HOUSING AND IMPROVEMENT
a comparative study
Britain-Denmark

Volume I

Susanne Palsig Christiansen

Thesis submitted
for the degree of D.Phil.

University of York
Institute of Advanced
Architectural Studies
April 1985

To my family

Housing and improvement - a comparative study Britain-Denmark

Volume I

Volume II

Table of contents

VOLUME 1

PART TWO DENMARK - POLICIES, PROCEDURES AND RESULTS

Chapter Five + Urban Renewal Areas - an Introduction

VOLUME 2

PART THREE BRITAIN - PRIORITIES, PROCEDURES AND RESULTS

Chapter Eight + Housing in Urban Renewal Areas

Chapter Ten + Authorities and Framework

APPENDICES

List of tables and illustrations

Tables and diagrams

Photographs and maps

All photographs were taken by the author. The number in brackets refers to the year when the photograph was taken.

Text	Table no.	Page no.
Tyneside flats in Arthur's Hill. (1982).	15.04	
Improved housing in Stanton Street. (1983).	15.05	
Sheltered housing and community centre in Stanton Street. (1982).	15.06	
'Playground' Stanton Street. (1983).	15.07	
Prefabricated offshot Stanton Street. (1982).	15.08	
Age Concern serving dinner in the Community Centre, Arthur's Hill. (1983).	15.09	
Plan St. Thomas' Newcastle.	15.10	
St. Thomas' Crescent, Newcastle. (1983).	15.11	
The corner of St. Thomas' Street and The Square. (1982).	15.12	
Ground floor plan before and after renovation, St. Thomas'.	15.13	
Cross section in St. Thomas' Crescent.	15.14	
Children in St. Thomas'. (1983).	15.15	
Sunken basement in St. Thomas' Crescent. (1983).	15.16	
Backyard. St. Thomas' Street. (1983).	15.17	

List of interviews

No.	Person interviewed	Date
1	Allan Bow, the Housing Corporation, Edinburgh	25.3.81
2	Mr. Bevan, the Housing Corporation, Wolverhampton	11.6.81
3	Nick Allen, York University Design Unit	23.6.81
4	Jennifer Page, development officer, Edinvar HA, Edinburgh	27.3.81
5	Mrs. Mills, Family HA, Birmingham	11.6.81
6	Arch. Palmer and QS John Williams, DoE, Birmingham	11.6.81
7	Jim Johnson and Lou Rosenburg, ASSIST, Glasgow	2.7.81
8	John Rogerson, the Housing Corporation, Glasgow	2.7.81
9	John Sheridan, director Central Govan HA, Glasgow	3.7.81
10	Palle Lindahl, architect, Boligministeriet, Copenhagen	29.8.81
11	Bjarne Melchiorsen, Staden Københavns Faste Ejendomme, Copenhagen	29.8.81
12	Grethe Søndergaard, the Copenhagen Sanering Society, Copenhagen	25.8.81
13	Ebbe Henriksen, Københavns Husvildekontor, Copenhagen	29.8.81
14	The Librarian, Folketingets Bibliotek, Copenhagen	27.8.81
15	Karl Otto Mogensen, architect, Københavns Boligkommission, Copenhagen	27.8.81
16	Pat Eccles and Mr. Ashwood, Housing Department, Edinburgh	20.10.81
17	Barbera Reid, management officer, Lister Housing co-op, Edinburgh	20.10.81
18	Dave Roberts, North Merchiston Area Office, Edinburgh	21.10.81
19	Mr. Beveridge, Planning Department, Edinburgh	22.10.81
20	Jennifer Page, development officer, Edinvar HA, Edinburgh	22.10.81
21	Ronnie McDonald, the Housing Department, Glasgow	23.10.81
22	Mairi Brown, John Sheridan and Krystyna Johnson, Central Govan HA, Glasgow	23.10.81
23.	Christine McCubbin and Fiona Jamieson, Planning Department, Edinburgh	30.11.81
24	Barbera Reid, Lister Housing Co-operative, Edinburgh	30.11.81
25	Hugh Broadbend, Housing Department, and Richard Nutter, Planning Department, Newcastle	18.12.81
26	Bob Bruce and Bob Brooks, DoE, Newcastle	18.12.81

