# GEOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN THE PROTECTION AND CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS

## with reference to Glasgow's built heritage

Brigit Luffingham
Mackintosh School of Architecture

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I confirm that this work is my own, undertaken for the degree of Master of Architecture by Conversion, and that it has not been submitted for any other award or assessment.

Signed Date

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*excluding abstract, definitions, references and appendices*

“Many have commented that, although conservation is justified with reference to the important role that buildings play in the ‘everyday lives of ordinary people’, it still seems to favour the conservation of buildings for the intellectual minority.”

*(Phillip Hubbard, 1993)*


## ABSTRACT

This research investigates an assumption that architectural conservation is characterised by elitism. Whilst this has arguably always been the case, changes to conservation practices have evolved to avoid the problem. However, it would appear to still be prevalent at the implementation level, manifesting itself in the small number of protected buildings in disadvantaged areas, with these buildings then receiving a reduced level of the care needed for survival for the benefit of future generations.

Our built heritage is one of our most precious assets, and should be protected for the benefit of all, and should not be based on an elite model of conservation, focused on only the ‘best’ buildings, judged primarily on the subjective criteria of architectural and historical merit with minimal consideration of social relevance.

Using the listed buildings of Glasgow as reference, this paper reflects on the current legislative system of conservation architecture and suggests ways in which it can be extensively re-evaluated, ensuring that resources are appropriately and effectively deployed, and that steps are taken to raise public awareness of the importance of the built heritage and engagement in its conservation.

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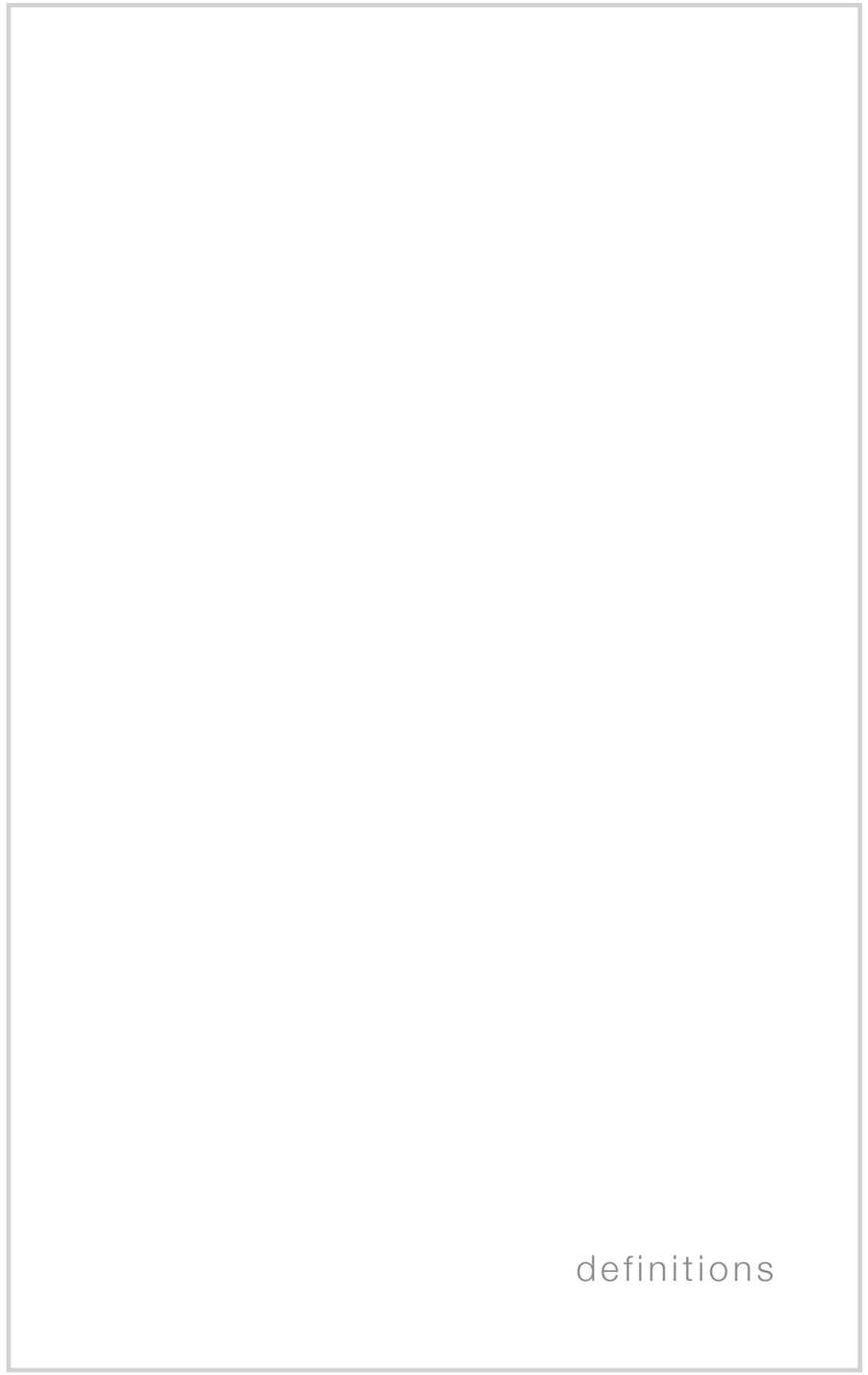
definitions

*ELITE*

noun [treated as singular or plural]
- a select group that is superior in terms of ability or qualities to the rest of a group or society;
- a group or class of people seen as having the most power and influence in a society, especially on account of their wealth or privilege.

*(Oxford English Dictionary)*



## SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS

Significance is one of the most important words in conservation as it defines the considered worth of a building to society and thus whether it is worth retaining. The International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] defines cultural significance as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations [which is] embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects”[1].

Other organisations view significance in different ways; for one a building’s age will deem it historically significant; for another it will be due to an architectural interest (e.g. the designer or the rarity of the style); and for another a close historical association.

This research focuses on buildings currently considered significant in terms of the Historic Environment Scotland [HES] listing process. Statistical emphasis is on Category A listed properties: “buildings of national or international importance, either architectural or historic; or fine, little altered examples of some particular period, style or building type”[2] but observations about less significant listed properties are also made.

## BUILDINGS

In their listing criteria, HES mostly cover buildings, but other structures, such as fountains, sundials, ha-has, statues, bridges and band stands for example, may also be considered significant. Whilst many of these structures might be included within the Category A bracket, where possible, they have been removed from the data so that the research focuses only on buildings. Unless stated otherwise, all figures relate to this revised list. A comparative map of Category A listed structures and listed ‘buildings’ is included in Appendix 1 for reference.

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1 ICOMOS/AUS (2013) “Burra Charter - Article 1.2”
2 HES (2016a) “What Is Listing?”

## SAVING

The study investigates how buildings which have fallen into a state of disrepair, or have no current use, can be rehabilitated and ‘saved’. Much of the data obtained for the research uses the BARR definition of ‘saved’ which would be applied to projects which no longer receive categorisation under the conditions assessment (of which the lowest rating is ‘good’) nor on the risk assessment (of which the lowest rating is ‘minimal’). For reference, the BARR defines these assessments as follows:

- *good condition*: “The building fabric is generally sound, and its overall condition does not necessarily place it at risk. However, it is under threat of demolition, or its future sustained use is in doubt.”[3]
- *minimal risk*: “The building is vacant but in good condition. At this stage, there is no immediate threat of deterioration.”[4]

## DISADVANTAGED AREAS

The paper makes reference to levels of deprivation. This terminology relates to the characteristics of physical area, and not to particular people and considers various unfavourable circumstances, especially with regard to financial or social opportunities.

The Scottish Government publishes data (the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation [SIMD]) analysing the inequality and poverty levels across the whole of the country. Multiple datasets are reviewed in the formulation of the SIMD and, as such, ‘deprived’ does not just mean ‘poor’ or ‘low income’ - it also refers to areas where there are fewer resources and opportunities, with higher crime rates or poorer health levels.

The SIMD is based on small areas called Data Zones, of which there are 6,976 in Scotland, each representing roughly 760 people[5] (Glasgow has 746 zones). Each of these zones is assigned a level of deprivation, which is then compared against the rest of the country. There are 10 levels (deciles) of deprivation, each covering 10% of the zones. Unless otherwise stated, ‘disadvantaged’ refers to the lowest two deciles, the 20% most deprived. The SIMD covers the whole of Scotland, so the levels of deprivation referred to are national and not local to Glasgow.
Glasgow has 56 of the 100 most deprived data zones in Scotland[6] and 48% of the city falls within the Scotland’s 20% most deprived bracket [fig.1]. For reference, the base deprivation map of Glasgow is included in Appendix 2.

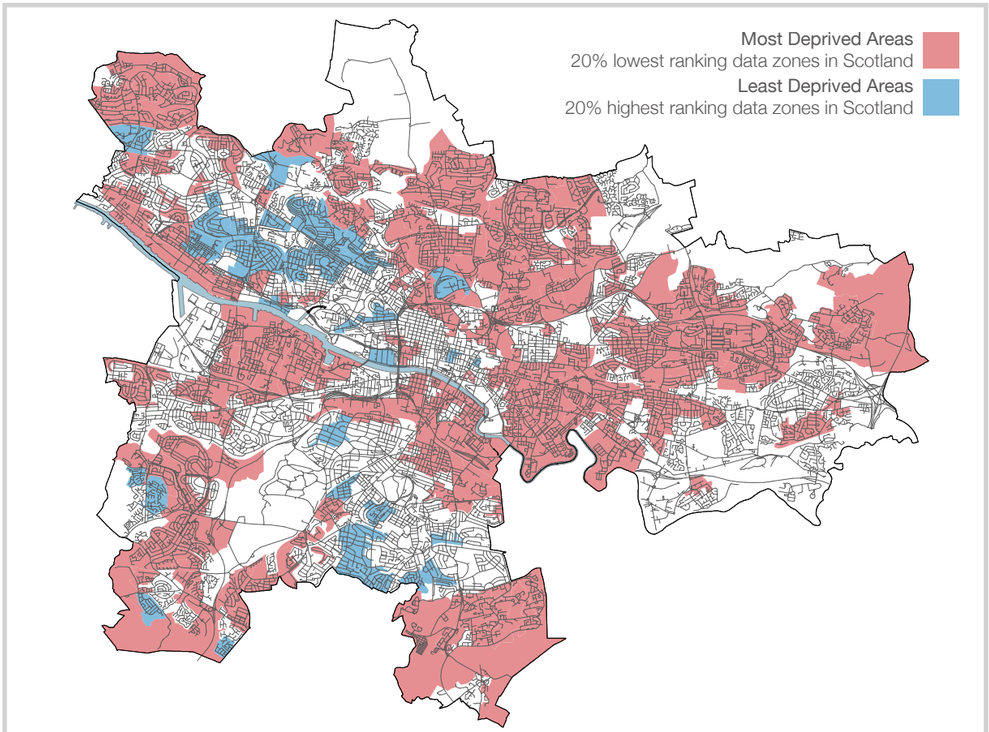


fig.1 MOST AND LEAST DEPRIVATION IN GLASGOW

3 BARR (2016b) “Frequently Asked Questions”
4 Ibid.
5 Scottish Government (2016b) “Introducing The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2016”

6 BBC (2016) “In Maps: Scotland’s Most Deprived Areas.”

## STUDY AREA

This research investigates buildings in Glasgow, and to define this study area, the boundaries of the area governed by Glasgow City Council were adopted. This area was established under the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994 and has different boundaries to those of the previous city of Glasgow district, which was established in 1975. Where a wider geographical area is referenced, 'national' refers to Scotland in isolation from the rest of the United Kingdom, unless otherwise stated.

## STUDY PERIOD

Much of the data used in this research come from lists which are continually changing, as properties are added and removed from national registers or as the general welfare of districts evolves. The data used are correct as of December 2016; care should be taken when referencing this material in future research.



## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

| | |
|---|---|
| AHF | Architectural Heritage Fund |
| BARR | Buildings at Risk Register (for Scotland) |
| GCC | Glasgow City Council |
| GCHT | Glasgow City Heritage Trust |
| HES | Historic Environment Scotland |
| HESPS | Historic Environment Scotland Policy Statement |
| ICCROM | International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property |
| ICOMOS | The International Council on Monuments and Sites |
| NPF | National Planning Framework |
| RCAHMS | Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland |
| RIBA | Royal Institute of British Architects |
| SIMD | Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation |
| SPAB | Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings |
| SPP | Scotland Planning Policy |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation |

# introduction

“There are few more disheartening sights than an old building, boarded up, slates slipping from the roof, buddleia sprouting from drainpipes, walls daubed with graffiti, unlovely and obviously unloved. It is a sight which provokes incredulity, indignation, even anger. Why has such a building - which could be providing much-needed housing, shop or working accommodation - fallen into disuse, been allowed to deteriorate, to become an eyesore instead of an attractive feature of the street or neighbourhood? What can be done to put it back into commission?”

*(Architectural Heritage Fund, 1989)*

The historic environment is one of our most precious assets - we choose to conserve it for the enjoyment of its benefits by all.

Built heritage can contribute to boosting local economies, whilst allowing for future development and regeneration can prove beneficial for the collective urban environment of a city.

This research investigates a pre-existing assumption that architectural conservation is characterised by elitism. Whilst this has arguably always been the case, changes to conservation practices have evolved to avoid the problem. However, it would appear to still be prevalent at the implementation level, manifesting itself in the small number of protected buildings in disadvantaged areas, with these buildings then receiving a reduced level of the care needed for survival for the benefit of future generations.

The study refers to Glasgow’s heritage and is particularly significant both because the city has not historically been known for its positive attitude toward building conservation, having irreversibly lost a significant proportion of its built heritage as a result, and because it is a city which is relatively disadvantaged (in terms of income, employment, education, housing, health, crime, and accessibility) when compared both to the rest of Scotland and the UK.

Through investigation of current architectural conservation methodologies and their applicability in a city that has suffered massive cultural loss in the name of ‘regeneration’, the paper concludes that, if we are to ensure that future generations have access to the wide variety of heritage in their cities, current legislation requires extensive re-evaluation, that resources are appropriately and effectively deployed, and that steps should be taken to raise public awareness of the importance of the built heritage and engagement in its conservation.

## METHODOLOGY

The research was undertaken through three different methodologies, the outcomes of which were combined to form the central arguments.
These methodologies are:

- a review of literature, in particular the hierarchies of legislation relating to the protection of the historic environment;
- an analysis of data from Scottish Government, Historic Environment Scotland and the Buildings at Risk Register;
- and extended discussions with a selection of interested stakeholders (namely Glasgow City Council, Glasgow City Heritage Trust, the Architectural Heritage Fund, developers, local building trusts and architects). It should be noted that although no direct quotations from these discussions have been used in this summary report, their input was fundamental in the formation of both the arguments presented and the recommendations for review.

conservation architecture

"It is … no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times of not. *We have no right to touch them*. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us."

*(John Ruskin, 1849)*



## WHAT IS 'CONSERVATION ARCHITECTURE'?

Conservation is the act of preserving finite resources, encompassing protection and restoration of the natural environment, natural ecosystems and wildlife, and the repair and maintenance of the man-made world, such as buildings and districts. In architecture, 'conservation' covers processes which attempt to protect significant buildings from unwanted change[7], either through planned developments to the building or its area, or deterioration of the fabric or architectural character.

There was selective conservation in ancient Greek and Roman times, with the care of various monuments and sculptures "spurred on almost entirely by concern, respect, even piety, for the past and its people"[8], but architectural conservation first gained international momentum in the 19th Century[9], starting as a movement mostly opposing modernist architecture[10], arguing that conserving older, classical buildings was better than building new. Conservation theory constantly evolves with fashions in architecture. Decisions about what, and how much, to conserve have always been at the forefront of conservation practice, but still rely on individual subjective definitions of 'significance'[11].

Approaches to architectural conservation have developed and now cover a wide range of activities:

- *preservation*, the simplest form of intervention, is the protection against deterioration, through environmental control of the immediate surroundings;
- *reconstruction*, once a popular form of conservation, concerns returning damaged buildings to a known earlier state by the introduction of new materials, it has become less common as

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7 Griffith, R. (2010) "Listed Building Control?"
8 Larkham, P.J. (1996) "Conservation and the City" p.33
9 Harwood, E. and Powers, A. (2004)"The Heroic Period of Conservation"
10 Ibid.
11 Drury, P. (2012) "Conservation: An Evolving Concept"

arguments about authenticity and appropriateness have emerged;

- *restoration* ("accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of features from the restoration period"[12]) is popular but often leads to mistakes with material authenticity being sacrificed;
- *rehabilitation* focuses on ensuring buildings are able to remain in use and covers "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations and additions while preserving those proportions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values"[13];
- similarly, *adaptive reuse* goes one step further, including "any activity that preserves the physical fabric and the evidence of evolution of a building or site, while accommodating new uses"[14].

## PROTECTING OUR HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT - THE PROBLEM OF "ELITISM"

Prolonged useful life of historic buildings is assured through conservation architecture but formal protection is also essential for change to be monitored and carried out only when appropriate. In Scotland, protection of the historic environment is undertaken by Historic Environment Scotland [HES], who designate listed buildings and advise local authorities on permitting changes in their areas. HES states that "the historic environment is one of our most precious assets and it contributes to our economy, to our cultural identity and to our sense of place"[15].

The Scottish Government's overarching aim is that sites chosen for protection are "understood and valued, cared for and protected, enjoyed

12 Ames, D. & Wagner, R. (2009) "Design & Historic Preservation: The Challenge of Compatibility" p.7
13 Ibid. p.7
14 Ibid. p.11
15 HES (2016b) "Why the Historic Environment Is Important"



and enhanced … at the heart of a flourishing and sustainable Scotland and will be passed on with pride to benefit future generations"[16].

Whilst this sentiment relates the benefits of the historic environment to the entire population, the processes behind the selection of what is considered worth protecting were relatively secret, both in terms of the principles of and the criteria for listing[17]. This issue was widely criticised, so national lists are now publicly available without restraints on who can recommend buildings for protection. This does not, however, correct the frequent perception of 'elitism' in the conservation world: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] comments that "conservation movements in Britain tend to be sincere, dedicated and middle-class, if not positively aristocratic"[18] and more recently it has been argued that "the public do not necessarily value the same buildings, or in the same way, as those responsible for making these decisions"[19].

Our heritage should be protected for the benefit of all, and should not be based on an elite model of conservation, focused on only the 'best' buildings, judged primarily on the subjective criteria of architectural and historical merit with minimal consideration of social relevance.

