dwellings than was considered desirable. The town council then started to sell land, charging prices only covering the agricultural value of the land plus estimated costs for development and planning administration—total prices varying from 2 to 10 crowns per square metre, with the result that the speculation of private sellers and land exploiters was successfully checked. As a consequence a great demand arose for land owned by the town, with cor-



responding decrease in private sales and in values of occupied and unoccupied private land, which values had already reached the comparatively high figures of 30 to 90 crowns per square metre.

Obviously the best condition would be that all land in a town and its surrounding districts belonged to the municipality. However well made and up-to-date a Building and Town Planning Act may be municipal ownership of the land always implies greater possibilities of more positive results from town building. Great economic difficulties may, however, arise in securing land to such an extent as is necessary to enable a town to exert effective influence on land values and building in suburban parts, especially in the case of new municipalities with small financial resources.

General and Regional Planning.

It is true that the suburban conditions, to which the foregoing remarks apply, are most apparent in the neighbourhood of Stockholm but unfortunately they have also begun to make themselves prominent in other large towns, especially Gothenburg and Malmö. Medium-sized and small towns have by means of their large land resources more or less successfully been able to prevent unregulated suburban building, partly by providing land on favourable conditions—thus creating an effective competition with private land exploiters—partly by incorporating land from adjoining country districts to such an extent that possible suburbs outside the new town limits cannot be expected within a reasonably near future. Inside these extended areas the Town Planning Act applies with consequent right for the authorities to regulate the lay-out of plots as well as the construction of buildings.

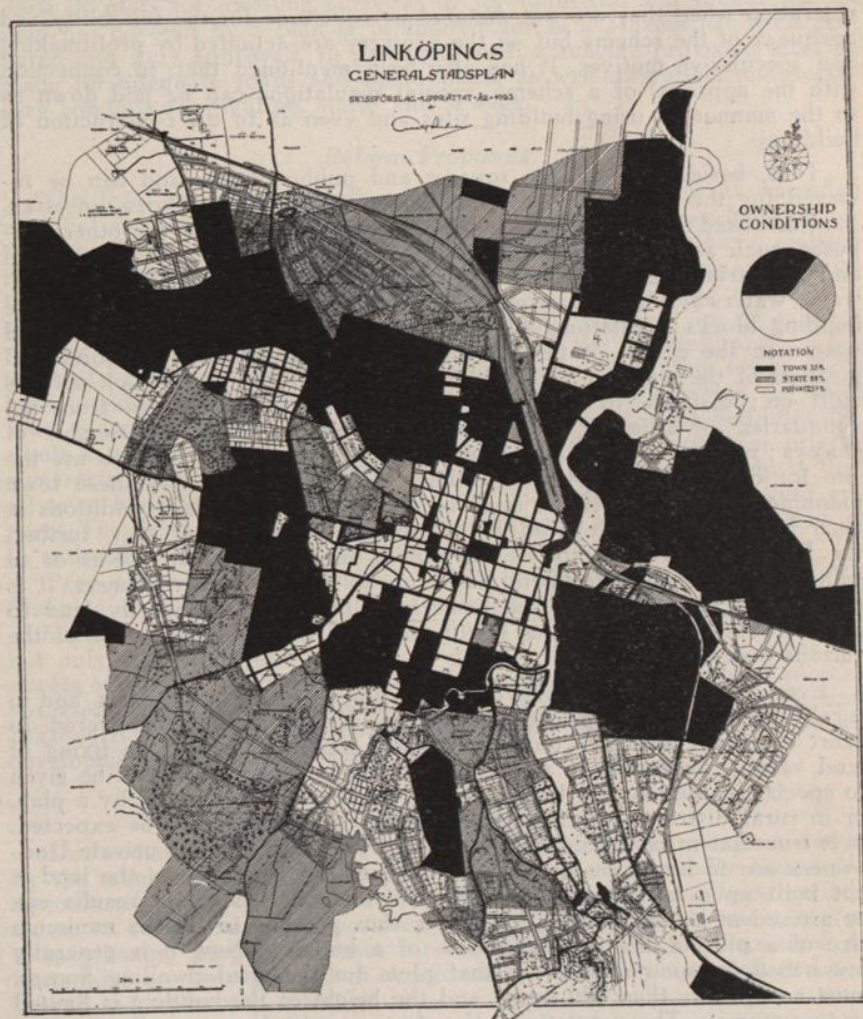
There are limits, however, even to the extension of towns and although Stockholm as well as Gothenburg and Malmö have multiplied their areas in the last years, and although the towns have tried to adopt a successful land and town planning policy favourable to the individual landowners new agglomerations have grown up free from control on private estates outside the municipal boundaries.