No.	Person interviewed	Date
27	Richard Nutter, Planning Team for Arthur's Hill, Newcastle	11.1.82
28	Howard Crosley, Planning Team for St. Thomas', Newcastle	11.1.82
29	Graham Cawthorne, development officer, North HA, Newcastle	12.1.81
30	Christine Johnson, Family Service Unit, Rye Hill West, Newcastle	12.1.82
31	Cyril Winskell, architect for St, Thomas', Newcastle	13.1.82
32	John Murray, QS, Barnett and Winskell, Newcastle	13.1.82
33	Ed Wiffin, community worker, and Norah Goshan, long-time resident, Stanhope Street Action Area Centre, Newcastle	13.1.82
34	Graham Brown, tenants' relations' officer, North HA, Newcastle	14.1.82
35	Raymond Hendry, Planning Department, Glasgow	27.11.81
36	Sheila McGeoch , housing management officer, Central Govan HA, Glasgow	27.11.81
37	Leif Nielsen, 'Boligen', Copenhagen	18.5.82
38	Poul Erik Skriver, 'Arkitekten', Copenhagen	20.5.82
39	Cathy Jones and her husband, 845 Govan Road, Glasgow	15.6.82
40	Mrs. Grey, 845 Govan Road, Glasgow	15.6.82
41	Mrs, MacConville, 855 Govan Road, Glasgow	15.6.82
42	Frank Palmer, 845 Govan Road, Glasgow	15.6.82
43	Flora Glen, 22? Govan Road, Glasgow	16.6.82
44	Pat Keegan, councillor, Glasgow City Council	16.6.82
45	Roy McCrone, development officer, Central Govan HA, Glasgow	16.6.82
46	Barbera Reid, development officer, Lister Housing Co-op, Edinburgh	17.6.82
47	Tot Brill, 16 Keir Street, Edinburgh	17.6.82
48	John Penman, 32 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh	18.6.82
49	Nancy Williams, 32 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh	18.6.82
50	Dave Roberts, and Allan K., North Merchiston Area Office, Edinburgh	17.6.82
51	Robina Goodlad, Tenants' Participatory Advisory Service, Glasgow	16.6.82
52	Mrs, Harte, 3 St. Thomas' Square, Newcastle	26.6.82
53	Mrs. Manley, 25 St. Thomas' Crescent, Newcastle	26.6.82

No.	Person interviewed	Date
54	Mrs. Johnson, 20 The Crescent, Newcastle	26.6.82
55	Mrs. MacManus, 12 St. Thomas' Square, Newcastle	26.6.82
56	Dorothy Middleton, former community development officer, North HA, Newcastle	22.10.82
57	Len Marshall, assistant housing manager, North HA, Newcastle	22.10.82
58	Ian Richardson, director of housing, North HA, Newcastle	22.10.82
59	Callun McAulay, co-op officer, Lister Housing Co-op, Edinburgh	23.11.82
60	Duncan Mclennan, director, Hosuing Research Unit, University of Glasgow	25.11.82
61	Mary Brailey, former research officer for Housing Research Unit, Glasgow	25.11.82
62	Ann Rosengard, Ph.D. student, Glasgow	26.11.82
63	Archie Simpson, former mamangement committee member, Central Govan HA, Glasgow	26.11.82
64	Stuart Sutcliffe, York	3.12.82
65	Hugh Broadbend, Housing Action Office, Newcastle	3.12.82
66	Jean Finley, tenants' relations' officer, North HA, Newcastle	3.12.82
67	Muriel Watson, warden for sheltered housing, Arthur's Hill, Newcastle	4.12.82
68	Christian W. Nielsen, former management committee member, Foreningen Socialt Boligbyggeri, Copenhagen	29.4.83
69	Hans Jørgen Lykkebo and Leif Rønbye, KBI, Copenhagen	3.3.83
70	Alan Marshall, architect for Lister, T.M.Gray and Ass., Edinburgh	11.6.83
71	Richard Grant, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh	14.6.83
72	Ole Jensen, cand.psych., Statens Byggeforsknings-institut, Hørsholm	10.10.83
73	Jan Kaadekilde Hansen, Boligministeriet, København	19.3.85

Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank architect Erik Møller's Office, the Copenhagen Sanering Society and their contractors Kooperativ Byggeindustri, Østerbro Residents' Action Group and the Danish Institute of Building Research, which together gave me the experience, frustrations and joy which have been necessary for carrying through this study.