## SOCIETAL BENEFITS OF CONSERVATION ARCHITECTURE

We want to conserve historic landscapes, buildings and artefacts, most notably because evidence of, and links to, our past are important to us. There is a growing public awareness of the value of our historic

16 HES (2016c) "Policy Statement June 2016" p.8
17 Horne, M. (1993) "The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types"
18 UNESCO (1975) "The Conservation of Cities" p.28
19 Hubbard, P. (1993) "The Value of Conservation - A Critical Review of Behavioural Research" p.362

environment, which has led to greater legislative measures being put in place for its protection. The societal benefits of architectural conservation can be seen in terms of four key aspects:

- *Didactic* benefits are widely acknowledged, in particular that there is "a moral duty to preserve and conserve our historic heritage to pass on the accomplishments of our ancestors [as] the physical artefacts of history teach observers about landscapes, people, events and values of the past"[20].
- *Psychological* benefits lie in analysing civilisation's need for a 'sense of permanence' - that "a civilised man must feel that he belongs somewhere in space and time, that he consciously looks forward and looks back"[21]. Environmental psychology assessments show that 'looking back' is important, with the need for visual stimuli to provide orientation and variety and that this is most prevalent where historical elements have survived relatively unchanged[22].
- In *economical* terms it is recognised that aspects of the historical environment can be profitable, particularly in promoting tourism - HES estimated that 3.77million visits would be made to historic sites during 2015-16, supporting more than 60,000 jobs (2.5% of the country's total employment)[23].
- Relatively newly recognised are the *environmental* benefits of conservation, both from from the point of view of the positive impact built heritage can have on the urban environment, and of sustainability - it is considered to be more sustainable to retain an existing building, with its embodied energy, than to build from new, while the waste arising from demolition (24% of UK waste is building waste[24]) that would otherwise go to landfill is avoided.

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20 Larkham, P.J. (1996) "Conservation and the City" p.7
21 Ibid. p.6
22 Ibid.
23 (2016b) "Why the Historic Environment Is Important"
24 English Heritage (2008) "Climate Change and the Historic Environment"

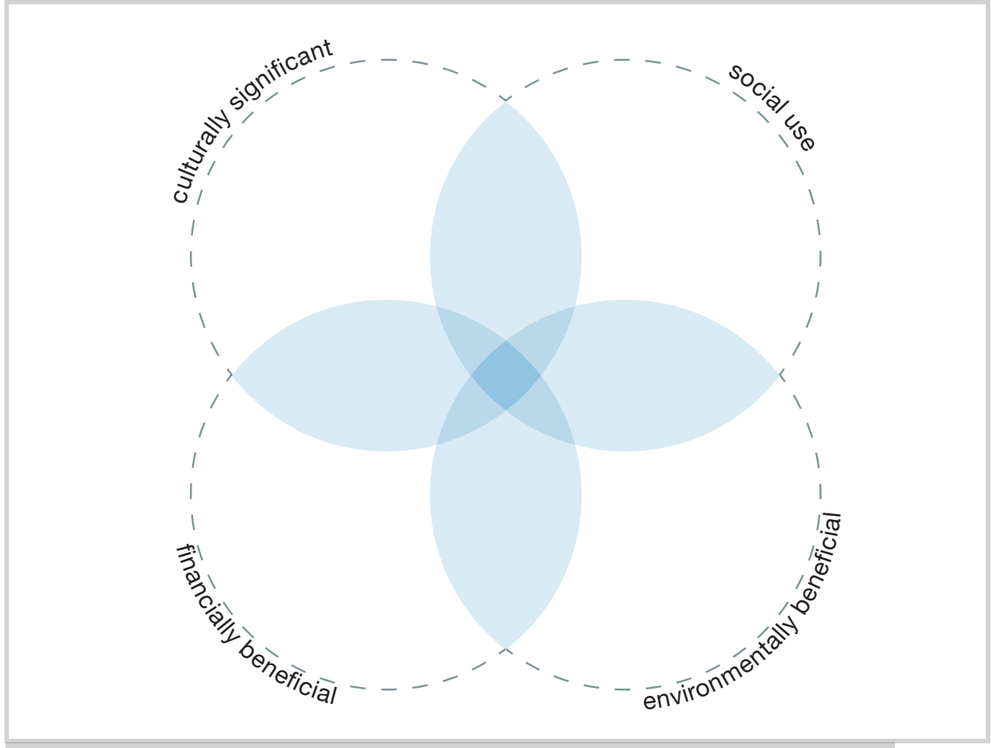


fig.2 FOUR FACTORS FOR A SUCCESSFUL PROJECT

Conservation undoubtedly confers many other but a successful conservation depends on an appropriate mix of these four factors [fig.2]. That is, the building needs:

- to remain *culturally significant* to society (its didactic benefit);
- to have a *social use* in the community, either public or private (its psychological benefit);
- a *financially viable* case for the project (its economical benefit);
- for it to be *environmentally beneficial* to save the building rather than build from new (its environmental benefit).

In some cases, the perceived benefit of just one or two of the factors will be great enough for the project to proceed without the others, but a greater overlap in benefits will lead to more successful project outcomes. In practice, the relative weighting of the criteria will vary according to the particular circumstances.

current conservation practice

"...one should make sure at the very outset that there is a truly philosophical basis so that 'conservators' shall not only be good practitioners, but scholars as well, knowing not only what they do, but why they do it..."

*(Ian Rawlins, 1945)*



Town Planning legislative hierarchy is both top-down, with policies written at national level and implemented locally, and one which is directed much more from the local level[25]. Conservation practice is similar; in terms both of the popularity of the movement ("interest in conservation is a cyclical phenomenon"[26]) and of the charters, policies, and organisations working toward protection and development [fig.3].

This section offers an overview of current architectural conservation legislation, in a top-down manner, with particular reference to Scotland. Hierarchies are not fixed: overarching aims at international level are relatively unchanging and adhered to, while national and local levels adapt as the driving forces of conservation evolve.

## INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS

Administrative structures for historic environments have been established, predominantly in Europe, since the late 19th Century, with initial emphasis on the ecclesiastical buildings and notable medieval remnants[27]. The ethics of the conservation movement were established at the 'League of Nations Athens Conference' of 1931, when it began to become an international affair[28]. Directives evolved up until World War II when huge levels of destruction and lost heritage, accompanied by rapid social change[29], spurred major worldwide developments in conservation legislation, with an understanding that protections urgently needed to cover more than just individual buildings. International charters emerged during the post-war decade and a formal charter was agreed at the 'World Congress of Architects and Experts of Historical Monuments' in Venice in 1964 and subsequently confirmed by the Council of Europe, the

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25 Pissourios, I. A. (2014) "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Urban and Regional Planning: Towards a Framework for the Use of Planning Standards"

26 Larkham, P.J. (1993) "Conservation in Action: Evaluating Policy and Practice in the United Kingdom" p.352

27 Jokilehto, J. (1998) "A History of Architectural Conservation"

28 COTAC (2015) "1.06 International Charters"

29 UNESCO (1975) "The Conservation of Cities"


fig.3 OVERVIEW FOR POLICY HIERARCHY

International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS], the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property [ICCROM], UNESCO[30] and the 61 participating countries[31].

The Venice Charter, built upon the Athens Charter of 1931, included broad statements on the need for organisations for restoration advice and for national legislation to preserve historic sites and a recommendation that historical sites should be placed under custodial protection. Although it was more detailed than previous directives it was criticised for its omissions, particularly the social and financial issues associated with architectural conservation and the importance of cultural heritage[32].
In 1981 the Australian branch of ICOMOS adopted the Burra Charter which was the first to identify the importance of Cultural Significance[33].
It too faced some criticisms, but the Venice and Burra Charters remain the most influential international documents on conservation, arguably because they are not overly prescriptive and allow participating countries, with international reference points, their own interpretations and to formulate their own applications[34].

30 UNESCO (1975) “The Conservation of Cities”
31 Jokilehto, J. (1998) “A History of Architectural Conservation”
32 Erder, C. (1977) “The Venice Charter Under Review”.

## NATIONAL POLICY (UK)

Since Victorian times there has been interest in protecting historic assets, promoted predominantly by William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings [SPAB], but despite changes in the national societal outlook on conservation, the UK Government recognised the importance of understanding architectural heritage and the need for integrating conservation into development plans only in the last 50 years[35]. Policies have evolved greatly since then, taking precedent from international guidance and changing attitudes toward conservation, to the point where national lists of significant buildings are now designated and controlled by national bodies and conservation areas by local planning authorities.

- *Listed buildings* are those placed on Statutory Lists of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest. Once a listing is approved, the structure may not be developed (including demolition, alteration, and extension), without prior permission from a planning authority, who must consult the government agency delegated for the protection of the historic environment. The first UK lists were prepared soon after WWII (to determine whether buildings damaged by bombing should be rebuilt[36]). They have since evolved to be more inclusive of different

33 COTAC (2015) “1.06 International Charters”
34 Erder, C. (1977) “The Venice Charter Under Review”.
35 Pickard, R (2002) “A Comparative Review of Policy for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe”
36 The Victorian Society (2016) “Listed Buildings”

types of heritage and now contain over 550,000 listed buildings[37].

- *Conservation Areas*, usually urban or at the core of villages, are believed to be worthy of preservation or enhancement because of their special architectural or historic interest. Conservation Areas entered national policy, through the Civic Amenities Act 1967, after it was acknowledged that entire districts were worthy of special protections in addition to independent buildings[38]. Each UK country is responsible for the protection of its conservation areas, with each local planning authority delegated for their designation, monitoring and development. Over 11,000 conservation areas have now been designated[39].

## NATIONAL POLICY (SCOTLAND)

Whilst some earlier UK Acts covered the protection of areas around scheduled monuments, it was the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1947 that required the Secretary of State to compile lists of buildings of historic or architectural interest. Principles of what was considered worth protecting were first established and a grading system (A, B & C) introduced. Category A buildings were "of national or more than local importance whilst those in Category C included buildings which had been considerably altered or were only fair examples of a style or period"[40]. These early lists were widely criticised for not being inclusive of all heritage, and the assessors were criticised as being "period-prejudiced"[41]; the major shortcomings and omissions concerned vernacular buildings (particularly in rural Scotland), industrial buildings and Victorian and Edwardian buildings in the sub-urban areas of the major cities. National interest in resurveying buildings began during the 1970s,

37 Using merged data available from Historic Environment Scotland, Historic England, The Historic Environment Service of the Welsh Government and the Northern Ireland Environment Agency.
38 Gordon, G. (1985) "Perspectives of the Scottish City"
39 as footnote 37
40 Gordon, G. (1985) "Perspectives of the Scottish City" p.237
41 Horne, M. (1993) "The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types" p.367



by which time much of Scotland's unprotected heritage had already been lost. Historic Scotland (then the executive agency responsible for identifying heritage) launched "a careful reassessment of all buildings eligible for listing on an area basis"[42] with the aim of producing an unconditional national standard.

In October 2015, Historic Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland [RCAHMS] merged to form HES, which is now the statutory body for protecting the country's historic environment. HES advises on a wide range of matters relating to Scotland's heritage and comments on all applications for demolitions of buildings which are listed or in conservation areas, as well as for any alterations to Category A and B properties; it is not obliged to comment on buildings which fall under Category C, as these are not considered to be of significance on anything more than a local level.

The initial criteria for listing in Scotland are still used, although some specific requirements have been altered, and there are now about 47,000 Listed Buildings in Scotland[43] [fig.4]. The categories of listing are defined by HES[44] as follows:

- *Category A:* Buildings of national or international importance, either architectural or historic; or fine, little-altered examples of some particular period, style or building type.
- *Category B:* Buildings of regional or more than local importance; or major examples of some particular period, style or building type, which may have been altered.
- *Category C:* Buildings of local importance; lesser examples of any period, style or building type, as originally constructed or moderately altered; and simple, traditional buildings that group well with others.

42 Horne, M. (1993) "The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types" p.377
43 Historic Scotland (2015) "Scotland's Listed Buildings"
44 HES (2016a) "What Is Listing?"

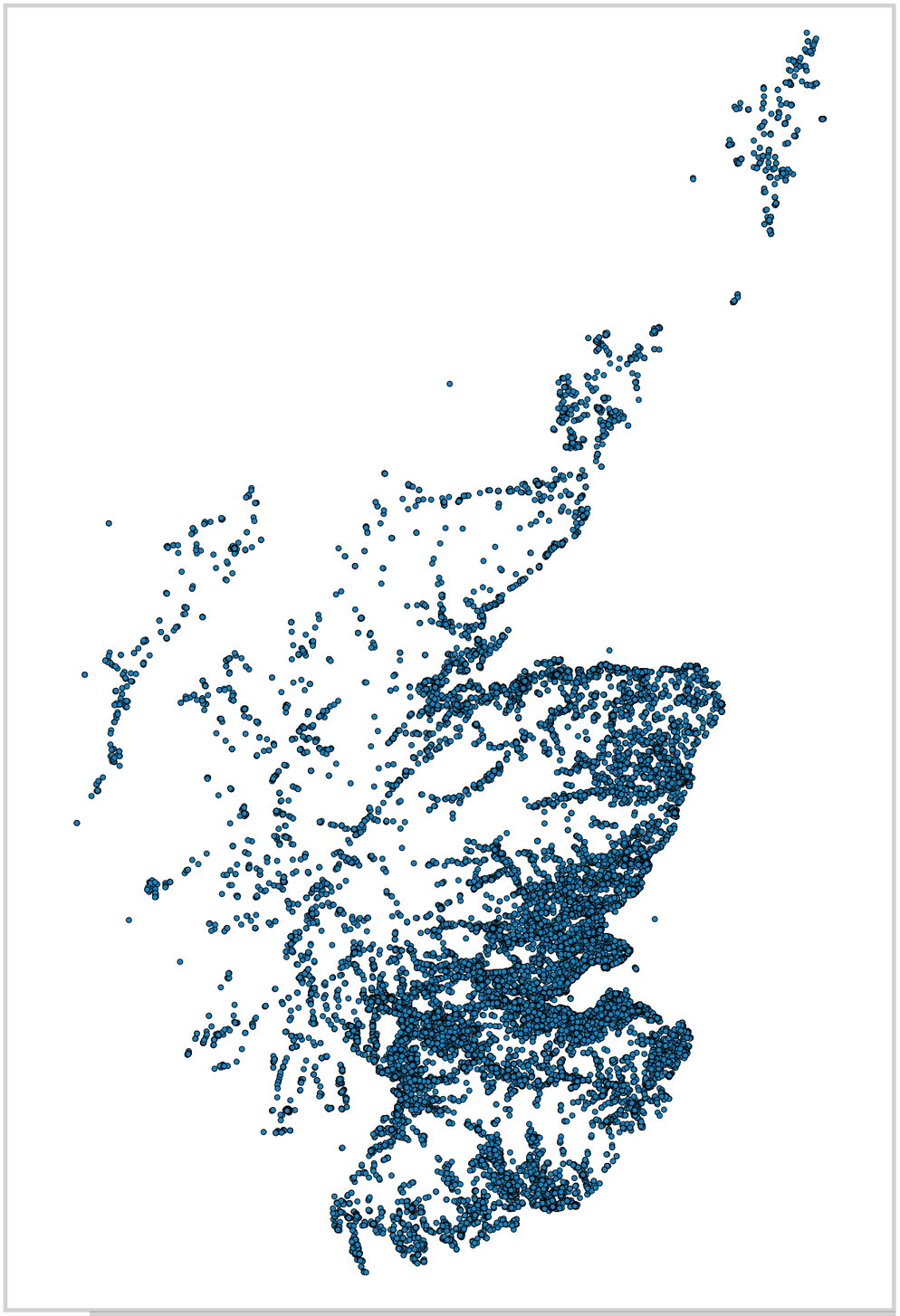

fig.4 SCOTLAND'S LISTED BUILDINGS

The early lists were compiled by a select group of officers evaluating the building stock across the entire nation and were subsequently criticised as being wholly inadequate[45], particularly as the significance varied dramatically from officer to officer. "Age is often an important factor in the argument for preservation. If a building can survive long enough then it is likely to be considered valuable as an example of a long-lost period, and therefore worthy of retention"[46] and so it is assumed that "all buildings built before 1700 which survive in anything like their original condition are listed, as are most of those built between 1700 and 1840 [but] the criteria become tighter with time, so that post-1945 buildings have to be exceptionally important to be listed [and] a building normally has to be over 30 years old to be eligible for listing"[47].

The process has become more transparent, and most additions to the list (or requests for delisting) are now recommended to the Secretary of State by the public. HES reviews these recommendations and consults the public and other authorities, before making a listing decision[48]. Although this appears a socially inclusive system, there is a danger that greater emphasis is placed upon the opinions of statutory bodies over the local community knowledge, leading to some properties not being given the category of listing and the level of protection it deserves, as well as the potential for other properties to slip through the net of protection[49]. Similarly, there is still scope for elitist interest groups to influence the process.