This has made the question of regional planning of immediate importance in Sweden. Up to now regional planning has been almost unknown because of the small number of large towns in our comparatively large country and the practice of our towns, referred to above, of influencing the building of suburbs by means of town area extension. Obviously where the town area is too extensive plans cannot be laid out for the total area because of the high cost involved in the execution of such plans. Neither has this been the intention of the Town Planning Act. To prevent the growth of badly regulated districts arising out of an unsuitable division of land several towns have adopted general plans for the town area as a whole or for such parts thereof as can be expected to be built on within a reasonably near future. Up to the present time the towns have had very little power to influence the lay-out of private land. The private landowner's right to lay out his land according to his own desire has, however, been circumscribed by an Act passed by this year's Riksdag.

No regional plan in the proper sense has so far been adopted in Sweden but it is reported that preparations are being made in some places.

On the initiative of the Governor of the province of Stockholm negotiations have been going on for about a year between the city of Stockholm and adjoining municipalities concerning the construction of adequate streets and traffic lines, to be carried out in connection with a general plan under preparation for the suburbs of Stockholm. Although the term "regional planning" has not been introduced into Swedish law a legal basis for the realisation of regional schemes seems to be contained in the new law on private roads, if this be taken in conjunction with a special provision in the Town Planning Act empowering the Government to order the drawing up of schemes for rural areas where a large activity in building may be expected. In a recent proposal for revision of the Town Planning Act, at present under examination by the Government, the question of a legal basis for regional planning is being considered.

On the question of the correlation between regional planning and value of the land it does not seem possible to pronounce a final opinion as yet. The value of land situated along proposed main streets in a regional plan will probably be increased, but the value of other land



seems likely to settle itself according to the future more detailed plan when the various districts are being built.

As pointed out above, experience in the neighbourhood of Stockholm has proved that the prices of building land can be fixed at lower amounts in well planned and regulated districts than in those growing up without regulation.

The Legal Possibilities of the Town Planning Act Concerning Use of Land, Prices, and Building.

It has been pointed out above that town planning schemes can be adopted by the municipal authorities and sanctioned by the Government, and that the desires of private landowners need not be taken into consideration when they are not dictated by solicitude for the suitability and adequacy of the scheme but on the contrary are actuated by profitmaking and speculative motives. It has also been mentioned that, in connection with the approval of a scheme, special regulations can be laid down as to the manner of using building sites and even as to the construction of buildings.

Thus, besides for streets, squares and public parks, land can be reserved for the erection of dwelling houses of different types—in rows, semi-detached and detached. Land can also be set aside for other purposes, such as churches, theatres, schools, hospitals, etc., for commercial and industrial use, for sports, for special traffic purposes, such as railways, waterways, harbours, aerodroms, cemeteries, etc. For the separate building blocks regulations can be laid down concerning forecourts and spaces in the centre of the site not to be built on and the horizontal position of the building; the part of the area of the plot, which may be built on; distance of detached and semi-detached buildings from the boundaries of adjacent plots; height of the building and number of storeys; number of dwellings in a dwelling house; prohibition to use the site for other purposes than dwelling, etc. Considering that these town planning regulations always must be adapted to prevailing conditions in each locality and their need for future development and that, further, the height of dwelling houses on unbuilt-on land in small towns or in suburban parts of large towns as a rule is limited to two storeys, it is easily understood that the existence of a plan will necessarily lead to a stabilisation of land values on the basis of the anticipated use of the various districts.