The British Council, the Anglo-Danish Society, Dreyers Fond, Egmont H. Petersens Fond, NATO Science Fellowship and the Danish Social Science Research Council funded me and enabled me to fulfil this long-time wish; for this, I am very grateful.

Special thanks to Per Koefoed Als; without our discussions during this last difficult year, there would have been no resubmission.

For major encouragement and inspiration, many thanks to Joan Ash, Lou Rosenburg, Mary Brailey, Pat Sills, Derek Linstrum and Douglass Wise. Without these people, the thesis would certainly have developed differently.

Thanks to my supervisor Stuart Sutcliffe who adviced me patiently, encouraging me to continue to a Ph.D. I also want to thank Gill, Fotini, Susann, Hazel, Liba, Fiona, Mette, Jan and Judy who made it worth staying in York.

Many thanks to the English: Dorothy Middleton, Cyril Winskell and Christine Johnson, and to all my Scottish collegues: Jim Johnson, Ann Rosengard, Barbera Reid, Krystyna Johnson, Dave Roberts and Jennifer Page, and the 'real' scots: Duncan Mclennan, Mairi Brown and Lachie McDonald.

Kind regards to the staff of the King's Manor and J.B.Morell Libraries for their assistance, and many thanks to my three typists, Britt Poulsen, Lena Ebbesen and Anne Lise Larsen, taking the effort to type in a foreign language from an impossible handwriting.

Special thanks to the people who housed me, Miss Cosway, Inger, Mette and Sid Bradley, Anne and Helge,and Lise and V. Kähler, and to Poul Holst-Jensen who patiently corrected my 'seperate's, 'vulnarable's and 'similarily's.

Finally, many thanks to Lene, Vibeke, Steen, Finn, Torkil, Hans-Jørgen, Jens and Ole, and to Peter, Hanne, Pia, Karen, Anker and 'Town One' for their patience and understanding, and to my brother Lars, having followed me every inch of the way.

København, the 1st of April, 1985

Susanne Palsig Christiansen.

Abstract

Housing and improvement - a comparative study Britain-Denmark

Susanne Palsig Christiansen
Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.
University of York
Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies
April 1985

In the Danish Urban Renewal Act, the concept of residents' involvement in planning and implementation of housing improvement has been introduced. As resident involvement in urban renewal has been actively pursued in Britain over a decade, these efforts are described and analysed with the aim of selecting organisational models of housing improvement for recommendation in a Danish context.

Urban renewal and resident involvement are in the first part of the thesis pursued in a theoretical context, and their application to Danish urban renewal considered. On the basis of Danish democratic traditions, and the life styles and living conditions of the residents in urban renewal areas, a number requirements for resident involvement in housing improvement are set up.

The Danish situation is thoroughly described, and the requirements further specified in a Copenhagen context. Turning to Britain, the housing associations and their activities in housing improvement are selected for further consideration.

Following a general description of British housing and improvement policies, three British housing associations and their programmes are selected as case studies for further investigation. The housing associations, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Newcastle, are described with regard to the general results of their programme, and the degree of resident involvement analysed with regard to the above mentioned requirements.

Finally, a comparative assessment points at the community-based housing associations as an organisational model for recommendation in a Copenhagen context.

Abbreviations

Even though abbreviations could have been avoided, they have proved necessary in order to ease the task for the reader. The method chosen is to abbreviate five terms which are used thorughout the whole thesis:

HA	housing association
HAA	housing action area
GIA	general improvement area
LA	local authority, in housing/planning
DoE	Department of the Environment

In other cases, the term which is abbreviated will be written in full at the beginning of the sub-section, followed by the abbreviation in brackets.