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45 Horne, M. (1993) "The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types"

46 Worsdall, F. (1981) "The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture." p.13

47 Griffith, R (2010) "Listed building control? A critique of historic building administration" p182

48 (2016d) "Listing Process"

49 Horne, M. (1993) "The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types"

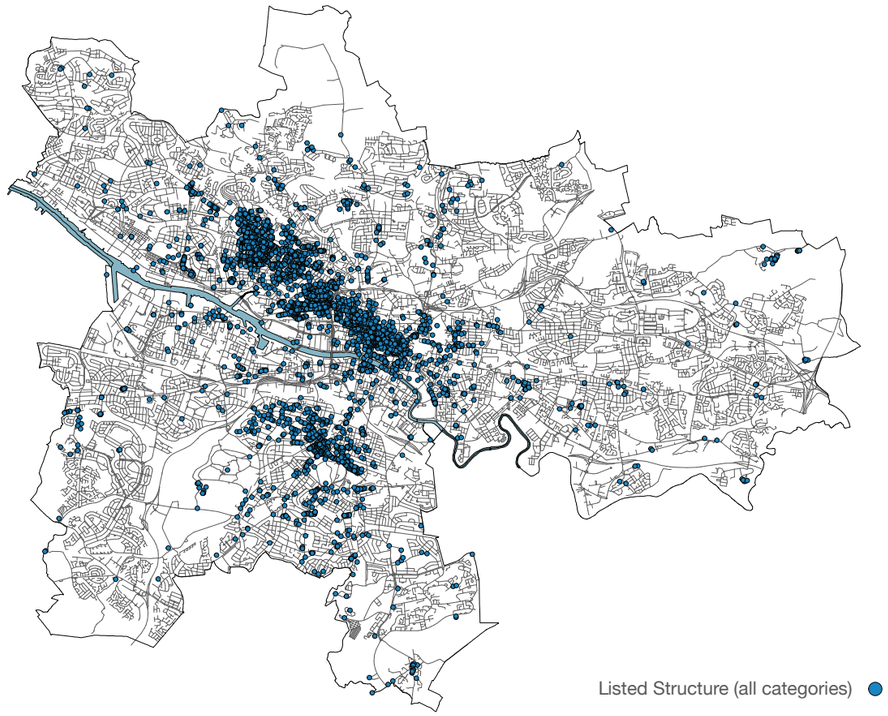


fig.5 GLASGOW'S LISTED BUILDINGS
** larger image in appendix 3*

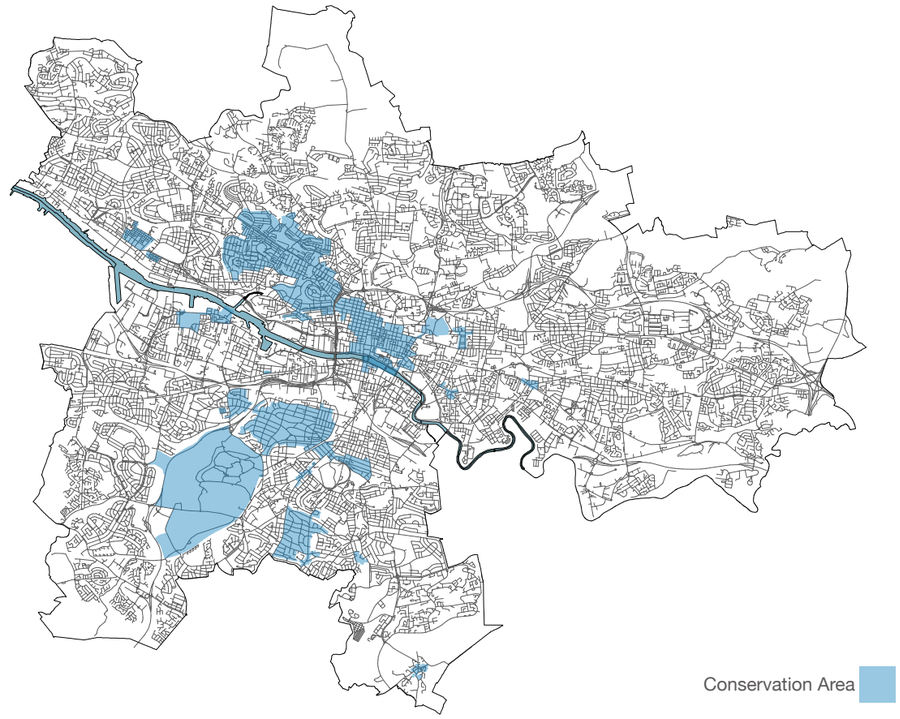


fig.6 GLASGOW'S CONSERVATION AREAS
** larger image in appendix 4*

## REGIONAL PRACTICE

There are over 1,800 listed structures within the Glasgow City Council [GCC] area covering a "huge range of building types, engineering structures and smaller items like statues, monuments, police telephone boxes and letter boxes"[50] [fig.5]. The main role for GCC, as the local planning authority is the determination of planning applications for alterations. In addition to listed buildings, the city has designated 25 conservation areas [fig.6] which it believes the "character and/or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance"[51]. It monitors the condition of these areas through the use of 'Article 4 Directions' which control minor alterations, which would otherwise not require explicit planning permission, but which could collectively undermine the character and appearance of the area.

In determining applications for change, either to a Listed Building, or a non-listed building in a Conservation Area, GCC consults HES on the specifics of the application and follows guidance from the Scotland Planning Policy [SPP] , the National Planning Framework [NPF] and the Historic Environment Scotland Policy Statement [HESPS] (which replaced the Scottish Historic Environment Policy [SHEP] in June 2016). These documents provide frameworks for day-to-day operations of organisations and delegated bodies implementing the statutory functions concerning Scotland's historic environment. The HESPS is much more prescriptive than equivalents in other UK countries (HESPS has 90 pages of conservation guidance, compared to just 2 in England's National Planning Policy Framework[52]). Whilst the HESPS framework allows GCC to make decisions on applications, listed building alterations and conservation

50 Glasgow City Council[a] (2015a) "Listed Buildings"
51 Glasgow City Council[b] (2015b) "Conservation Areas"

52 Taylor, J. (2014) "Heritage Protection in the UK."

areas, Ministers may intervene if they see fit and can override GCC decisions.

### LOCAL INVOLVEMENT

At the local level of conservation, local organisations such as heritage groups and Civic Trusts monitor development in their areas and are particularly concerned with protecting buildings and finding future uses for them. These groups have been common in the British planning system since the 1960s, with numbers growing rapidly until the mid-80s, generally formed in protest against post-war changes to the built environment and later modernist movements.

The trusts aim to protect historic assets from unwanted development by commenting on planning applications, raising community involvement and encouraging a higher level of civic pride. They are often criticised as being ‘elitist’ and not ‘representing the public opinion’ as they claimed and representing instead minority views - “the membership of [civic] societies again tends to be restricted to the educated and middle-class, as does membership of the various historical amenity societies”[53]. Whilst it has been argued that there is little evidence to suggest that membership of such trusts has become any wider[54], with relative under representation of the more disadvantaged areas, it is undeniable that they are a driving force of conservation implementation at the local level, with many now funded by local planning authorities or national bodies.

53 Pendlebury, J. and T. G. Townshend. (1997) “Public Perceptions and Historic Areas: A Research Agenda: Conservation Paper 1. p.9 (quoting Barker, 1976)

54 Ibid.



### PART 1 SUMMARY

The benefits of heritage conservation are undeniable - it provides culture and education, it provides a source of income for communities and it is more environmentally sustainable to save a building rather than to replace it. After a long history of not understanding these benefits, and even actively fighting against them, we have reached a point where most of our historic assets should be given the protections they deserve (although, as we shall see, this is not always the case).

Conservation movements have been criticised for being elitist in terms of their members, their views, and their outputs and although legislation is constantly evolving to mitigate these issues, the legacy of previous developments and regulations can still be observed - select groups of people are still fighting for selection of buildings in a small set of locations. Whilst the reduced locations of these properties might be due to historic developments, and the lack of protections they have seen over time, it is still true that heritage is not available to all, as contrary to the objectives of international charters and national legislation.

The next step in this research is to investigate these issues in the context of Glasgow, to determine if this elitism does in fact still manifest itself in day-to-day conservation.

# history of conservation in Glasgow

"...wholesale destruction of our city centres and urban communities - all perpetrated by authorities who, in their ignorance imagined that they were improving the quality of life."

*(Frank Wordsall, 1981)*

International charters and British planning law have generally facilitated robust conservation practices but this has not always been the case for Glasgow and other predominantly working class cities. "The city had no William Morris to champion the cause of its historic buildings - in fact most Glaswegians seem to have been in favour of redevelopment"[55] and so it is no surprise that the city isn't known for its positive attitude towards the historic environment, particularly when compared with the World Heritage city of Edinburgh.

To understand how this came to be, we need to look at the history of the city, its expansion and development and how these have affected its stock of built heritage.

## ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY

The area we now know as Glasgow has hosted small communities for millennia, with the River Clyde a natural resource for fishing and trade. The city was founded in the 6th Century by Saint Mungo, who established a church to the east of today's High Street, where the Cathedral stands[56]. The city grew from this origin as a religious centre until 1451 when the University was founded. Rapid growth during the middle ages, with trade based on the Clyde, led to the development of a busy medieval city[57]. The upper town, with the original university buildings and the cathedral, and the trading areas along the River Clyde then grew together, and by the middle of the 1500s the area between the two had been filled by a population of around 4,500[58].

Growth continued during the next two centuries with an increasing importance for the town as a major trading centre; the population reached

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55 Worsdall, F. (1981) "The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture." p.12
56 Foreman, C. (2003) "Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's Lost Architectural Heritage."
57 Meighan, M. (2015) "Glasgow: A History."
58 Foreman, C. (2003) "Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's Lost Architectural Heritage."

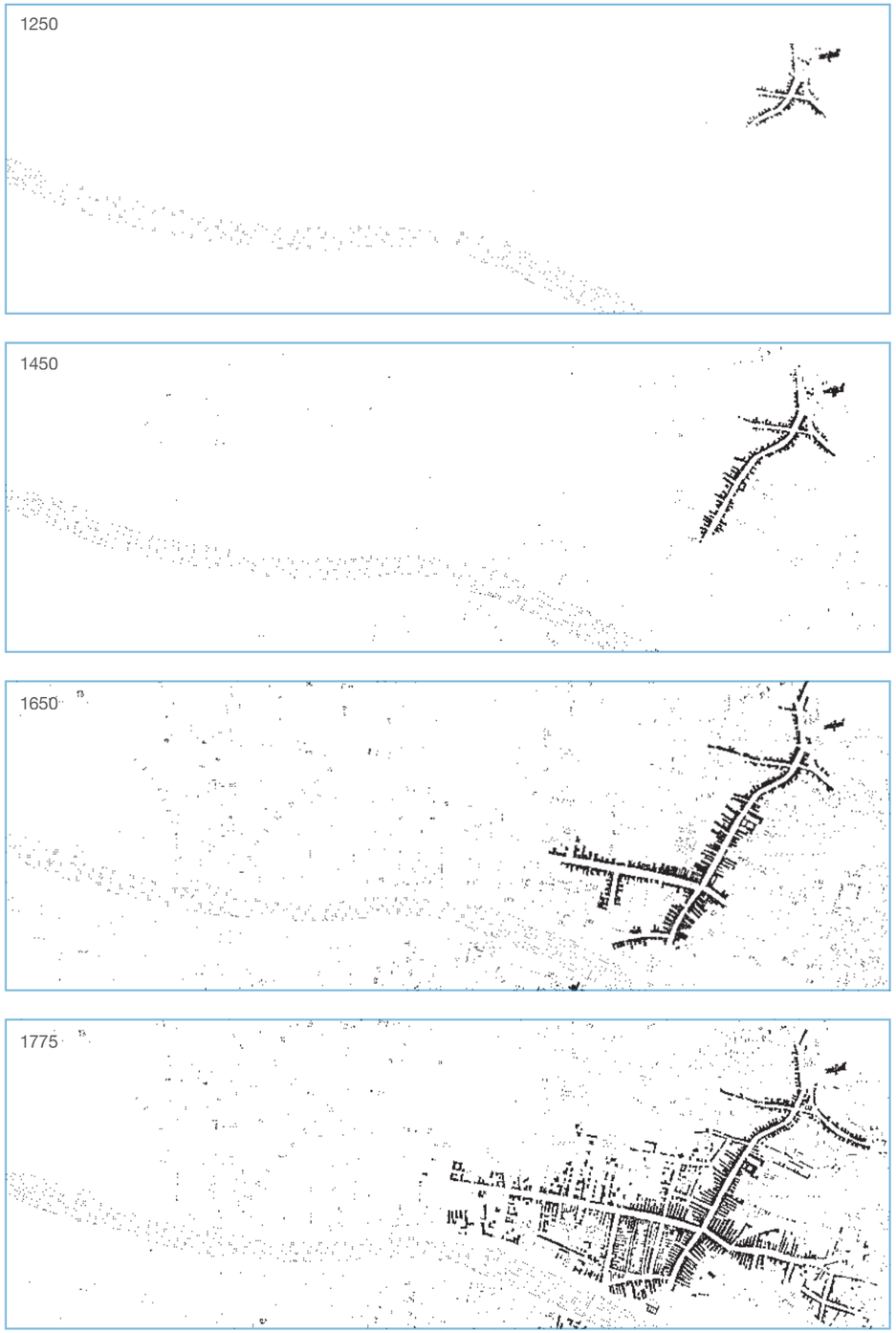


fig.7 DEVELOPMENT OF GLASGOW: 1250-1775

12,000, but was still confined to the medieval boundaries. As such, it became hugely overcrowded, the buildings crammed in and conditions steadily worsening[59]. At this point Glasgow exhibited the first signs of having a divided community - the Superintendent of Police condemned both the site of the university, which was in the midst of slum housing, and the people who lived there, saying that “the College of Glasgow is situated in an old and decayed part of the city where the very poorest of the population reside … it appears [to be] an unfit place for a great educational institution”[60]. The solution at the time, was not to clear the slum housing, but rather to demolish the old college buildings regardless of the fact that they were thought to have been “the finest group of seventeenth-century buildings in Scotland”[61]. Unfortunately this has been the fate of most early building stock and now only two examples of buildings from this era still survive - the Cathedral and the Provand’s Lordship, along with the steeples of three medieval structures.

Around 1770 the city was formally laid out in plans by James Barrie, who expanded the city much further beyond its previous boundaries and the grid system, now the city centre, was expanded by James Craig. The city continued to grow steadily up until the Victorian era and the Industrial Revolution, when the port facilities on the River Clyde were greatly improved and allowed Glasgow to rapidly become one of the world’s prominent centres for textiles, chemicals and engineering trades, becoming known as the ‘Second City of the British Empire’ as it continued to grow and engulf smaller villages and estates[62].

## SOCIAL DIVISIONS IN THE CITY

With trade and industry came a booming population and a dramatic divide in the city’s community. As with most industrial cities in the UK, whilst

59 Meighan, M. (2015) “Glasgow: A History.”
60 Foreman, C. (2003) “Lost Glasgow: Glasgow’s Lost Architectural Heritage.” p.38
61 Ibid. p.39
62 Meighan, M. (2015) “Glasgow: A History.”

the majority of the population worked in the various industries and could barely afford anything other than the poor slum housing in the dirtiest places in the industrial core, wealthier families were able to move into suburban areas which were home to “superior amenities including ‘the pure breath of heaven”[63]. Social research in London reveals “extreme residential polarity … subsumed under the descriptions of the East End and West End, the inhabitants of the former apparently ‘knowing little of the western districts’ … [and with] little communication of sympathy between the respective classes”[64] and it can be assumed that the development model was similar in Glasgow. Slum housing, with families often only sharing one or two rooms in a tenement[65], rapidly became the norm with just a few merchants able to flaunt their wealth and prestige by acquiring mansions and estates in areas well away from the polluted central areas - these wealthy purchases later being “engulfed by the middle-class villas, terraces and institutional buildings that collectively came to characterise Glasgow’s West End”[66]. Advances in commerce brought a rapid invasion of commercial premises into the city centre as well as the Georgian extensions to the city, causing another wave of middle classes becoming dissatisfied and choosing to move further west away from the city centre[67].

## DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY

Architectural historians might have declared the city “the finest of its period in Europe, if not the world”[68], but hierarchical differences in social class and their geographical locations, whether self-chosen or stipulated through inability to do otherwise, undoubtedly played a role in the forming of today’s city. This is in terms both of the styles of built fabric and of the

63 Gordon, G. (1985) “Perspectives of the Scottish City” p.91
64 Ibid. p.91
65 Meighan, M. (2015) “Glasgow: A History.”
66 Gordon, G. (1985) “Perspectives of the Scottish City” p.94
67 Ibid.
68 Worsdall, F. (1981) “The City that Disappeared: Glasgow’s Demolished Architecture.” p.11



societal opinions of the various districts - the first of such developments being the demolition of the original University buildings. In the subsequent centuries Glasgow “lost a tragically high number of fine buildings”[69].

This started with the Victorians, themselves responsible for much of the surviving fabric of the city, but who were also to blame for huge swathes of the city being demolished. They saw themselves as ‘great improvers’ and established the City Improvement Trust in 1866, both to clear away much of the poor slum districts and to facilitate control over future developments and rebuilding. However, “in its enthusiasm for reform, much that was interesting and valuable was swept away”[70], including the original High Street, the old village of the Gorbals and its castle. This wave of destruction continued as the Industrial Revolution, which had made Glasgow into a major city, slowed making it financially difficult to keep up with the general maintenance of the associated buildings, buildings which today would undoubtedly be classed as ‘significant’.

Once into the 20th Century, the city continued to grow, particularly in terms of urban sprawl around the existing residential zones to the the east, south and west. This continued until the outset of WWI, which brought new shipbuilding contracts to the city but also the beginnings of decline and a reduced level of urbanisation, which continued for the next few decades.

During WWII Glasgow suffered from severe bombing and with this came a dramatic shift in attitude towards the city’s fabric, particularly in those faced with rebuilding it. The greatest changes to the built fabric of the city in this era were to the areas of working-class housing, which had been placed in the control of the Glasgow Corporation. Initial experiments

69 Worsdall, F. (1981) “The City that Disappeared: Glasgow’s Demolished Architecture.”
70 Ibid. p.11

fig.8 SHIFT TO HIGH RISE DEVELOPMENTS OVER TENEMENTS

incorporated ideas of ‘Garden Cities’[71] but proved to be too expensive and an inefficient use of land and the tenement re-emerged as the most versatile housing form. Various New Towns were trialled but the Glaswegian population generally did not want to be relocated away from the city. The only option left was to redevelop the existing housing areas and so a set of Comprehensive Development Areas, namely the Bruce Plan and the Clyde Valley Regional Plan, were adopted, leading to large areas of the eastern and southern districts disappearing, to be replaced by multi-storey blocks [fig.8].

The wide-scale destruction didn’t end with areas considered to be sub-par and relatively disadvantaged; the city’s commercial core also experienced

71 The garden city movement, initiated in 1898 by Sir Ebenezer Howard, intended for new neighbourhoods to be planned as self-contained communities surrounded by greenbelts, each with proportionate areas of housing, industry, and agriculture.

fig.9 DESTRUCTION FOR THE MOTORWAY DEVELOPMENT

dramatic demolition when many fine buildings were destroyed to make way for larger, modern blocks during the 1950s and 60s, their occupants dispersed around the city, as the planners gave connectivity precedence over the built heritage - railway lines, stations and a brand new motorway running through the city centre [fig.9].

## EXTERNAL INFLUENCE AND CHANGING ATTITUDES

Much of the destruction of the city's heritage might well have been at the hand of the local authority, but attempts were also made to protect some of the inner-city buildings. Stringent restrictions were placed on developers wanting to build office blocks within the historic western portion of the city centre, so stringent that many historic buildings were retained and newer buildings were restricted to plots to the south of the historic core[72]. However, incentives such as these were wholly dependent on the demand for property - they were not the popular choice during the Victorian era nor were they in the 1950s/60s era of mass redevelopment.