Even as regards such parts of a town for which no plan exists, and in rural districts, the respective authorities are nowadays empowered to exert a certain influence on building and consequently on the fixing of land values. According to the Town Planning Act sanction can be given to special regulations for building on a town area not covered by a plan, or in rural districts, where a large activity in building may be expected. It is true that in laying down such regulations the desires of private landowners are to be taken largely into account but in so far as the land is not built upon to any considerable extent quite satisfactory results can be arrived at by such regulations. It is thus possible to fix the minimum size of a plot of the maximum size of a building. Now it is generally prescribed by such regulations that plots for detached dwelling houses, must not be less than 600 sq. m. and the height of the building is limited to two storeys. The regulations, therefore, constitute an excellent means of stabilising land values or at least of checking unjustified demands from private speculators.

It might in justice be asked why badly regulated districts have been growing up and flourishing inside as well as outside the town boundaries, notwithstanding that since 1908 aforesaid legal provisions of the Town Planning Act have been in existence. The explanation seems essentially to be that the competent authorities have not been empowered to exert

any appreciable influence on the division of land in areas not covered by a plan. Until quite recently no provisions have existed for limiting the right of the landowner to divide his land at his free will. This defect has been remedied by the adoption at this year's session of the Riksdag of a new Act on the Division of Land whereby the laying out on a large scale of plots for dwelling purposes or for industrial and similar use on land not covered by a plan is prohibited unless a scheme has been prepared and duly approved. In preparing such a scheme provision must be made for adequate roads and open spaces as well as outlets and necessary conduits for lighting, water and sewage.

Reform Proposals.

The legal means contained in our Town Planning Act as amended may be considered reasonably sufficient for regulating town-building independently of landownership. Those municipalities that have realised the importance of utilising these means and have been anxious to control effectively and wisely the development of townbuilding are able to show good results. The most important point, however, in all matters relating to town-building is the supervision of the building part of the scheme. Experience unfortunately shows that where the towns have been unaided by expert and experienced architects in carrying out their town planning schemes and in supervising the erection of buildings the result has been inferior in value, quite independently of public or private ownership. Much more important than the question of ownership is that all town building schemes are carried out under guidance of the best experts. The most urgent problem in Swedish town building of our time is to make the towns realise and fully appreciate this matter.

Proposals have been submitted for an entire new Building and Town Planning legislation with more rigorous stipulations concerning control of building schemes. It is further proposed that private landowners shall not only give up to one third of their land (as covered by a plan) for streets and public places but shall also be responsible for the cost of construction. If this proposal meets with the approval of Government and Riksdag it will be sure to prove of the utmost importance for the sound development of Swedish town building.

Summary.

In Swedish towns there are usually considerable areas of land owned by the municipality or by the State. These lands are usually leased for agricultural purposes; those of the town generally on short lease periods so as to be available for possible needs of future development or for town planning purposes. Leases for town development on municipal or State land are only granted in accordance with a duly accepted and approved town planning scheme.

As to the relations between landownership and town-planning the actual interest centres round the question whether the municipalities shall dispose of their land for town development purposes by sale with full ownership or by letting it out on lease. Up to the beginning of this century as a rule no other forms of disposal than full ownership existed. In conjunction with the defective townplanning legislation before 1908, this caused lands owned by the towns to be a desirable object of speculation with consequent increase in land values during periods of great

building activity. It is true that the towns since 1876 have been liable to prepare town planning schemes, but these remained in most cases without effect until the legal conditions were settled in 1908.

The high prices of land and the density of the population in older parts of the towns gave rise to the formation of villages on private estates in suburban districts. These villages of "own homes" were originally results of a perfectly sound movement, but degenerated in several cases into ugly heaps of buildings.

In order to check this development and to influence in a more positive way the prices of land and the erection of buildings, the towns, especially Stockholm, about twenty years ago began to provide building land on favourable conditions, mainly for the erection of small houses. The city of Stockholm acquired and later incorporated large areas of land from the adjoining districts *Bromma* and *Brännkyrka*, and made arrangements for the creation of garden suburbs on this land. Usually the land has been let out on lease with right of disposal during a period of 60 years.