List of abbreviations

ADP	approval development programme
AGM	annual general meeting
AH	Arthur's Hill
AIM	Area Improvement and Modernization Team, GLC
AMA	Association of Metropolitan Authorities
BPN	Building Preservation Notice
CC	community council
CDA	comprehensive development area
CDP	community development project
CES	Centre for Environmental Studies, London
CGHA	Central Govan Housing Association
CHAR	Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless
CPO	compulsory purchase order
CURS	Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham
DsB	Det særlige Bygningssyn, the Danish HBC
dws	dwellings
ECE	Economic Council of Europe
EHA	environmental health officer
GLC	Greater London Council
HAG	housing association grant
HBC	Historic Buildings Council

HC	Housing Corporation
HH	household
HIP	housing investment programme
HOH	head of household
IAAS	Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, York
LBC	Listed Building Consent
MC	management committee
NBA	National Building Agency
NC	neighbourhood council
NFHA	National Federation of Housing Associations
NH	North Housing Group, later North Housing Association
OAP	old age pensioner
PAT	priority area team
SBI	Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, the Danish Institute of Building Research
SD	Socialdemokraterne, the Danish Social Democrats
SDD	Scottish Development Department
SFHA	Scottish Federation of Housing Associations
SFI	Socialforskningsinstituttet, the Danish Institute of Social Research
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
VAT	value-added tax.

Definitions

In describing the rehabilitation process in precise terms, it has proved convenient to use certain expressions in a more narrow context than usual. Furthermore, a few Danish words have lent themselves to be used directly, a translation considered to be too complicated.

In the following dictionary, a special definition of these words will be suggested. The dictionary furthermore aims at providing the Danish reader with a reasonable vocabulary for British urban renewal.

Dictionary

apartment (lejlighed)	This expression covers a flat, and in Scotland, a room. A two-apartment flat means a one-bedroom flat, equivalent to a Danish to-værelsers lejlighed.
appeal board (ankenævn)	
area improvement	improvement of houses and environment in a specific area.
backyard clearance (gårdrydning)	separate from housing improvement.
bond (pantebrev)	credit society bond.
bringing down interest rates by state subsidy (rentesikring)	
the building industry (den industrialiserede del af byggesektoren)	producers of industrialised housing
the building sector (byggesektoren)	general expression for all organisations and firms connected with house building.
building society, terminating (byggeforening)	
building society, permanent (britisk kreditinstitution)	
close	common stairs giving access to flats.

environmental improvements (kvartersforbedring, områdeforbedring)	
fixed-term lease (tidsbegrænset lejemål)	
fire security provisions (brandsikring)	
grant (direkte forbedrings-tilskud)	
general improvement area, GIA	Areas with houses in need of rehabilitation are declared as GIAs, and housing improvement encouraged through environmental works financed by the LA, and grants given to landlords and owner-occupiers towards housing improvement.
house (hus og/eller bolig)	This may both be a separate house and a dwelling generally.
housing action area, HAA	Areas with social stress and with houses in need of rehabilitation are declared as HAAs and housing improvement encouraged, partly through HAs or LAs acquiring and improving dwellings, partly through grants to landlords and owner-occupiers.
homeless (husvild	those statutorily accepted by the LA as having nowhere to live.
housing association (almennyttig boligforening)	
Housing Court (Boligretten)	
improvement (forbedring)	
index-linked loan (indexlån)	
industrialised building industrialiseret byggeri)	covers both system-building and house building systemised with prefabricated units, i.e. bathrooms.
landlord (udlejer	

co-operative (almennyttig andelsboligforening)	Non-profit housing association with the dwellings owned by the association the residents being tenants.
co-ownership (privat andelsboligforening)	Profit-sharing housing society with mutual ownership of dwellings, the resident being shareholders in the co-ownership.
credit society (kreditforening)	Danish financial institution for lending to house building.
condition (vedligeholdelsesstand)	If the condition of a house is not maintained, the building deteriorates.
conservation (bygningsbevaring)	general expression for retention of the existing building stock.
conservation area (bevaringsområde)	statutorily designated conservation area.
conservation survey (bevaringsregistrant)	Survey carried out in urban areas by the Danish National Museum and the DsB.
capital gain tax (kapitalvindingsskat)	
community (lokalsamfund)	
Copenhagen (København)	
close (opgang)	Scottish expression for a stair in a tenement.
condemnation (kondemnering)	Danish statutory expression, deemed unfit for human habitation.
community-based housing association (lokalstyret boligforening)	Locally-based housing association with development and management controlled by local residents.
dwelling (bolig)	the physical frame for a household.
dwelling survey (oversigtsplan)	Danish statutory expression.
energy-saving provisions (energibesparende foranstaltninger)	