Conversely, during this time there began a growing awareness of loss of the city's heritage, particularly from "students of architecture [who] began to make measured drawings of old buildings which were in imminent danger of removal, and the City Improvement Trust commissioned the eminent photographer Thomas Annan to make a record of the properties they were about to demolish"[73]. Not only this, but the Annual Conference of the Royal Institute of British Architects [RIBA] was held in the city during 1964. This move allowed the city to be viewed by influential people within the architectural world who had previously been led to believe the city was nothing more than "a slum ready for demolition"[74] who went

72 Morrison, N. (1994) "The Role of Planning in the Redevelopment Process of Glasgow's City Centre."
73 Worsdall, F. (1981) "The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture." p.13
74 Foreman, C. (2003) "Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's Lost Architectural Heritage." p.x



on to publicly announce that the city was astonishing in its Victorian architecture and that "we must preserve it"[75]. This idea did not interest the Lord Provost who retaliated with "do they seriously suggest that the local authority should have to carry the financial burden of preserving all the city's Victorian buildings? … many old buildings will have to come down, and considering the state of them, whether Victorian or Edwardian, thank goodness for that!"[76].

After the RIBA visit, Lord Esher published a a series of recommendations for the preservation of the city, namely that the city should begin to establish areas for explicit conservation (in line with legislation that was being implemented almost everywhere else in the UK), and that the council should make provision for a conservation officer to monitor the condition of the city's heritage[77].

It is unavoidable, that in the wake of wholesale destruction "the predominant emotion must be of sadness and regret that so much of this great city's heritage has been lost to us and to future generations"[78], but also important to reflect that although Lord Esher's report was decades too late, much of what still survives is as a direct result of his advice.

75 Foreman, C. (2003) "Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's Lost Architectural Heritage." p.x (quoting Lord Esher)
76 Ibid. p.xi (quoting Lord Provost)
77 Lord Esher (1971) "Conservation in Glasgow: a Preliminary Report."
78 Worsdall, F. (1981) "The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture." p.9

fig.10 CITY DESTRUCTION: 1910-2016

built heritage in Glasgow

“We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us.”

*(Winston Churchill, 1943)*

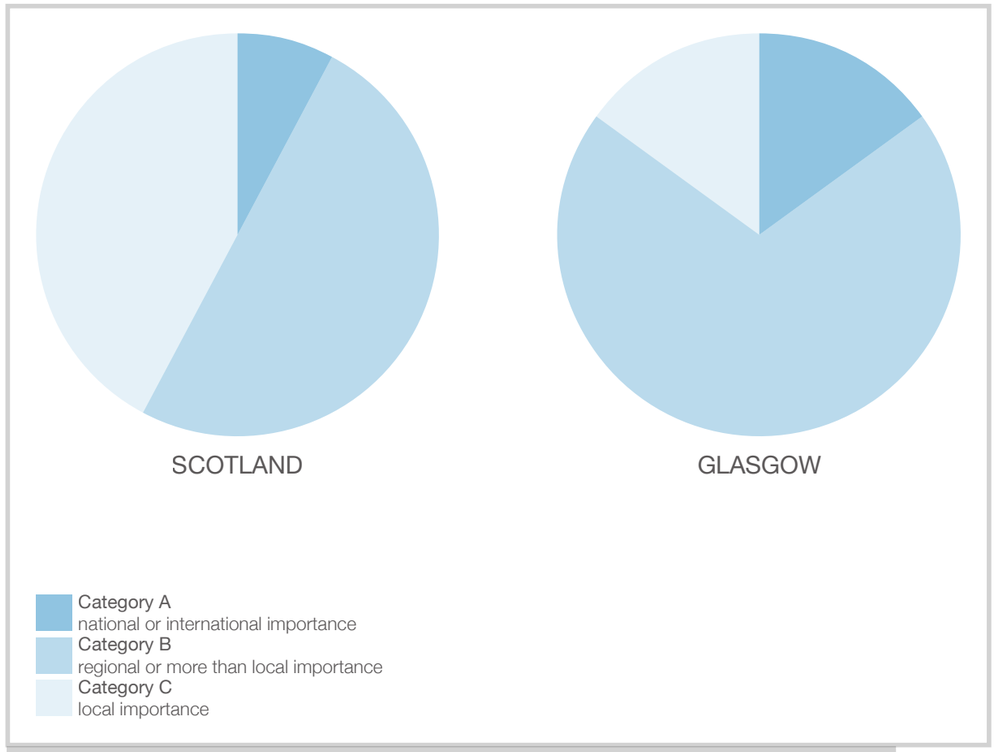


fig.11 COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND GLASGOW’S LISTED BUILDINGS

## GLASGOW’S SIGNIFICANT HERITAGE

Despite the historical waves of destruction Glasgow still boasts a remarkable built heritage. However, comparing the relative proportions of listed structures at the different levels of significance in Glasgow with the rest of Scotland [fig.11] we see a far smaller proportion of buildings of local significance (Category C) in Glasgow. This may be in part due to downgrading of vernacular buildings in rural areas[79], but it certainly shows that Glasgow has placed little emphasis on its heritage of local significance. Another observation is that Glasgow has a similar number of buildings of international significance, as of local significance, reinforcing the impression that (the justified) protection given to the city’s outstanding buildings has been at the expense of those considered to be more ‘ordinary’.

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79 Horne, M. (1993) “The Listing Process in Scotland and the Statutory Protection of Vernacular Building Types”

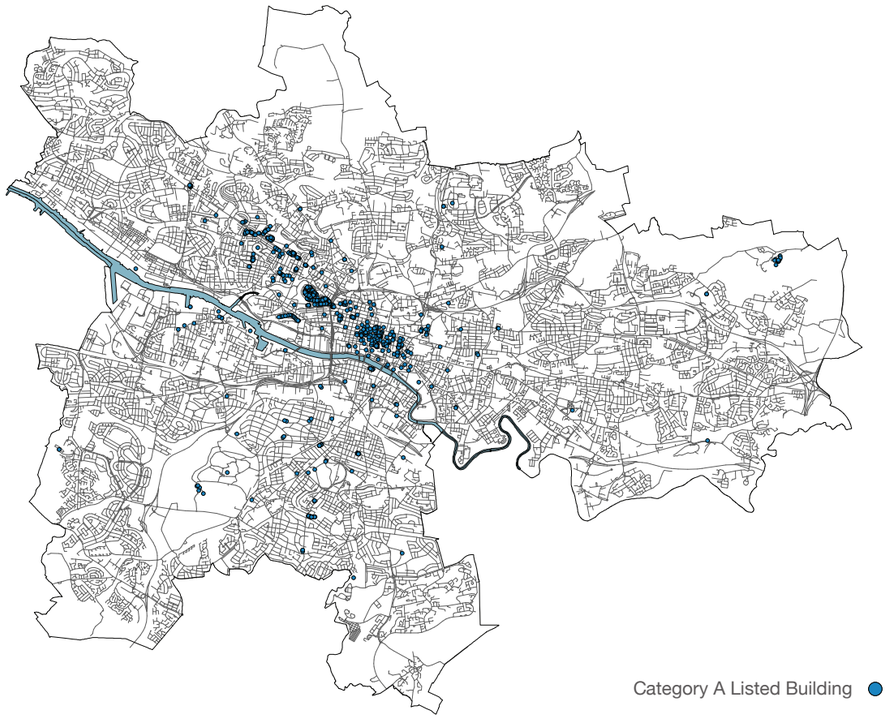


fig.12 DENSITY OF CATEGORY A LISTED BUILDINGS
** larger image in appendix 5*

## GEOGRAPHY OF LISTED BUILDINGS

A consequence of Glasgow's conservation history is evident in the geographical distribution of the remaining protected built heritage. As might be expected, the majority of Category A buildings are in the city centre and the west end [fig.12]. Whilst there are some Category A buildings in the south and east of the city, the concentration of significant properties drops dramatically, even in areas relatively close to the centre, and the sporadic clusters are likely a remnant of settlements which were subsumed into the city as it grew.

The commercial and the west end districts were the wealthier areas during their development, and it could now be argued that their affluence is self-perpetuating, due, in part, to the quality and quantity of the surviving

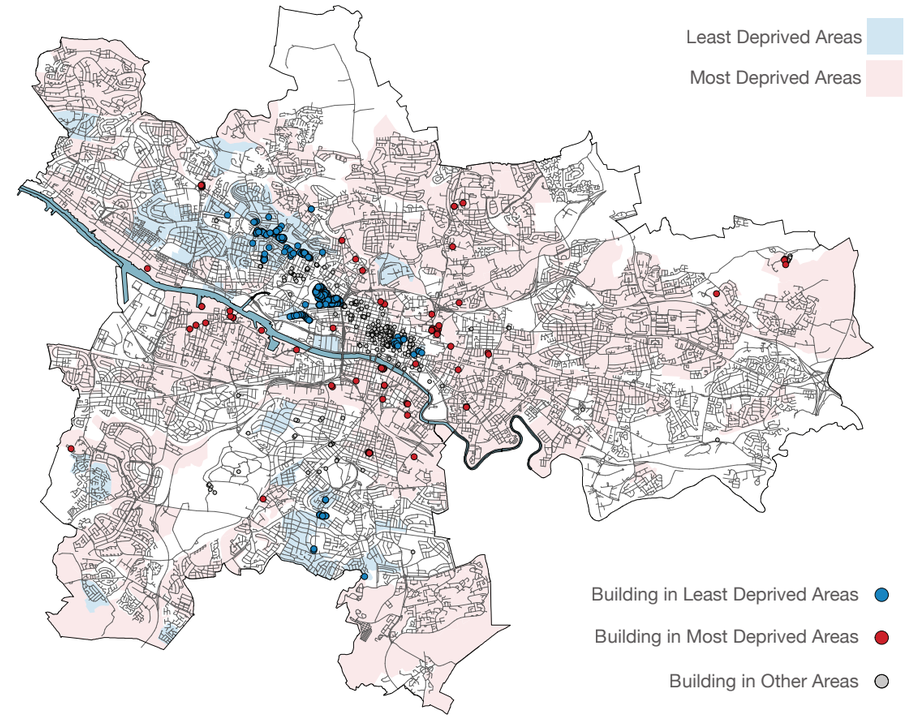


fig.13 CATEGORY A LISTED BUILDINGS TO DEPRIVATION IN THE CITY
** larger image in appendix 6*

built heritage as there is a "sizeable premium on listed properties"[80]. Research undertaken in England has shown that in areas with the "highest proportion of listed buildings, buyers should expect to pay almost 50 per cent more than the county and regional average"[81].

This aspect becomes more pronounced when one looks at the distribution of significant buildings against the distribution of socio-economic deprivation across the city [fig.13]. 51% of Category A buildings sit in the the least deprived areas, and only 10% are in the most deprived areas, despite these areas accounting for almost half of the city. There are exceptional departures from this trend, for example where the significance of an individual building was recognised, thus enabling it to be saved, either in the period of rapid destruction or more recently. The perverse

80 Davidson, M. (2016) "Mapped: Which Areas Have the Most Listed Buildings?"
81 Ibid.

fig.14 THOMSON'S CALEDONIA ROAD CHURCH, ONCE PART OF A BUSY COMMUNITY

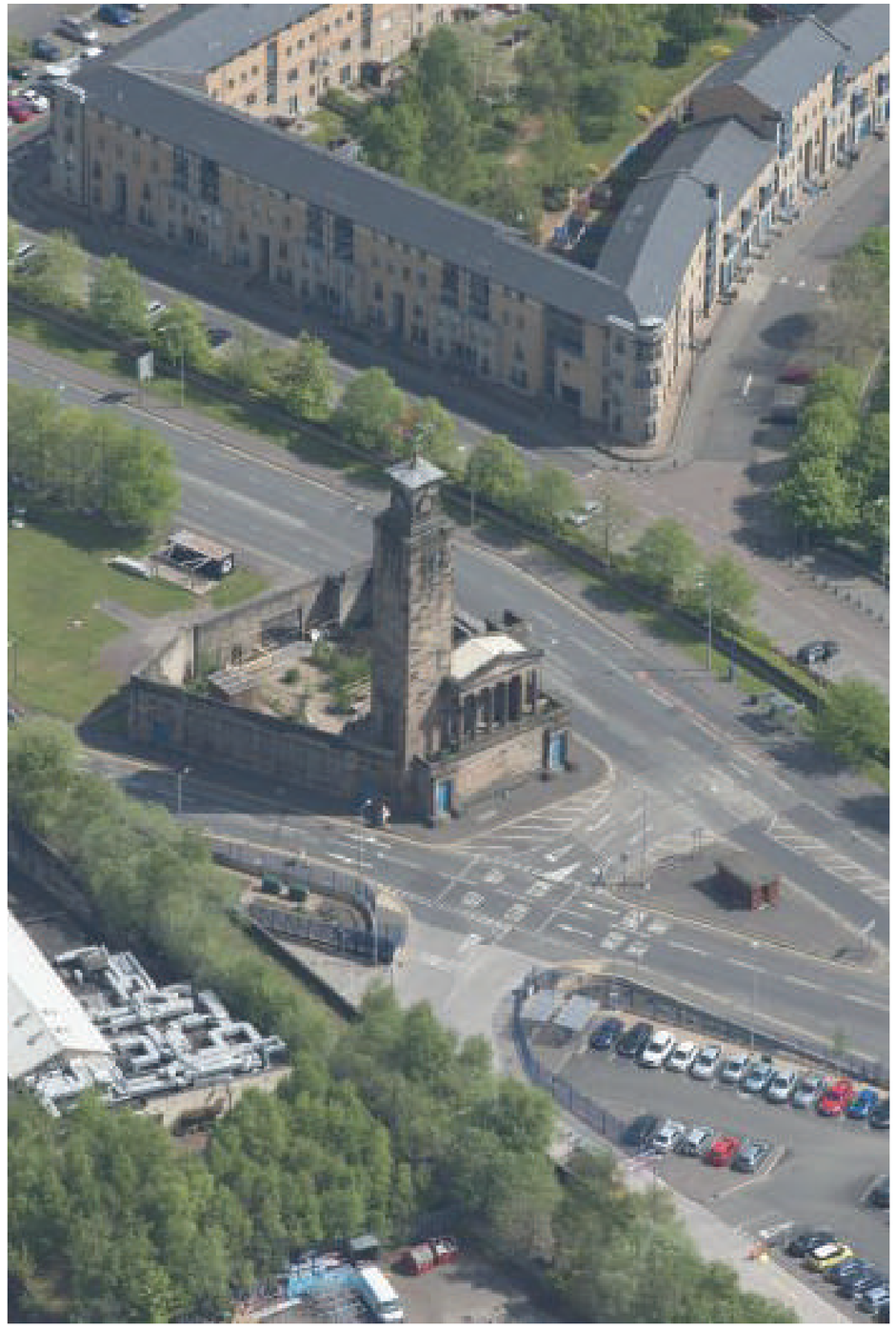

fig.15 SAVED FROM DEMOLITION BUT NOW SITTING ISOLATED AND ON THE BARR

result of this spot-protection of individual buildings such as churches or schools is that whilst, the surrounding areas have been destroyed, they are left behind as isolated relics and generally useless[82] in the remaining community [figs.14 and 15].

The lack of significant buildings in the eastern and southern areas could also be attributed to limitations of the statutory controls currently in place: unlisted but worthy buildings have been demolished because no permission is required to do so when the property is unlisted or doesn't sit in a conservation area.

## NEGLECTED HERITAGE

Unfortunately, many significant buildings fall out of use or into a severe state of disrepair, despite protection. Even more unfortunately, similar geographical correlations also occur with these properties. Such buildings are recorded on the Building at Risk Register [BARR], maintained by HES since 1990[83], to highlight endangered listed (or in conservation areas) properties. The BARR uses two different criteria for assessing the risk of a property[84]:

- *condition assessment* is usually an assessment of the building fabric and will provide an assessment between 'good' and 'ruinous';
- *risk level* describes the extent of the risk but is not always directly associated with the overall condition and might focus instead on the likelihood of demolition or further damage.

Since the inception of the register, there have been approximately 4,700 buildings added to the list nationally, 1,700 have since been 'saved' and 498 demolished[85].

82 Worsdall, F. (1981) "The City that Disappeared: Glasgow's Demolished Architecture."
83 BARR. (2016a) "Welcome to Buildings at Risk Register."
84 BARR (2016b) "Frequently Asked Questions"
85 BARR. (2016a) "Welcome to Buildings at Risk Register."

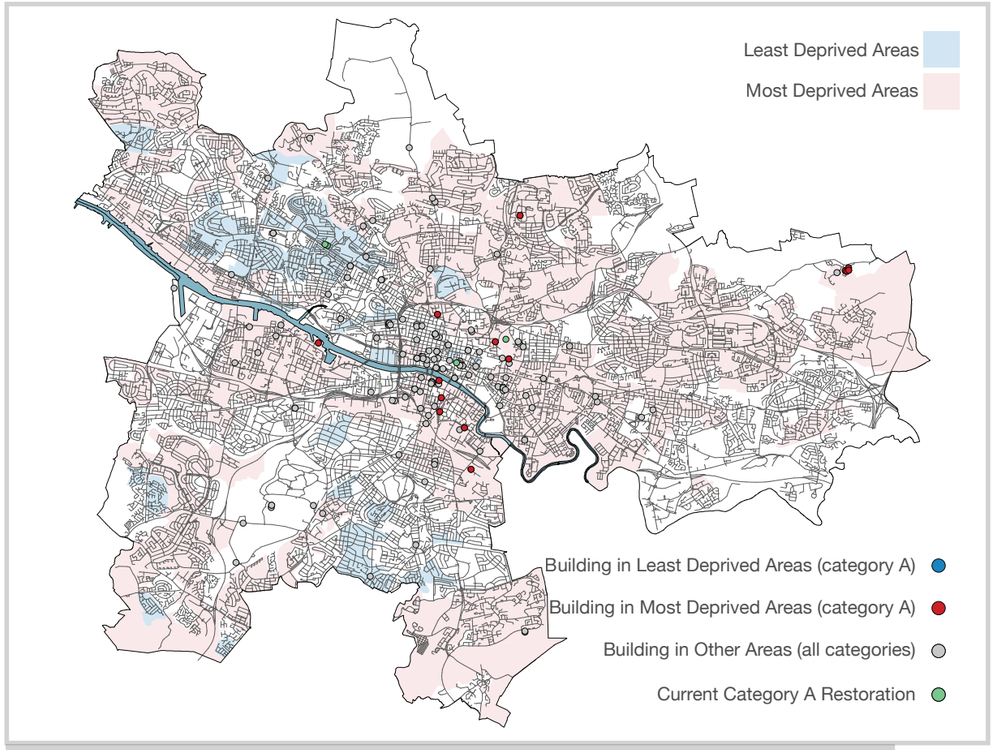


fig.16 PROPERTIES CURRENTLY LISTED ON THE BARR
** larger image in appendix 7*

Glasgow currently has 159 buildings included on the register, 32 of which are Category A listed properties [fig.16]. 4 of these are currently undergoing restoration, with only 1 being undertaken in an area suffering from deprivation. The other 3 ongoing restoration projects are all in the least deprived deciles. Of the remaining 28 properties on the register, 50% are in the areas of the worst deprivation, and none are in the least deprived areas.