The carts, reproduced in this paper, show the present ownership conditions in Stockholm and in a middle-sized Swedish town, Linköping. The dark spaces indicate land owned by the town, the hatched spaces land owned by the State.

By their achievements in land policy the towns have vindicated their capacity to compete successfully with private sellers and to reach an influential position as against private landowners.

Even if up till now regional planning has been rather little known in Sweden, the above-mentioned formation of suburban districts has made the question of regional planning actually important. Negotiations are at present going on between the town council of Stockholm and adjoining municipalities concerning the drawing up of a regional scheme for the entire neighbourhood of Stockholm, for the primary purpose of laying out a complete system of main traffic lines.

With the present legal provisions for the planning of towns, supplemented by such "town planning regulations" as can be sanctioned in connection with a scheme, the very existence of a plan implies a stabilisation of land values on the basis of the anticipated use of various districts. Even as regards those parts of a town for which no plan exists and for rural districts the respective authorities have recently been given power to exert a certain influence on building and consequently by an indirect way on the fixing of landvalues.

Sommaire.

Dans les villes suédoises la Municipalité ou l'Etat possèdent ordinairement des étendues considérables de terrain. Ces terrains sont généralement loués à bail pour l'agriculture, le plus souvent par bail à court terme dans les villes, pour que ces terrains soient disponibles en cas de besoin d'extension future ou pour des travaux d'aménagement.

Des baux ne sont accordés pour l'extension urbaine sur terrain municipal ou d'Etat, que d'accord avec un plan d'aménagement dûment accepté et approuvé.

En ce qui concerne les relations entre la propriété du sol et l'aménagement des villes, l'attention s'attache actuellement à la question de savoir si les municipalités doivent disposer de leur terrain, pour l'extension urbaine, en en cédant la propriété entière ou bien en les concédant à bail.

Jusqu'au commencement de ce siècle, en règle générale, il n'existait aucun autre moyen de cession que la propriété complète. En rapport avec la législation défectueuse sur l'aménagement des villes avant 1908, ceci eut pour conséquence que les terrains possédés par les villes constituèrent des objets désirables de spéculation, et que par suite la valeur des terrains s'accrut durant des périodes de grande activité de la construction. Il est vrai que depuis 1876 les villes ont été astreintes à préparer des plans d'aménagement, mais ceux-ci restèrent sans effet dans la plupart des cas jusqu'à ce que les conditions légales fussent fixées en 1908.

Les hauts prix du terrain et la densité de la population dans les plus anciennes parties des villes donnèrent naissance à la formation de villages sur des domaines privés dans les districts suburbains. Ces villages de maisons particulières furent à l'origine les résultats d'un mouvement très satisfaisant mais dégénérèrent en beaucoup de cas en des amas horribles de constructions.

Pour arrêter ce mouvement et pour influencer d'une manière plus positive les prix du terrain et la construction de maisons, les villes, particulièrement Stockholm, commencèrent il y a 20 ans environ à procurer du terrain à bâtir à des conditions avantageuses, surtout pour la construction de petites maisons. La ville de Stockholm acquit et plus tard annexa de vastes étendues de terrain des districts avoisinants de Bromma et Brännkyrka, et prit des dispositions pour la création de faubourgs-jardins sur ce terrain. Ordinairement le terrain a été cédé à bail pour une durée de 60 ans.

Les cartes reproduites dans ce rapport montrent les conditions de propriété actuelles dans Stockholm et dans une ville suédoise de moyenne importance, Linköping. Les espaces sombres indiquent le terrain possédé par la ville, les espaces couverts de hachures le terrain possédé par l'Etat.

Par leur oeuvre en matière de politique foncière les villes ont affirmé leur capacité à rivaliser victorieusement avec les vendeurs privés de terrain, et à se mettre en situation d'exercer une influence vis-à-vis des propriétaires privés.