maintenance (vedligeholdelse)	
neighborhood	American community.
owner-occupier (husejer, der bor i huset)	
rehabilitation, renovation	general expressions, covering both improvement and maintenance.
rent allowance (boligsikring)	
rent council (huslejenævn)	
rental value (lejeværdi)	
residents' association (lejerforening)	
residents' action group (beboeraktion)	
standard	In this context equivalent to number of basic amenities.
sanering	statutory expression for Danish slum clearance and housing improvement: see Miscellaneous.
sanering area	equivalent to HAA.
sanering shortfall (saneringstab)	
sanering plan	action plan for sanering area.
tenant (lejer)	
tenants' representation (beboerrepræsentation)	
urban renewal (byfornyelse)	overall term for both housing and area improvement.
voluntary housing movement (almennyttige boligbevægelse)	

vulnerable groups	population groups suffering from a combination of social and physical problems which they are not able to deal with on their own accord.
quango	quasi-autonomous government organisation.

Socio-economic groups

Comparisons in this field have proved difficult, as socio-economic groups in generally available statistical material are not directly comparable in Britain and Denmark. An attempt has been made in adjusting information, in order to carry out comparisons for a basic understanding.

In Britain unemployed and retired citizens are counted under their previous occupation. In Denmark, the group of pensioners, students, housewives and unemployed is usually labelled as one group out of work, e.g. by Jan Plovsing.

In Britain, married women are not counted in the unemployment statistics; however, this is the case in Denmark.

These differences may distort the detailed figures, but not the general conclusions of this study.

For reference, the break-down of socio-economic groups is outlined here:

Britain	SEG	Denmark
Professional	3.4	Selvstændig i liberale erhverv
Employers and managers	1.2	Selvstændig i landbrug
	13	Selvstændig i fremstilling
		Overordnede funktionærer og tjenestemænd
Intermidiate and junior non-manual	5.6	Underordnede funktionærer og tjenestemænd
Skilled manual[x)]	8.9	Faglært arbejder
Semiskilled manual	12.14	Specialarbejder
Unskilled manual		Ufaglært arbejder

x) This figure includes self-employed, non-professional, which the Danish does not.

Miscellaneous

A few Danish housing terms which have a specific statutory significance, and which cannot be covered by a similar English expression, have been maintained in the text, thereby requiring a further explanation.

'Sanering' means 'making healthy', the object being sub-standard dwellings which constitute a risk for health and security. In a sanering process and a sanering plan, the main task is to obviate this risk, involving both rehabilitation and demolition.

'Parcelhuse' means newer detached houses which are owner-occupied.

According to the Danish Urban Renewal Act, 'sanering' plans are now called 'resolutions for urban renewal'. In order to ease the task of the reader, however, the former expression will be maintained.

It hurts my Danish heart to call our city Copenhagen instead of its real name København; practical reasons must take the blame for this.

The rate of exchange has fluctuated through the period of study. A rough comparative rate is D.Kr. 13.50 to £ 1.

Many British examples are well illuminated by American experience. However, these comparisons have their limits, as the American 'neighborhood' is different from the English 'community'. In the States, most households want to segregate themselves from those whom they regard as socially, economically or ethnically different; this results in the establishment of many separate suburban communities dominated by middle- and upper-class households, while the poorest households are concentrated in deprived inner city areas.

Certainly, this trend is present in British housing, but the British neighbourhoods are not segregated to the same extent. Consequently, careful reference is made to the American neighbourhood concept, spelled 'neighborhood'.

The structure of this thesis and the sequence of sections and chapters were planned following a careful study of the requirements set up by the University of York.

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is urban renewal and the implementation of renewal policies through processes of housing improvement. On a background of present Danish renewal policies, the British housing associations and their involvement in housing improvement are analysed through a number of case studies for recommendation in the Danish context.

The background for this choice of subject is the present situation of urban renewal in Denmark and especially in Copenhagen. In recent years, most plans have been accompanied by strong reactions against any form of action, from residents in the areas affected and from the public at large. This reaction has mainly been attributed to the fact that sanitary and not social aims have been pursued.

Acknowledging these inadequacies, central government policies have during the recent years moved towards a more socially orientated approach to housing rehabilitation. This attitude was outlined in the 1980 Urban Renewal Act where the intentions of involving residents and owner-occupiers were specifically stated. Within the Act, a framework for resident participation was set up; however, only few detailed provisions for following up these intentions have been established, partly due to little Danish experience in this field, partly due to the relatively low priority given to research in the organisation of urban renewal.