Another striking comparison of the significant buildings currently considered to be at risk, is that in the most deprived areas, although the majority of buildings are considered to have a fairly low risk level (presumably because development in these areas is limited, thus reducing the risk of imminent demolition), the majority of the buildings are at the worst end of the scale for the current condition of the property [fig.17].

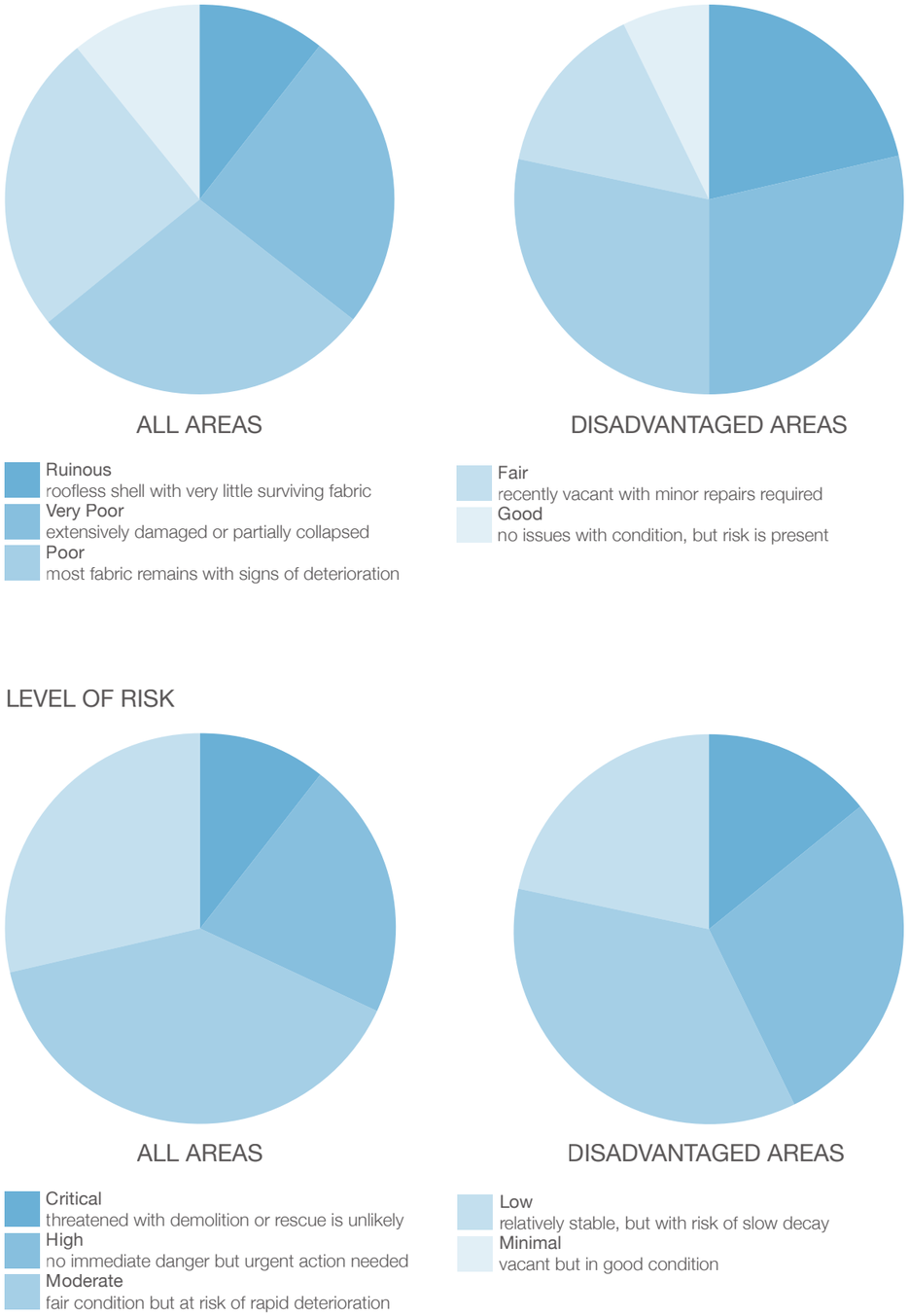


fig.17 COMPARISONS OF BUILDING CONDITION AND RISK

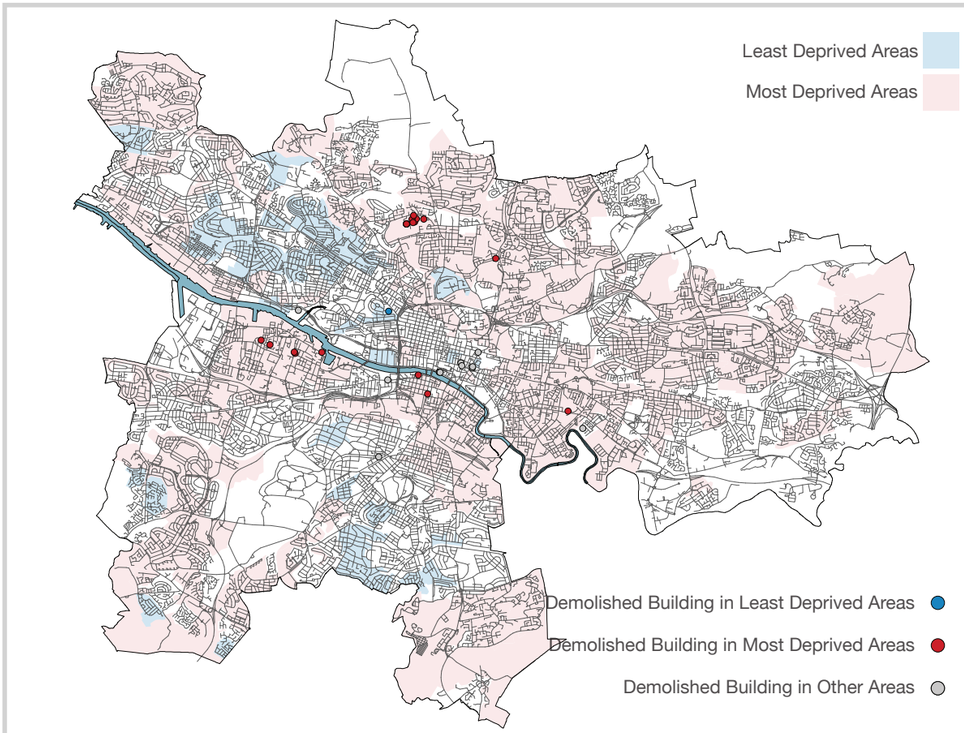


fig.18 BUILDINGS ON THE BARR DEMOLISHED IN THE LAST 5 YEARS
** larger image in appendix 8*

There are currently 9 Category A buildings considered to be a high risk ("no immediate danger of collapse but condition is such that unless urgent remedial works are carried out the building will sharply deteriorate"[86]) or a critical risk ("threatened with demolition, and a real or perceived conservation deficit now makes rescue unlikely [or] suffering from an acute structural problem that could lead to full or partial collapse, and there is an immediate threat of further deterioration"[87]). 6 of these are in areas of multiple deprivation and, whilst not the most deprived, 2 of the remaining are in the lower half of the of the deprivation spectrum.

## DEMOLITION OF HERITAGE

Once a building is added to the BARR, there are only two ways for it to be removed: it can be restored and saved, or it can be demolished. Further

86 BARR (2016b) "Frequently Asked Questions"
87 Ibid.

evidence of the socio-economic divisions in heritage appears when we analyse the buildings demolished in the past 5 years. 32 buildings have been demolished (this doesn't take into account the buildings, listed or otherwise, which were demolished before inclusion on the register), 3 of these buildings were Category A, and 1 of these also in an area of multiple deprivation. Protection of more significant buildings is such that demolition is rare and instead they sit on the register for longer: of the 28 Category A buildings currently on the register, 83% have been there for longer than 5 years. Clearer demolition trends are evidenced when lesser-listed buildings are viewed - of the 32 buildings demolished, just 1 of these was in an area of least deprivation, whilst 14 were in the areas most suffering from deprivation [fig.18].

The statistical evidence presented here shows a number of clear trends that apply to the built heritage of Glasgow, which may be assumed to be applicable on a wider scale. Areas containing a concentration of cultural heritage lead to higher property values, and as a result makes buildings in these areas more viable to retain and maintain. Buildings in areas of high deprivation are more likely to fall into disrepair, (perhaps) become listed on the buildings at risk register, and subsequently be demolished. Whilst these statistics focus predominantly on Category A properties, the same trends are also visible with Category B and C properties [appendices 9,10 and 11].

## PART 2 SUMMARY

We have looked at the development of Conservation Architecture and the framework for the administration of the protection of built heritage nationally and its operation in Glasgow. Moving on to consider Glasgow's built heritage we have looked at aspects of the development of the city and, in considering the geographic distribution of recorded, and thus protected, buildings and conservation areas we have found a dramatic contrast between the numbers in areas of high socio-economic deprivation and more affluent areas.

This discovery may not be very surprising, but the difference is quite stark: it is worth considering how this came about and whether anything can be done to redress the imbalance.

Areas containing a concentration of cultural heritage have benefitted from higher property values, making the long term retention and maintenance of buildings more viable. The surviving listed buildings in these areas were built for affluent people, people who valued their preservation when statutory protections were not the norm. Throughout history, even as ownership has changed, wealthier people have cooperated to protect their buildings, which in turn has lead to conservation architecture being tarnished with notions of exclusivity and elitism. This elitism has certainly played a role in the historic shaping of Glasgow, and probably many other British cities, particularly in terms of



the level of protections which less-significant properties faced during the era of post-industrial decline and the initial listings.

In addition to this, buildings in areas of high deprivation are more likely to fall into disrepair, to (perhaps) become listed on the buildings at risk register, and subsequently to be demolished.

These trends show that differentiated approaches to the treatment of heritage, based upon its location, are justifiable. The retention of historic buildings contributes long term benefits to the area regeneration - steps should be taken to compensate for the lack of favourable factors (cultural awareness, financial resources, etc.) and to promote the preservation of buildings through additional funding and support. There are still numbers of critical buildings in areas where protection or restoration would have least viability but which could have great social and cultural impact with changes in the practice of building protection and conservation architecture, but a wider range of voices need be listened too for it to happen.

The next step is to review in a bit more detail how the geographic disparity in the distribution of protected buildings came about and to consider how, without penalising less disadvantaged areas, significant buildings in the more deprived areas can be better protected.

the legacy of elitism

“I marvelled at the willingness of parliament to set up, and the civil service to operate, a system designed to have a certain effect without ever checking whether it was having that effect, or another, or none.”

*(Wayland Kennet, 1972)*



In Glasgow the socio-economic divisions in heritage protection are clear cut. This results from the city’s history and development and delays in the legislative system being implemented, but we can now largely view this as a product of ‘neglect by omission’: with no malicious intent, factors combine to reinforce maintenance and conservation in privileged areas, whilst others are forgotten. We have already seen [p.54-55] that the self-perpetuating concentration of more affluent residents in certain areas results in care for the built heritage and the general environment through the availability of financial resources and also as a result of greater cultural awareness. Conversely, lack of those favourable factors results in building decay and a dearth of protected structures. It should not be surprising that the implementation of planning policy follows similar priorities and awareness.

## LIMITATIONS TO LEGISLATION

The current statutory system can do little to rectify the situation, mainly because of the limitations which it faces. These limitations include the lack of regular monitoring of the historic environment, public designations, little objection to developments to the lower listed properties, and ineffective penalties for abuse or improper work.

- Public Designations

We have seen that earlier listing practices missed a large number of significant buildings through oversight or taste of the listing officers, but the current system of public designation for listing is not much more inclusive. With a public system for asset nomination comes the potential for more conservation elitism, which again can be based around the geographic locations of the population, lack of cultural awareness and disinterest. With aspects of deprivation come reduced cultural potential and educational resources resulting in a lack of community understanding of the significance of buildings in their environment.

- Heritage Monitoring

Article 4 of the Venice Charter states that “it is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis”[88]. As such, it is important that the condition of historic places is monitored to ensure that they are not deteriorating. However, once a building is listed, or a conservation area is designated, there is no statutory obligation to keep a track of its condition (with the exception of reviewing planning applications) unfortunately neglecting an important objective of the legislation - a factor unscrupulous developers are keen to exploit.

In Scotland, the mechanism used by both HES and GCC to determine whether to allow change is the HESPS. This policy allows for demolition of a listed property, or a building within a conservation area, if one of four criteria can be proved. Of particular concern in this regard are:
- b, “the building is incapable of repair”[89]; and
- d, “repair of the building is not economically viable and that it has been marketed at a price reflecting its location and condition to potential restoring purchasers for a reasonable period”[90].
Unfortunately, the land development values which can be obtained on some sites are such that, in conjunction with this policy, it becomes economically advantageous to allow a listed building to deteriorate to the point of demolition.

- Statutory Objections & Penalties

Whilst HES comment on all applications for demolition, whatever the listing level, in determining applications for listed building consent for alterations, a planning authority need consult HES only for Category A or B properties[91]. With this practice comes the risk of locally-significant

88 ICOMOS (1964) “Venice Charter”
89 HES (2016c) “Historic Environment Scotland: Policy Statement June 2016” p.35
90 Ibid. p.35
91 Ibid. p.64



buildings (Category C) being substantially lost through removal of large parts under a standard listed building application.

There are penalties in place, such as fines and the threat of legal action, for abuse of the listed building regulations, but this system is under-utilised and so does not act as an effective deterrent. Even when it does, the damage has still been done and the intrinsic values of the asset are still compromised.

## LACK OF ‘SUCCESS FACTORS’

In Section 2 we saw that the four success factors *Cultural Significance, Social Usefulness, Financial Viability* and *Environmental Advantage*, are essential for effective conservation of the built environment. Unfortunately, in more deprived areas it will all too often be the case that one or more of these factors is deficient, leading to an abundance of vacant, neglected historic, buildings.

- Lacking Cultural Significance

We become aware and develop our understanding of cultural significance through education, experiences and regular interaction: an area with poor educational opportunities, and lacking in cultural resources is likely to have a community which is comparatively unaware of the significance of and under-values its built heritage.

- Economic Deprivation

Adequate financial resource is certainly one of the key factors which is required for effective conservation, and in the more deprived areas of the city it is likely that a lack of disposable wealth will be a handicap. Where financial resources are unavailable and there is a lack of knowledge of where additional funds might come from, it is inevitable that a community will be unlikely to push for the conservation of its historic architecture.

- Unseen Potential for Social Use

A lack of understanding of the importance of the built heritage alongside a reduced perception of the practicability of affecting outcomes makes it more likely, in areas of high deprivation, that the full potential of a vacant building might not be realised. The value of buildings for social use, as well as the disposable income to make use of them, can be lowered, resulting in a reduced spectrum of opportunities for adaptive reuse. Areas of high deprivation typically also struggle with their external perception, significantly reducing the catchment area of the building for potential users and the willingness of ‘outsiders’ to invest.

- Environmental Advantages

Vacant buildings in a neglected condition (broken windows, falling debris, dumping of rubbish, etc.) can seriously blight a neighbourhood and can lead to higher crime rates and reduced wealth[92], or to adverse health effects[93]. It is these combined factors which often contribute to the surrounding community wanting, and often campaigning, for the demolition of historic buildings.

92 Purtle, J. (2012) “How Abandoned Buildings Could Make You Sick”
93 D. A. Cohen et al., (2003) “Neighborhood Physical Conditions and Health”



beyond protection for
(Glasgow’s) heritage

"...during the course of a building preservation project, not just the stonework and the roof gets repaired, but also people's hope, purpose, identity, community spirit, optimism and courage to take control of their future..."

*(Liz Davidson, 21stC)*

The aforementioned limitations combine together to further cement the geographical divisions in the protection and conservation of significant built heritage. If the benefits of heritage are to be exploited in the more deprived areas of the city, other interventions need to be made to ensure that the remaining historic buildings are protected and preserved for the future. It is important, however, that this is not done at the expense of the less disadvantaged parts of the city where the built heritage is already well protected and preserved.

The new interventions need to address each of the deficiencies identified in the previous section in a coordinated and holistic way. This section outlines some options which could, with development of specific details, be applied in Glasgow, and might also be applicable elsewhere, if similar issues are experienced.

Firstly, and importantly, pro-active measures are needed in the more deprived parts of the city to compensate for the lack of those very factors that in, for example, the West End result in the high levels of listing of significant buildings and thus of their conservation: enlightened self-interest, cultural awareness, effective communication and financial means.

Whilst there are a number of options available for ensuring heritage is maintained for everyone and that the benefits might be observed in the more disadvantaged areas, there are some issues which need to be resolved.

## ENHANCED LOCAL AUTHORITY CONTROL

A simple way to improve protection of buildings would be to extend current controls.

At present, only buildings which are already listed, or are in a conservation area, require planning consent to permit demolition. A simple measure would be to introduce universal demolition consents giving the opportunity

for the planning authority, and the local community, to review the significance of a building before its loss, regardless of its location in the city. This would ensure that buildings which carry a history are not overlooked and are given the potential to be utilised for future socio-economic redevelopment of an area.

At the local authority level, there is an absence, either perceived or in reality, of the power and/or will to step in earlier during the deterioration of a significant building. A building is allowed to deteriorate until it becomes unsafe or uneconomic to repair and the owner is able to prove that it requires demolition. The Local Authority should have the resources to be able to intervene sooner, allowing them to make greater use of existing enforcement measures, strict penalties and compulsory purchase powers. These resources should also allow ensuring that buildings already within their control are maintained and secured properly as is often not the case, investing at this stage can significantly reduce the capital cost and increase the viability of a project to restore the building in the future.