Même si, jusqu'à maintenant, l'aménagement régional a été peu connu en Suède, la formation de districts suburbains, dont il a été question plus haut, a rendu actuellement importante la question de l'aménagement régional. Des négociations sont en cours en ce moment entre le conseil municipal de Stockholm et les municipalités voisines, au sujet de l'établissement d'un plan régional pour tous les environs de Stockholm dont le but essentiel est l'établissement d'un réseau complet de lignes de trafic principales.

Avec les dispositions légales actuelles pour l'aménagement des villes, complétées par les « règlements sur l'aménagement des villes » qui pourront être approuvés en rapport avec un projet, l'existence même d'un plan implique une stabilisation des prix du terrain sur la base de l'usage prévu pour les divers districts.

Même en ce qui concerne les parties d'une ville pour lesquelles n'existe pas de plan et les districts ruraux, on a donné récemment aux autorités intéressées le pouvoir d'exercer une certaine influence sur la construction, et par suite, indirectement, sur la fixation des valeurs du terrain.

Auszug.

In den schwedischen Städten befinden sich im allgemeinen große Landflächen, die der Gemeinde oder dem Staat gehören. Diese Ländereien werden gewöhnlich zu landwirtschaftlicher Benützung verpachtet. Soweit sie der Stadt gehören, werden sie in der Regel kurzfristig verpachtet, damit sie sofort greifbar sind, wenn sie für die künftige Stadterweiterung oder für städtebauliche Zwecke benötigt werden. Bei Gemeinde- oder Staatsländereien werden Pachtverträge für Bauzwecke nur dann abgeschlossen, wenn die Bauten sich in den genehmigten Stadterweiterungsplänen einpassen.

Was die Beziehungen zwischen Grundbesitz und Städtebau anbelangt, so steht die Frage im Mittelpunkt des Interesses, ob die Gemeinden bei der Verfügung über ihr Gelände zu Stadterweiterungszwecken, dieses käuflich ins volle Eigentum oder nur in Baurecht geben sollen. Bis zum Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts wurde in der Regel das Gelände ausschließlich in volles Privateigentum übergeben. In Verbindung mit der mangelhaften Städtebaugesetzgebung vor 1908 bewirkte das, daß die im Gemeindebesitz befindlichen Ländereien ein sehr geschätztes Spekulationsobjekt wurden und die Bodenwerte in den Zeiten starker Bautätigkeit erheblich stiegen. Es ist ja richtig, daß die Städte seit dem Jahre 1876 verpflichtet waren, Bebauungspläne auszuarbeiten, aber diesen blieb in den meisten Fällen die Wirkung versagt, bis im Jahre 1908 die neuen gesetzlichen Bestimmungen festgesetzt wurden.

Die hohen Bodenpreise und die Bevölkerungsdichte in den älteren Stadtteilen ließen neue Dörfer auf Privatländereien in den Vorortgebieten entstehen. Diese Siedlungen von Eigenhäusern waren ursprünglich das Ergebnis einer durchaus gesunden Bewegung, aber sie artete in verschiedenen Fällen zu Haufen von häßlichen Bretterbuden aus.

Um dieser Entwicklung entgegenzuwirken und die Bodenpreise und die Bautätigkeit in vernünftiger Weise zu beeinflussen, begann die Stadt Stockholm vor 20 Jahren Baugelände zu günstigen Bedingungen zu verkaufen, hauptsächlich für die Errichtung von Kleinhäusern. Die Stadt Stockholm erwarb von den benachbarten Gemeinden Bromma und Brännkyrka weite Grundflächen, gemeindete sie später ein und traf alle Vorbereitungen für die Gründung von Gartenvorstädten auf diesem Gebiet. Gewöhnlich wurde das Land in Baurecht abgegeben, mit dem Recht, darüber 60 Jahre lang zu verfügen.

Die Pläne, die in Abhandlungen wiedergegeben werden, zeigen die gegenwärtigen Eigentumsverhältnisse in Stockholm und in einer mittelgroßen schwedischen Stadt, Linköping, die dunklen Flächen bezeichnen die im Besitz der Gemeinde befindlichen Grundstücke, die gestrichelten Flächen gehören dem Staat.