As opposed to Denmark, other European countries like Holland, Italy and Great Britain have during the last decade pursued renewal policies which involve residents on a community level, and experimented with various degrees of community involvement and public intervention. As the Danish Urban Renewal Act explicitly states the importance of involving the residents, it may be useful to investigate these organisational models for housing improvement and urban renewal from other European countries, here specifically Britain, for introduction in the Danish scene. The aim is to consider and select a model for housing improvement which may be recommended for introduction in Danish urban renewal.

Structure of thesis

The thesis falls in five main parts:

- Part One: Introduction outlines the theoretical background for the study, establishing a number of general requirements for resident involvement.
- In Part Two: Denmark-policies, procedures and problems, the Danish situation of urban renewal is described and analysed in the context of housing provision
- Part Three: Britain - priorities, procedures and results contains a further description of the British system of housing improvement, the housing action areas in particular.
- In Part Four: Housing associations in housing improvement - three case studies, a number of cases are further analysed with regard to general results and resident involvement
- Part Five: General conclusion contains a comparative assessment of the three case studies according to general requirements and the specific demands with regard to the Copenhagen situation.

A main introduction to the content of this thesis is given in the following paragraphs. For the reader who plans to read his way through the main text, a preliminary reading of the table of contents, the abbreviations and the special definitions applied in this study will be useful. Reference is furthermore made to the list of interviews.

Part One: Introduction

With the point of departure in the Urban Renewal Act and its intentions of resident involvement, Chapter One gives a theoretical background on which an overall concept of involvement is based, and a number of analytical tools are established.

In Chapter Two, the general characteristics for urban renewal areas, internationally and in a Danish context, are further pursued, and the features which are specific for the Danish situation pointed out. An analysis of the concept of urban community is carried out, and the importance of psychological and social determinants for the residents in urban renewal areas established.

Part Two: Denmark - Policies, Procedures and Problems

In search of a system of housing improvement with resident involvement, a further analysis of the Danish situation is established in Chapter Five in order to provide a frame of reference for the British reader. Special attention is given to the system of housing provision and the role of the private landlord; furthermore, the need for an alternative provider in urban renewal areas is established.

The framework for urban renewal is described in Chapter Six and prevailing approaches to sanering accounted for. The previous application of sanitary principles has resulted in considerable resident reactions, especially in Copenhagen. Therefore, the Copenhagen situation of urban renewal and its underlying policies are further described in Chapter Seven.

Potentials for solving these problems within the Urban Renewal Act is finally assessed, concluding with a specification of the demand for additional research in the context of this study.

Part Three: Britain - Priorities, Procedures and Results

In Chapter Eight housing conditions in urban renewal areas and the system of housing provision in Britain are described, mainly with the intention of giving the foreign reader a background with which to follow the discussion in the remaining part of this study.

Housing improvement is in Chapter Nine seen in an overall context of housing policies and government strategies in post-war Britain. Chapter Ten pursues the framework of British housing improvement, while the area-based policies, specifically the housing action areas, are the subject of Chapter Eleven.

Part Four: Housing Associations in Housing Improvement - three case studies

Three different housing associations, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Newcastle, and four projects carried out by these HAs, are selected for further investigation. In each case study, Chapters Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen, the respective LA rehabilitation policies are accounted for, and a specific HAA programme followed from the beginning to the end. The case studies are appraised in the light

of the five approaches to housing improvement, and a consideration is made of whether each HA has provided for the original residents in the area.

Part Five: General Conclusion

Finally, the case studies are appraised in the light of the ideal requirements set up in the context of this study, and the community-based housing associations recommended in the Copenhagen context.

Closing note

My personal background for choosing this subject was frustrations working as an architect for the Sanering Society, trying to value aesthetic options and instead seeing the decisions taken on other bases; at the same time working with a housing action group and the residents' approach to urban renewal. Carrying through this study has made both ends meet, which is an experience I can thoroughly recommend.