## STATUTORY DESIGNATIONS

HES (and similar bodies in the rest of the UK) faced criticism of elitism during the initial designations of listed buildings, due to the perception that local significance wasn't known and that some architectural typologies were neglected. These criticisms eventually lead to a system of public designation and whilst these are still reviewed at a statutory level, there are possibilities for some buildings to be overlooked when local expertise on heritage is lacking. To avoid omissions that this lack of understanding might bring, it could be supplemented with a locally facilitated system of designation to ensure local histories are recognised. This designation system would be ongoing and so would also allow for continual monitoring of the condition of historic assets to guard against deterioration.

A review of statutory designations would also allow for conservation areas to be utilised more effectively for the allocation of grant funding. Heritage



trusts are beginning to assign funding to deprived areas, but most of the financial support to conservation projects is available only to those in conservation areas. For example, GCHT offers priority grant funding to properties in just four conservation areas[94] - whilst stating that they would consider limited funding to other conservation areas and areas in the worst level of deprivation, crossover between the two are lacking [fig.19].

## A NON-STATUTORY METHOD FOR PROTECTION

The need for a combination of success factors in conservation projects was identified above. Improving understanding of the importance of the *cultural significance, social use, environmental / sustainable benefits* and *financial advantages* of heritage conservation within the context of the socio-economic geography of the city might offer another way to increase protection of historic buildings in the more deprived areas.

Only 13% of Category A buildings classed as 'saved' from the BARR in the last 5 years are in disadvantaged areas, so it can be assumed that the less disadvantaged areas can more easily fulfil the four success factors at project feasibility stage. For the conservation of heritage in more deprived areas to be boosted compensatory action is needed to ensure the factors can be satisfied, to allow a 'level playing field' for all significant buildings, regardless of their geographic location. The implementation of this will rely on improving awareness of environmental benefits, raising the cultural and social profiles of the historic environment, encouraging community participation and positive discrimination in the allocation of financial support.

- Raising Cultural & Social Awareness

One reason why many significant buildings are overlooked is due to a general lack of community interest, consequently efforts have been made in recent years to raise awareness of the historic environment.

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94 GCHT (2016) "Grants."

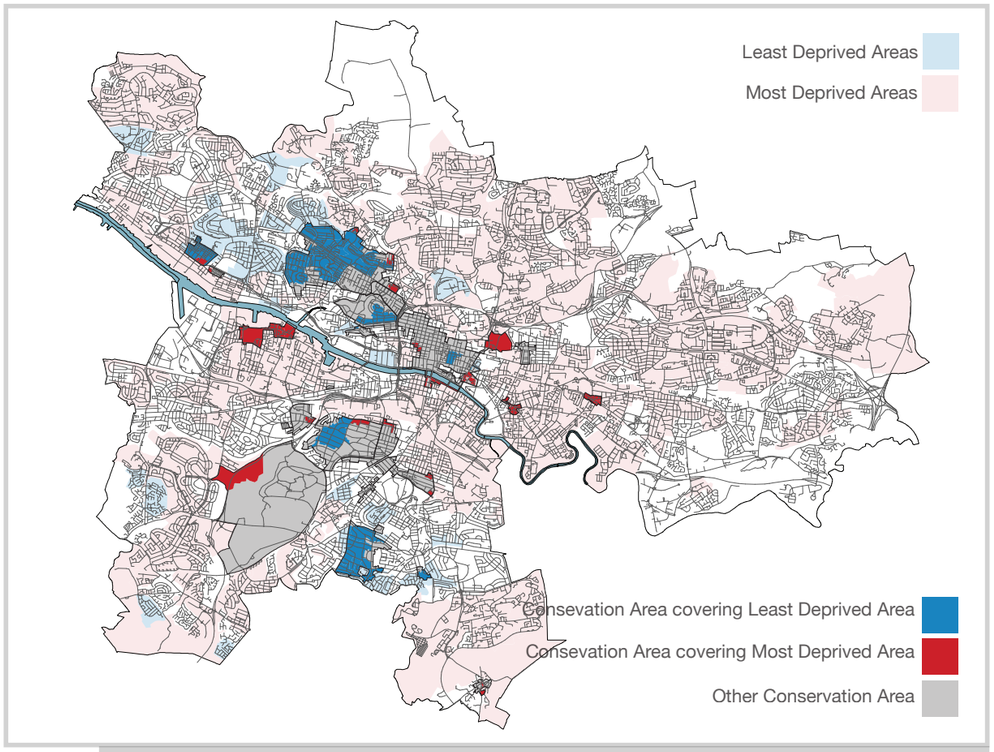


fig.19 OVERLAP BETWEEN AREAS OF DEPRIVATION AND CONSERVATION AREAS
** larger image in appendix 12*

Examples are outreach programmes at heritage destinations, educational programmes and public events such as 'Year of Culture', 'Festival of Architecture' and 'Doors Open Day'. However, because they require a base level of interest in the historic environment the success of such activities can be limited. To raise this initial interest level, use needs to be made of various grant opportunities available, such as the Architectural Heritage Fund [AHF] (at a national level), to raise community awareness, as well as to help with the provision of specialist knowledge where it is required. Funds like these are interested in the community aspects of conservation, and the benefits that protects can bring to deprived areas[95], and utilise a grant and/or loan system, in addition to government funding, to do so.

95 The Architectural Heritage Fund (2016). "Mission."

Funding is available for conservation projects from a wide range of organisations but there appears to be a disconnect between its availability and people's knowledge of how to access it and how to utilise it effectively. There is scope for the development of a facilitatory body or methodology to raise awareness in communities of the benefits such funds could bring to their historic environment. An exemplar for this could be the creation of the 'Place Standard' by Architecture and Design Scotland and Scottish Government to promote the value of architecture and the quality of place through engagement[96].

- Additional Funding Systems

In addition to the potential to raise community awareness, grant systems are in place to offer support for the physical works which are undertaken in a conservation project. These come from a wide array of sources, including the Heritage Lottery Fund, HES and Scottish Government at the national scale, as well as more locally based funds (such as GCHT in Glasgow).

### PRO-ACTIVE FUNDING ALLOCATION

Large funds available from national institutions, down to smaller payments from local trusts and civic societies. All of the different funds have different applications, each with a particular framework for a successful project and each fund has a different set of rules for how the grant can be used - some require project officers, some require only local community involvement, some require work to be carried out within a set time frame, and others require confirmation of another support system prior to awarding their own. The grants and funding systems are a minefield, and a complicated one at that - the majority of conservation projects require an experienced project officer to understand it and consolidate all of the funding options. This is how some of the larger civic trusts are able to undertake a high number of projects, but it is often the case that

96 Architecture+Design Scotland (2016) "A&DS."

the smaller, inexperienced local groups, without the specialist knowledge required, are not successful in undertaking conservation projects. Whilst there are funds aimed at providing this specialist assistance to community groups, such as AHF, it could be beneficial for the grant system to be overhauled, potentially making it simpler and easier to succeed. This change would be in line with the European Single Procurement Document [ESPD] which is a standard procurement form used within the EU aimed at removing some of the barriers to participation in public procurement[97].

Only 11% of land within conservation areas is also in areas of multiple deprivation [fig.19]. Conservation areas attract funding but, since designation of conservation areas relies predominantly on the presence of already-listed buildings, this can lead to the diversion of funds away from disadvantaged areas - more conservation areas are in less deprived areas where there is arguably less need for additional funding. Funding systems should be allowed more freedom to assign funds to conservation projects most in need, regardless of location.

One final way in which funding can be allocated differently is through facilitating mothballing of historic buildings. Many conservation projects, even with adequate funding and support are still unlikely to happen because of a lack of community incentive, or a reduced social need for the building and/or its proposed use. In these instances, it would be beneficial to allow for the targeted allocation of funding to ensure that a building is preserved, in its current condition, until there is a stronger societal need for it. Communities are constantly evolving and this approach would allow for a community to have access to heritage assets when it is required, without the additional cost of restoration from an even more dilapidated state.

97 Scottish, Government (2016a) “ESPD Frequently Asked Questions.”



# conclusion

There are various reasons why we protect our built heritage, including safeguarding its intrinsic values, connections to the past and its relatively positive influence on our environment. In order to protect historic buildings, a hierarchy of powers has been established over the last 50 years, from international charters through to the local implementation of national policies. Whilst all of these groups are aiming for the same outcome - for our built heritage to survive for future generations - conservation movements have historically been accused of being middle-class, elitist and concerned only with continuing the self-perpetuating cycle of ‘heritage premium’ - a benefit of historic buildings which seems to be available to only those that can afford it.

Produced by constantly evolving governing bodies, the policies aimed at safeguarding our heritage, have, over time, begun to become more inclusive: designation of historic buildings is now a more public affair; and various groups, both statutory and non-, have been established to promote the use of historic buildings in order to boost local socio-economic environments. However, the legacy which survives from earlier exclusivity, when combined with rapid urbanisation in the industrial era and varying social attitudes to the built environment, is still present in the current formation of our cities.

In reviewing this situation, the historic fabric of Glasgow was analysed - its origins and development, proposals for urban (and social) upheaval in the name of regeneration, and its relatively unforthcoming attitude to protecting its stock of significant buildings. It is lucky, however, that the city development plans proposed post-WWII were not fully realised, otherwise a large portion of the surviving building stock would also have been lost, including the majority of the city centre.

Whilst in no means the root cause, a stark deficit of historic buildings in large areas of the city is a direct result of the city being one of the most deprived in Scotland, with almost half of the population considered to be the country’s most deprived. Glasgow has also shown that the significant buildings which do survive in these areas, are also more likely



to be neglected or demolished, something which ought to be rectified if the benefits of conservation architecture are to be exploited in order to promote regeneration in an area, leading to a boost in the socio-economic environment.

A greater understanding of the benefits of the conservation architecture, and how they manifest themselves in new projects, as well as an overhaul of the current legislative system, could begin to evolve our approach to the historic environment into something which is much more socially inclusive, thus dispelling claims of elitism and prejudice in the conservation world. In turn, this has the potential to ensure that all historic properties, not just the ones considered most important or the ones sitting in the right location, will survive longer. These reforms however, cannot be carried out in isolation. Also important is the promotion of the importance of heritage, and the raising of motivation and participation levels of the general population.

All of this however, would work toward ensuring everyone has access to heritage, everyone looks after it and its future is protected, hopefully enough that the remaining 159 properties on the BARR might be saved and others avoid ever having to join it.

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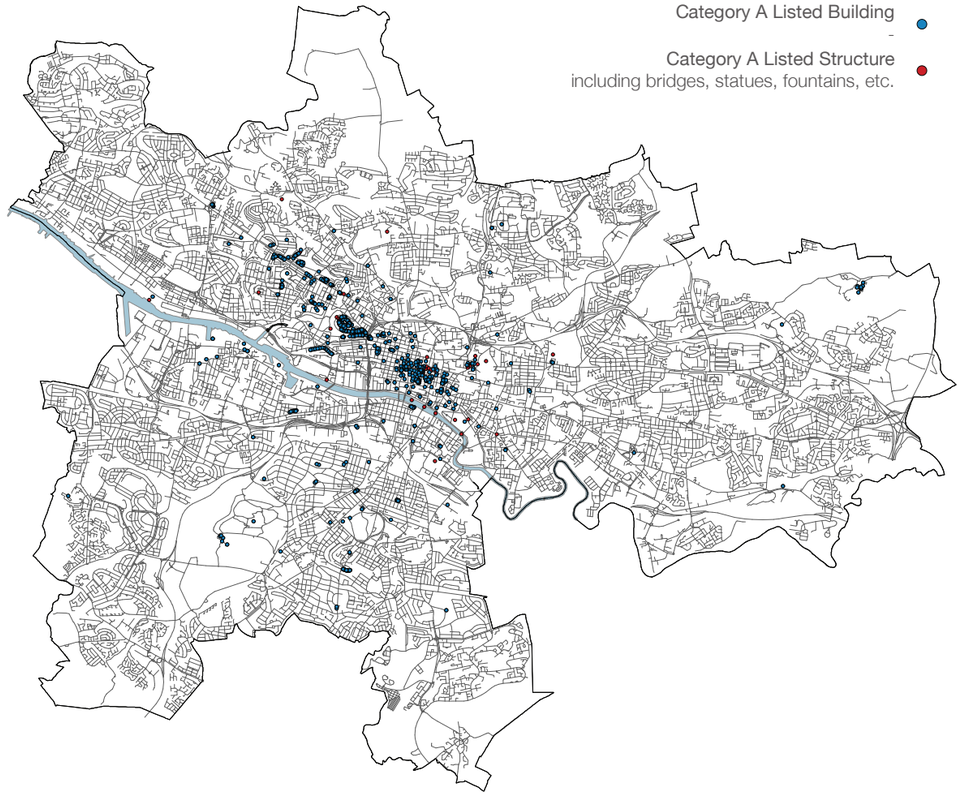
# ILLUSTRATIONS

# appendices

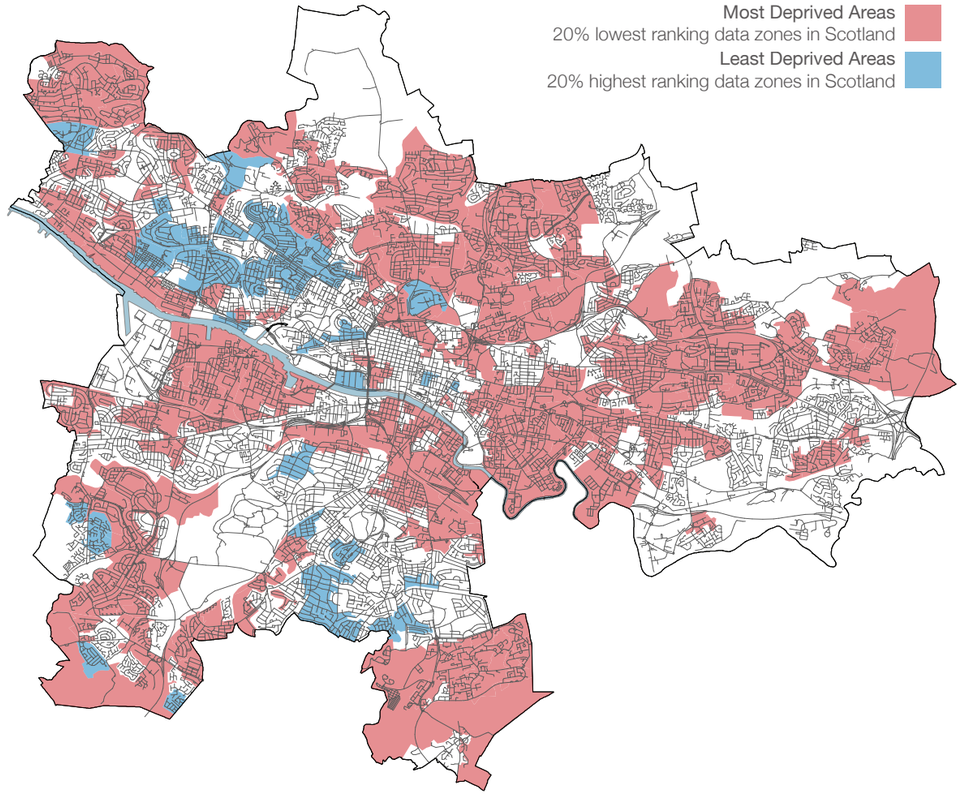



## HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND
## _Category A Properties

“The term ‘building’ is defined in the 1997 Town & Country Planning (Scotland) Act as amplified below:
a. a‘building’includes any structure or erection, and any part of a building in a list compiled or approved by Historic Environment Scotland. This can include street furniture, cranes, fountains, bridges, bandstands and earthen works such as ha-has; b. any object or structure which is fixed to a listed building, or which falls within the curtilage of such a building and, although not fixed to the building, has formed part of the land since before 1 July 1948, will be treated as part of the building; c. any plant or machinery within a building is excluded from the definition of ‘building’ but can be included within the scope of listing if physically attached to the main building; d. listing covers the interior as well as the exterior of the building.”

For the purposes of this project, the term ‘building’ refers only to buildings and excludes structures, such as fountains, statues and bridges.

HES (2016c) “*Historic Environment Scotland: Policy Statement June 2016*” p.44




## SCOTTISH INDEX OF MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION 2016 _Glasgow

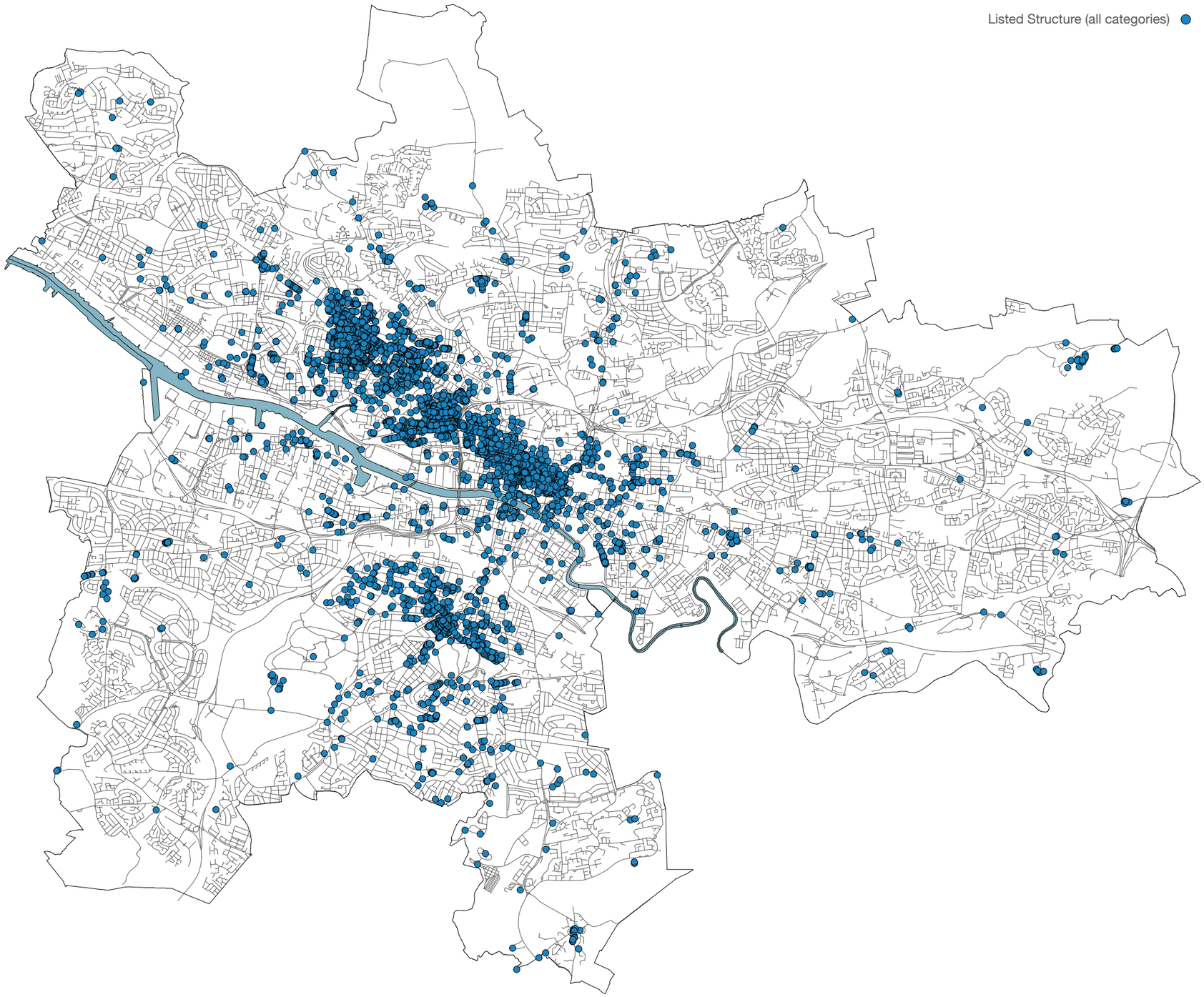
“The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 2016 was published on 31 August 2016.