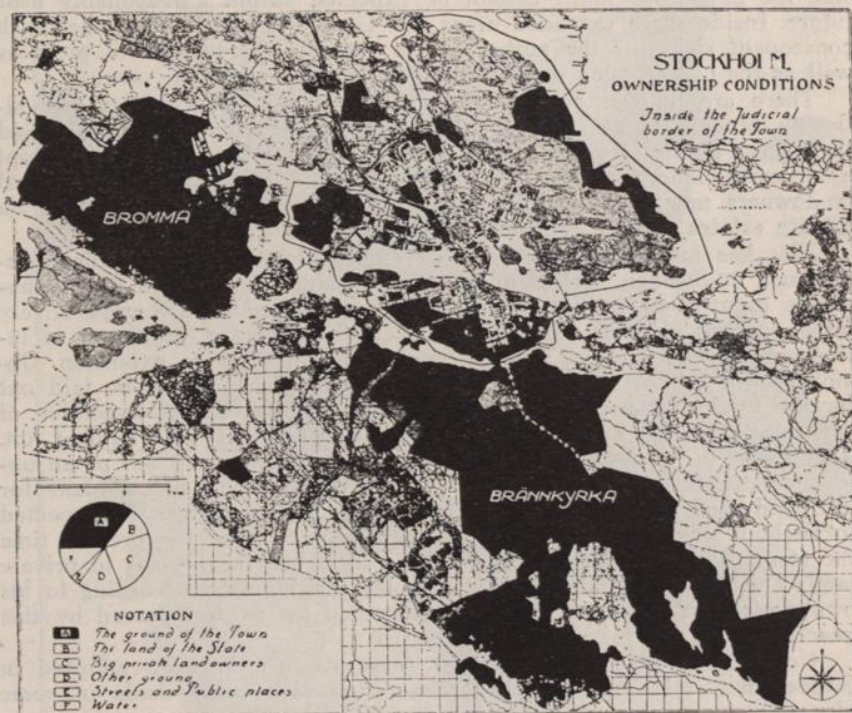
Bei der Durchführung ihrer Bodenpolitik haben die Gemeinden ihre Fähigkeit bewiesen, erfolgreich mit den privaten Grundstückhändlern zu konkurrieren und eine einflußreiche Stellung gegenüber den privaten Landeigentümern zu erringen.

Wenn auch bis heute die Landesplanung in Schweden noch wenig bekannt ist, so hat die oben erwähnte Errichtung von Vorstädten die Landesplanung zu einem aktuellen und wichtigen Problem gemacht. Zur Zeit werden zwischen dem Stadtrat von Stockholm und den benachbarten Gemeinden Verhandlungen geführt, die sich auf die Ausarbeitung eines

Gesamtplanes für die ganze Umgebung von Stockholm beziehen. Zunächst soll ein vollständiges Verkehrsnetz für die Hauptverkehrslinien ausgearbeitet werden.

Angesichts der jetzt geltenden gesetzlichen Vorschriften für den Städtebau, die durch die Bestimmungen der Bauordnung, wie sie in Verbindung mit dem Bebauungsplan beschlossen werden können, ergänzt werden, bewirkt der Bebauungsplan allein schon durch seine Existenz eine gewisse Stabilisierung der Bodenwerte auf der Grundlage der für die verschiedenen Gebiete vorgesehenen Nutzungsarten. Selbst für diejenigen Stadtbezirke, auf welche der Bebauungsplan noch nicht ausgedehnt ist, und für die ländlichen Gebiete wurde den zuständigen Behörden kürzlich die Vollmacht bewilligt, einen gewissen Einfluß auf die Bebauung auszuüben und folglich auch indirekt auf die Bestimmung der Bodenpreise.