Chapter One + Aims and Preferences

1.1. Preface

The recent Danish Act on Urban Renewal introduces a new concept in Danish housing legislation: the involvement of residents in planning and implementation of renewal policies. When the Act was first presented to the Folketinget in 1980, the Social Democratic Minister of Housing, Mr. Erling Olsen, stated in his recommendations that residents 'should not have urban renewal forced upon them', but offered 'as an opportunity'. The subsequent government publication contained the following statement:

> 'It must be arranged that the residents are generally given the option of staying in their flat or in the area, and housing improvements will have to be planned with consideration to those residents who do not wish to have their dwellings improved'.1

Both the intentions stated in the Act itself and in the above mentioned specifications of requirements are considered by nearly all parties in the Folketinget to be of prime importance, even if there are differing views of the details. The Urban Renewal Act is a framework within which to act, and there are few detailed provisions for carrying through these intentions. Against this background, this thesis seeks to investigate and analyse how residents in urban renewal areas may be involved in both the planning and the implementation of housing improvement, drawing on experiences in similar intentions in Great Britain.

1.2. Aims in Danish urban renewal

Official aims and preferences

Even though a considerable number of dwellings have been improved since the Second World War, the demand for housing improvement still prevails, together with an increasing need for rehabilitation. Historically, 'sanering' or state-subsidised housing improvement was first implemented due to political pressure, based on a widespread concern over the housing conditions under which some fellow citizens were forced to live. To this, the considerations concerning employment were added, and a desire to disperse so-called

'anti-social elements'.[2] Responding to this need a number of measures were implemented during the late 70s taken by Central Government in order to promote renewal of the inner urban areas. The effort was focussed on housing improvement as opposed to 'area' renewal, and this preference was expressed in a Government report of 1978:

> 'An increased effort for urban renewal ... must aim at:
> - improving the general standard of repair and thermal insulation
> - installing standard amenities like central heating, WC and bath, in addition to kitchen facilities
> - meeting the demand for public services like kindergartens etc.
> - establishing adequate amenity areas
> - providing better traffic systems'.[4]

There were a number of reasons for preferring housing rehabilitation instead of new built, and these were largely economic. In a report on urban renewal, issued by the Danish Industry Development Board in 1977, the arguments for rehabilitation instead of slum clearance and new built are further detailed:[5]

a. Employment; the effect on employment of urban renewal implementation is greater than in new build. A higher number of people within the building sector may therefore be employed through rehabilitation than through new build.

b. economy; in utilising the resources bound in the existing building stock, the costs for building materials for a given unit will be lower than for new built, thereby improving the national balance of payments.

c. standards; concentrating on new built will create an increasing gap between older unimproved and new housing, making it increasingly difficult to implement urban renewal.

d. aesthetical quality; among the population, there is an increasing understanding for the environmental qualities in older urban areas.

In the first three arguments, the object of urban renewal is clearly seen as the building stock, housing conditions, and the arguments for retention based on an economic analysis. The fourth

point, however, does not reflect economic but rather environmental and aesthetic considerations. The inclusion of this argument in the report is one of the major signs of a realisation that other aims than sanitary and economic should be pursued through urban renewal. During the 70s, an increasing understanding for urban renewal as a social process as well was gradually emerging, as a result of an international trend in housing, but also based in the development of the Danish welfare state after the Second World War.

Historical background

In the decades after the Second World War, the economic structure of the Scandinavian countries underwent a radical change, transforming Denmark into a highly industrialised society. Up till the 1970s, the demand for dwellings, schools, workplaces roads etc. by far exceeded the supply, giving a high priority to housing. National policies aimed at regulating and sharing the utilisation of land, and the development of an efficient production. Planning was supposed to solve quantitative problems, and a technical approach prevailed, strongly linked to industrial production. From the early 50s and onwards, Central Government supported a programme of industrialised housing, mostly built for the housing associations, and with substantially improved housing standards.

This economic growth during the 50s and 60s made it possible to build up the Danish Welfare State, corresponding to the other Scandinavian countries. A characteristic feature of this Scandinavian model is a mixed economy with a relatively large emphasis on the public sector, and physical planning became mainly restrictive. Social welfare planning was developed along sector lines, with the aid of a massive output of statistics. These periods of economic growth resulted in a considerable amount of new build, in the other Scandinavian countries as well as in Denmark, where in 1980 nearly half of the present dwellings were built after 1960.6

With the increasing welfare, and growing influence of the

working class movement during the 60s, it was made financially possible for the middle and working classes to move from the city centres into owner-occupied houses in the suburbs. Thus the fringe areas of the inner cities were left mainly to low-income groups, containing dwellings in private renting at low rents. Apart from this general loss of more stable resident groups, a number of factors have furthered the general deterioration of privately let dwellings in the inner cities:

- few statutory provisions for repair and improvement
- reduced public funding for housing improvement
- ownership pattern changing from many small to relatively few large landlords
- rent control.