Geographical areas are divided into data zones, and There are 6,976 data zones in Scotland, each containing on average 760 people.

SIMD is the official tool for finding the most deprived areas in Scotland. SIMD identifies small area concentrations of multiple deprivation across all of Scotland in a consistent way. It allows effective targeting of policies and funding where the aim is to wholly or partly tackle or take account of area concentrations of multiple deprivation.

SIMD ranks DZs from most deprived (ranked 1) to least deprived (ranked 6,976). People using SIMD will often focus on the DZs below a certain rank, such as the 5%, 10%, 15% or 20% most deprived DZs in Scotland.”

Scottish Government (2016b) “*Introducing The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2016*”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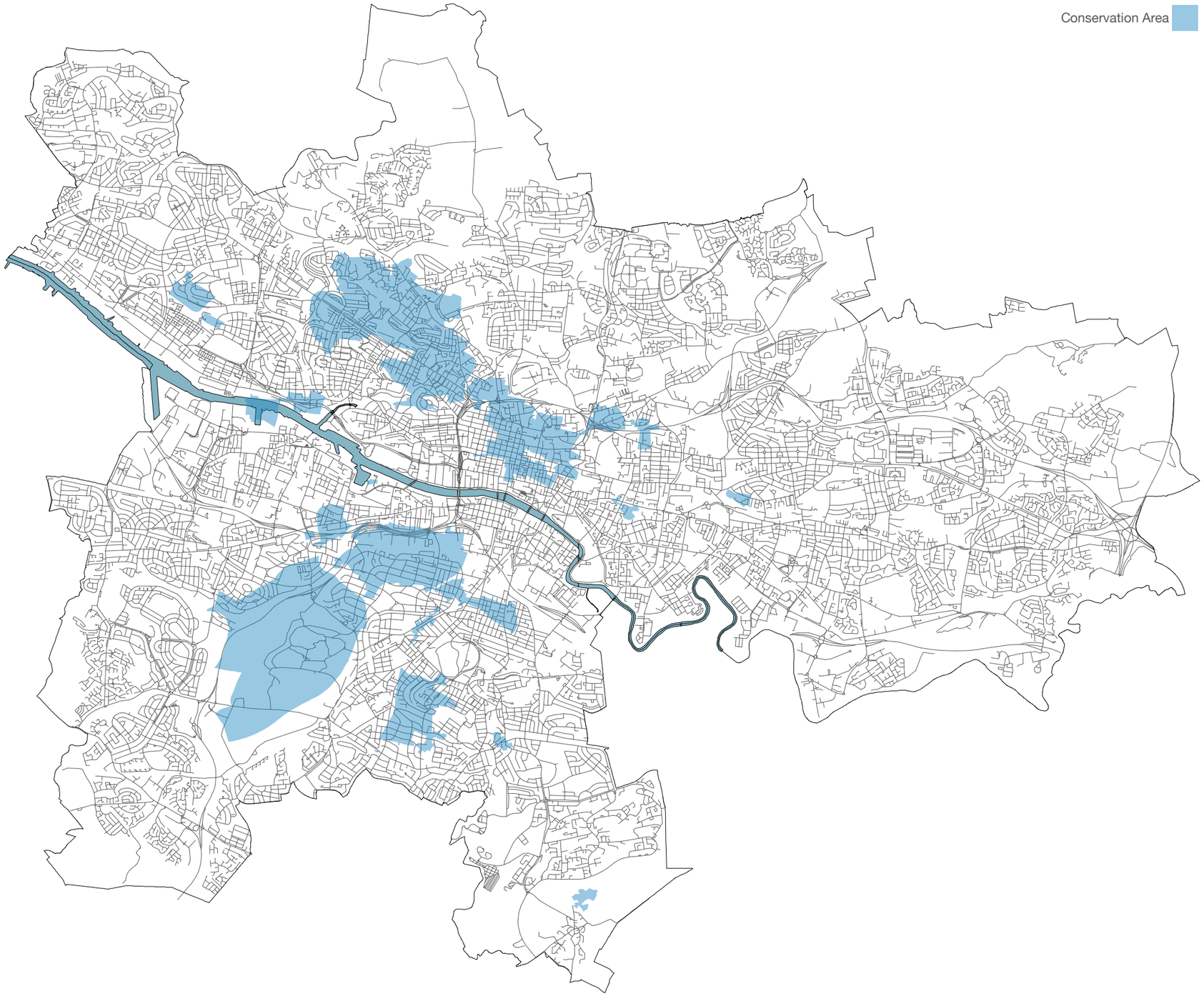
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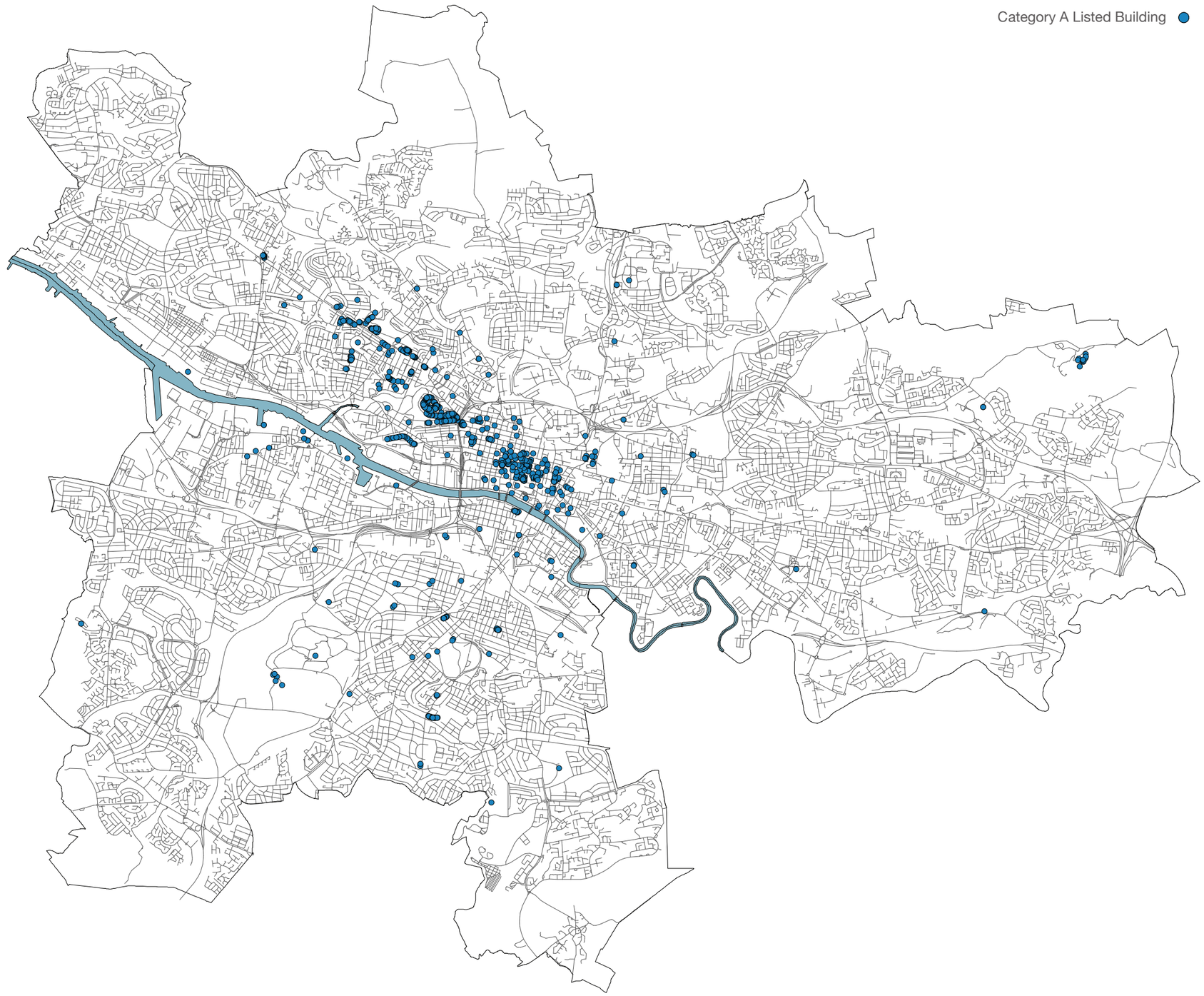
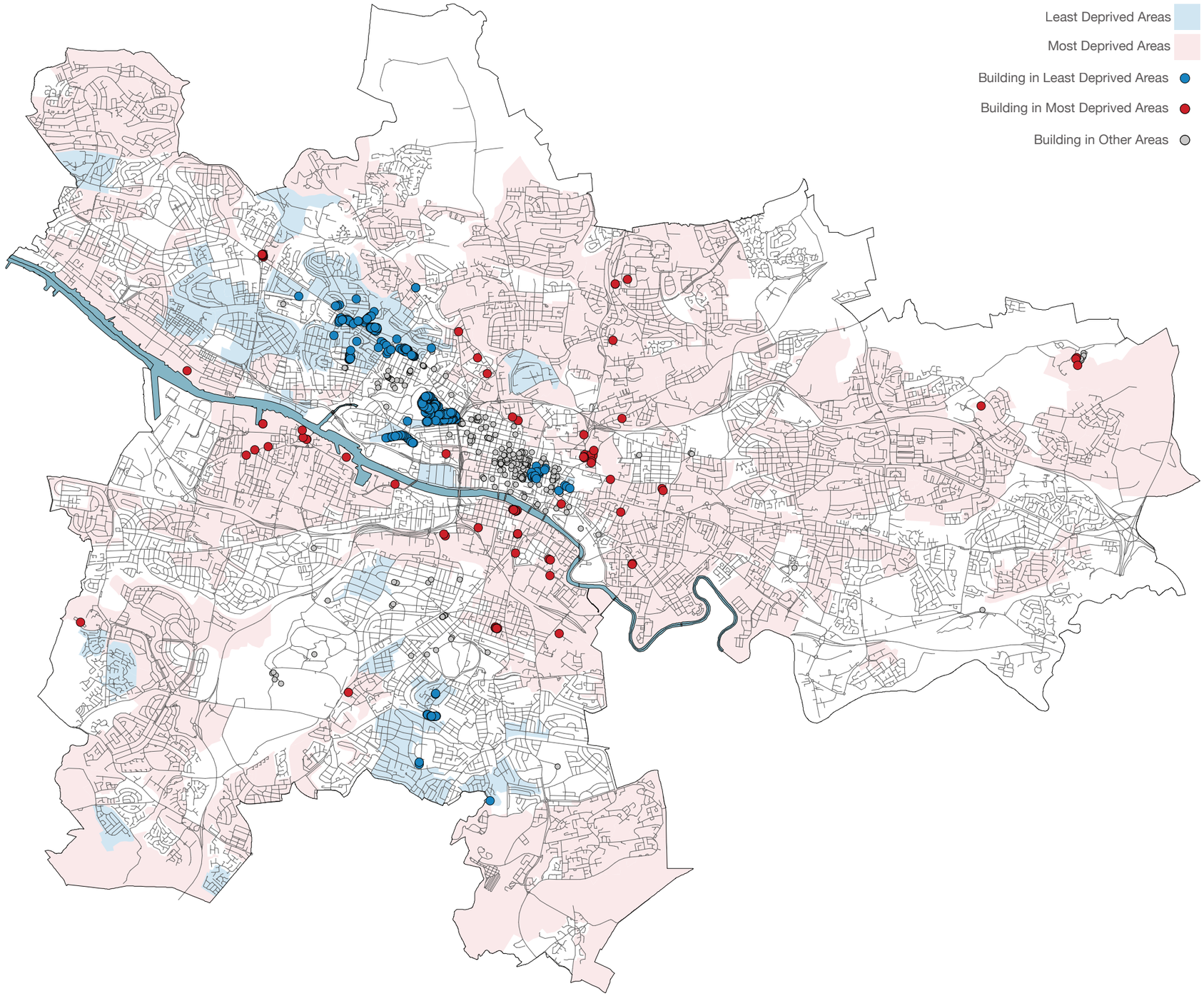
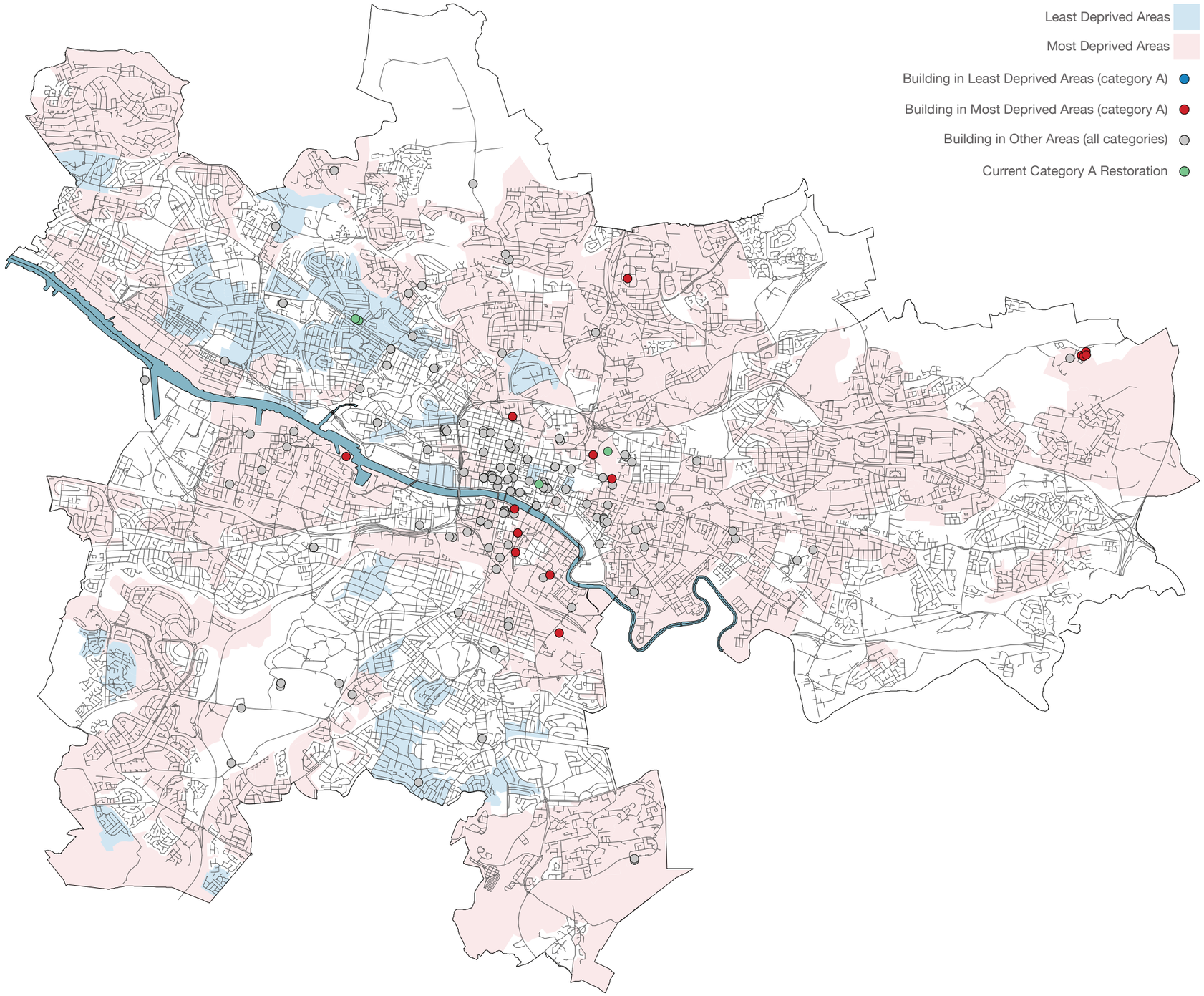