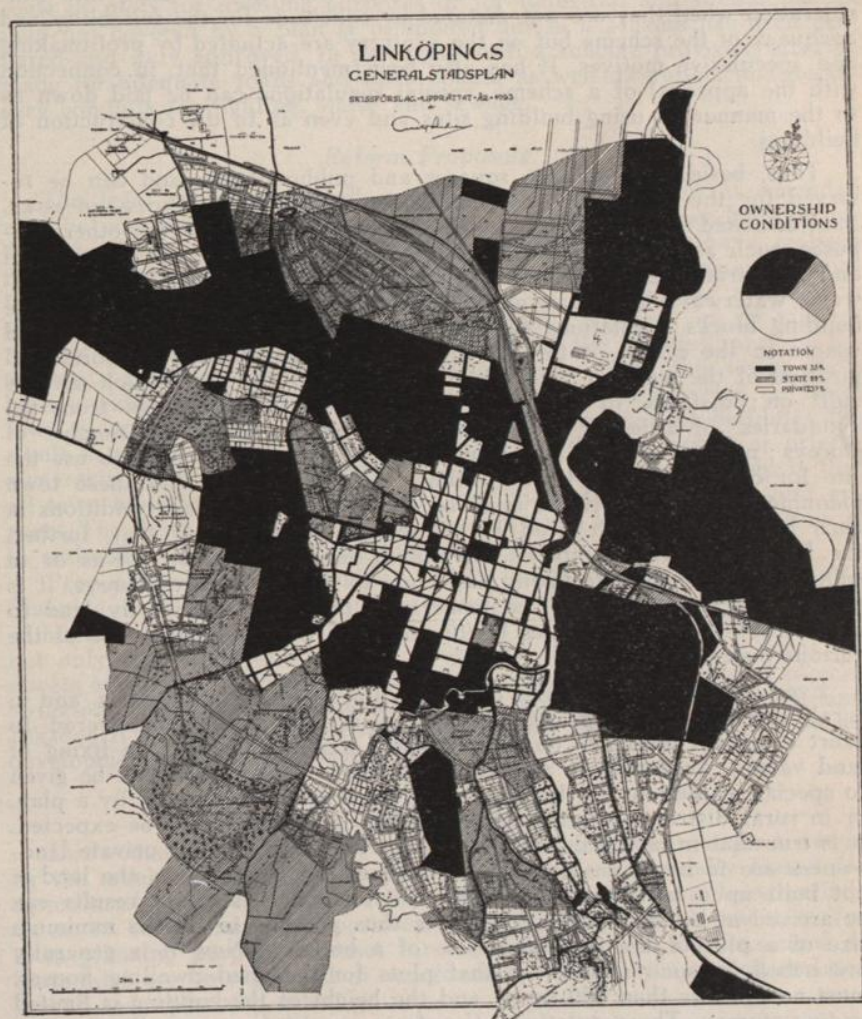
use and building. At that time a period of great building activity and consequent increase in land values set in, leading to the erection of higher buildings with a larger number of dwellings than was considered desirable. The town council then started to sell land, charging prices only covering the agricultural value of the land plus estimated costs for development and planning administration—total prices varying from 2 to 10 crowns per square metre, with the result that the speculation of private sellers and land exploiters was successfully checked. As a consequence a great demand arose for land owned by the town, with cor-



responding decrease in private sales and in values of occupied and unoccupied private land, which values had already reached the comparatively high figures of 30 to 90 crowns per square metre.

Obviously the best condition would be that all land in a town and its surrounding districts belonged to the municipality. However well made and up-to-date a Building and Town Planning Act may be municipal ownership of the land always implies greater possibilities of more positive results from town building. Great economic difficulties may, however, arise in securing land to such an extent as is necessary to enable a town to exert effective influence on land values and building in suburban parts, especially in the case of new municipalities with small financial resources.

On the question of the correlation between regional planning and value of the land it does not seem possible to pronounce a final opinion as yet. The value of land situated along proposed main streets in a regional plan will probably be increased, but the value of other land



seems likely to settle itself according to the future more detailed plan when the various districts are being built.

As pointed out above, experience in the neighbourhood of Stockholm has proved that the prices of building land can be fixed at lower amounts in well planned and regulated districts than in those growing up without regulation.