appendix 5 DENSITY OF CATEGORY A LISTED BUILDINGS




appendix 6 LOCATION OF CATEGORY A LISTED BUILDINGS TO DEPRIVATION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Most Deprived Areas
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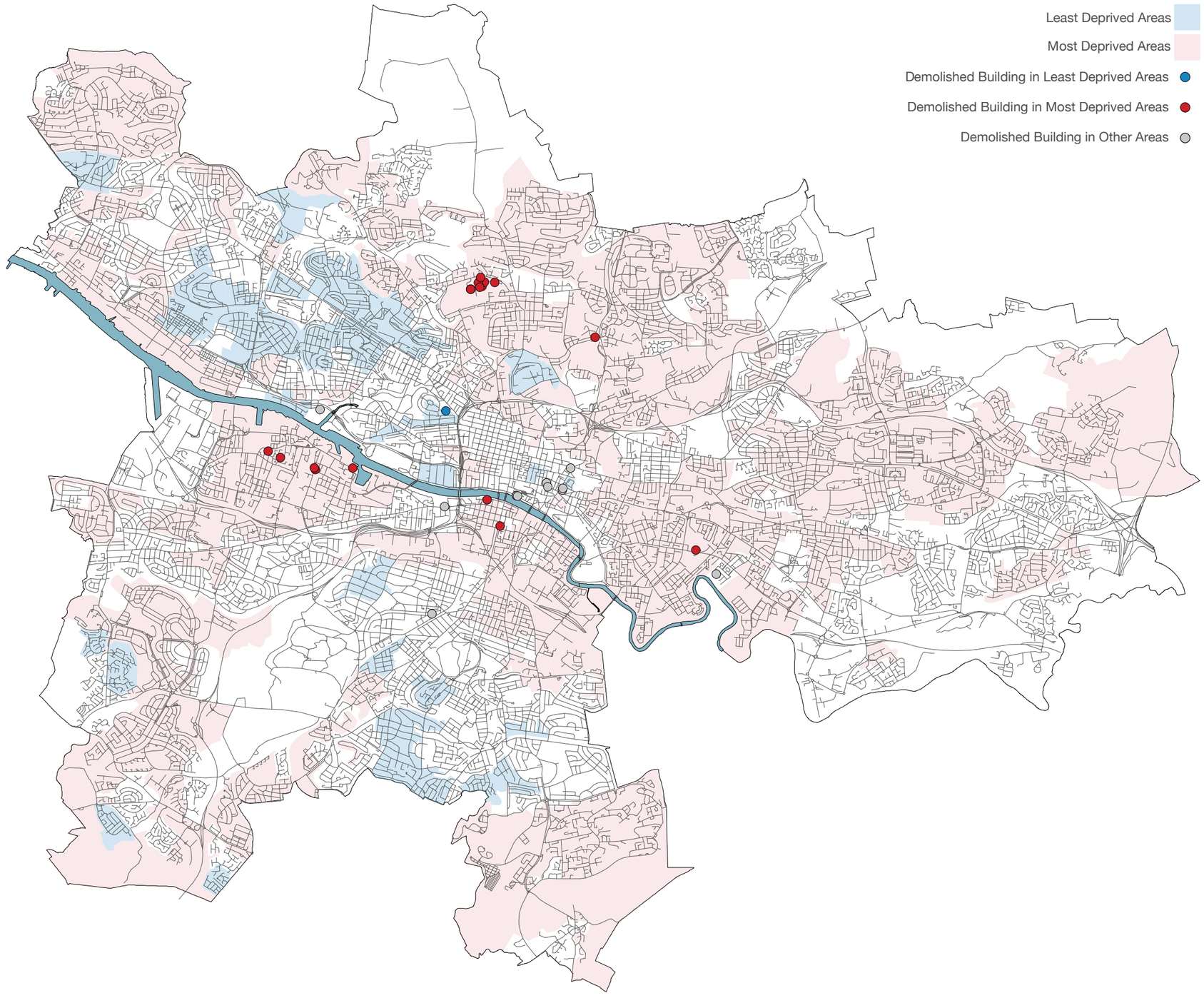
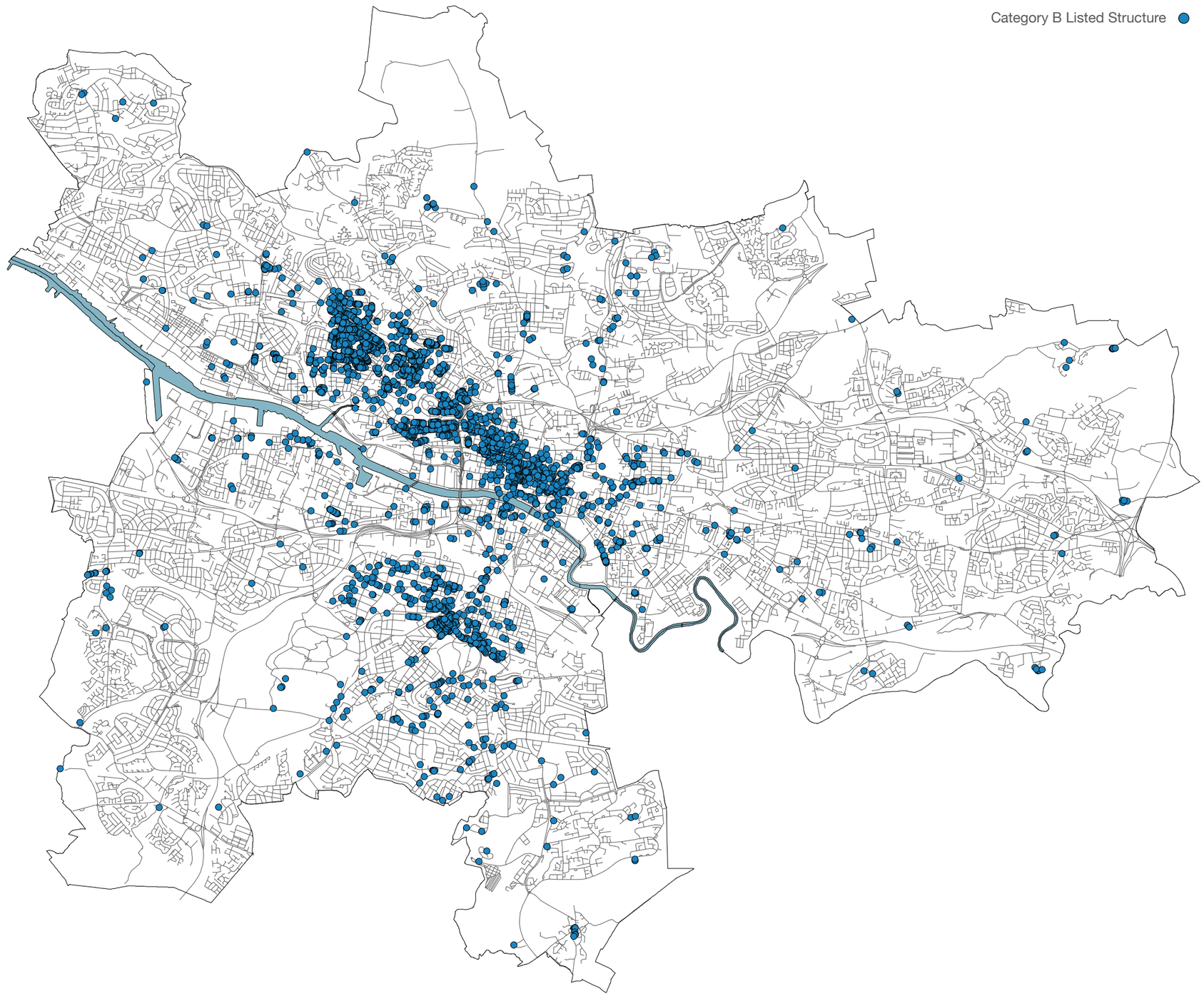
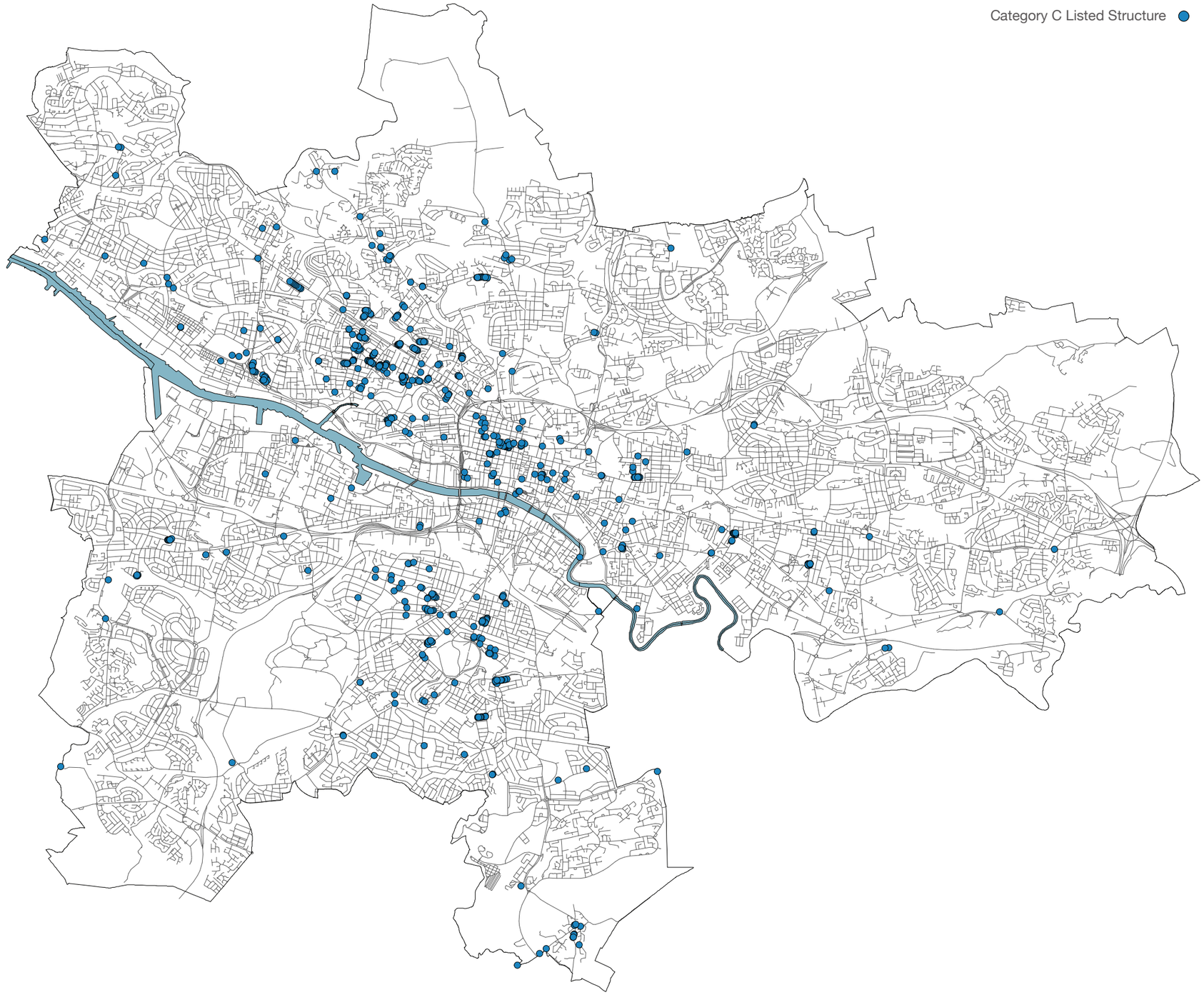
Building in Most Deprived Areas (category A)
Building in Other Areas (all categories)
Current Category A Restoration



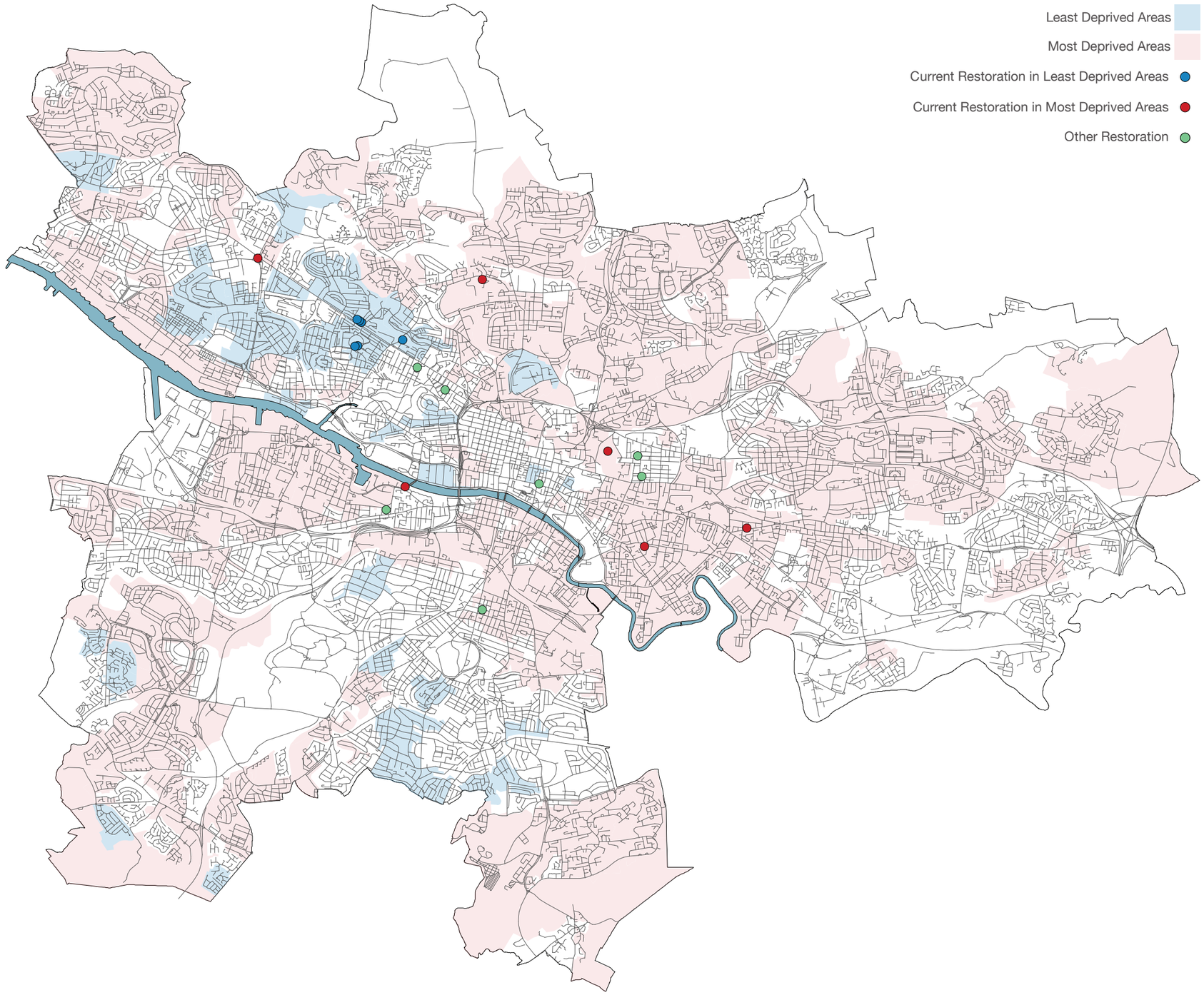

appendix 8 BUILDINGS ON THE BARR DEMOLISHED IN THE LAST 5 YEARS



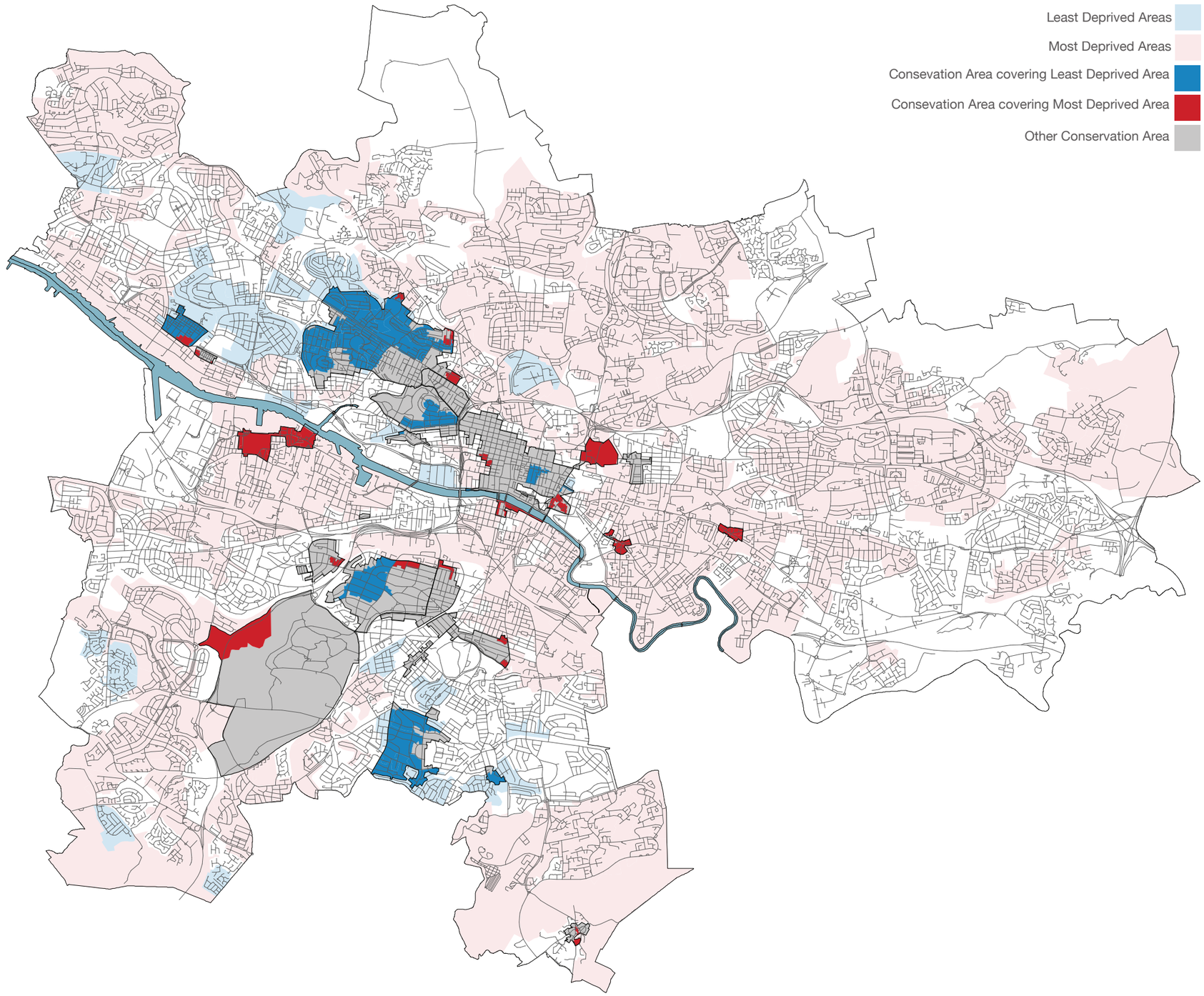

appendix 9 DENSITY OF CATEGORY B LISTED BUILDINGS




appendix 10 DENSITY OF CATEGORY C LISTED BUILDINGS




appendix 11 BUILDINGS ON THE BARR CURRENTLY UNDERGOING RESTORATION




appendix 12 OVERLAP BETWEEN AREAS OF DEPRIVATION AND CONSERVATION AREAS