During the 70s, however, the actual housing cost for the single resident has increased, compared to real income in all forms of tenure. This has again increased the need for the more inexpensive dwellings for rent. At the same time, the supply of rented flats has diminished due to slum clearance, sale of condominiums and a low amount of new build in the inner cities.[7]

Urban renewal policies had, in the 70s, beeen directed towards slum clearance and new build, especially in Copenhagen where the residents and the public at large responded negatively and sometimes violently to these approaches. From these actions, and from a number of official reports and unofficial surveys, it was evident that the implementation of official policies had not succeeded in providing housing for low-income groups. Furthermore, in the words of a report from the Danish Institute of Building Research,'urban planning has not reacted to a series of more or less hidden qualities of life that mean a great deal to the individual'.[8] These consequences of policy implementation have contributed to a legislation which explicitely favours the method of housing improvement to slum clearance, and declares an overall intention of involving the residents in the process.

The Urban Renewal Act

The Urban Renewal Act is considered to be the last of four phases in the Planning Reform of the 70s; it was intented to decentralise decisions from central to local government, and to involve citizens at large in the process, intentions which are followed up in the Urban Renewal Act. The intention of involving the residents is clearly laid out in the first paragraph of the Act, according to which the district councils are obliged to contribute towards:

'1) implementing urban renewal in areas in need of rehabilitation

2) carrying through housing improvement in dwellings in need of rehabilitation

3) removing unhealthy conditions and fire risks

4) involving landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants in the planning and implementation of urban renewal'.[9]

To fulfil these intentions of involvment, the Act introduces a system of residents' participation, equivalent to the provisions set up in recent planning legislation, including provisions for public consultation during the preparation of regional, district and local plans. It is generally recognised, however, that this type of provision is not sufficient when it comes to housing improvement, where the individual resident sees his dwelling being subject to state intervention. Therefore, a number of additional provisions for the individual tenant have been introduced into the Act, in the form of a statutory right to veto improvements which go beyond certain basic requirements. These measures have been the subject of interpretation, and it remains an open question whether these provisions are actually sufficient to cover the intentions laid down in the Act. In this thesis, the intentions behind the Act will be taken as a point of departure. The questions of interpretation, strategies and methods for involving residents, landlords and owner-occupiers actively in urban renewal will be pursued.

In order to set up a paradigm for this involvement, the concept of the quality of life will be discussed initially. This subject has interested Scandinavian social scientists since the beginning of the 70s, when the social consequences of urban policies became apparent. In a reaction to these policies, the aim was to reach an understanding of a more integrated view of peoples' living conditions, and to introduce a process of social change which accordingly means a differentiated approach to urban planning.

1.3. Urban renewal - theory of intentions and strategies

Quality of life

Opposed to value which may be quantified in objective terms, quality is more intangible, requiring a subjective asessment. The concept of 'life quality' is, however, often used as a collective form for the aims which urban planning is called upon to foster; it is in this context that life quality will be pursued. Thus the aim of urban renewal is to introduce a process of planning through which the quality of life for residents is preserved and enchanced and not destroyed.

In interpreting the concept of life quality for residents in urban renewal areas, a model for analysis will be introduced. This model is adapted from a recent research report from the Danish Institute of Building Research, 'Det Glemte Folk' by Thomas Højrup.[10] In the report, Højrup offers an interpretation and analysis of the concept of life quality, an interpretation and analyses which seems to have advantages in this context The main theme of his study is the hostile reaction to centralised state intervention from rural communities, here specifically fishing villages in remote areas. This - apparently impulsive and uncoordinated - reaction is explained through an analysis of the life lived by the communities in question. According to Højrup, the qualities of this life are determined by both life style and living conditions. Life style is the way of life made possible by the living conditions, and the living conditions are the conditions necessary for living in that way.[11] Therefore,

life qualities depend on a number of determinants. If one of these determinants changes, then the base of the individual's whole life style may be changed as well. In this way, Højrup points out that reactions of residents in a situation of change are based on implied threats to certain elements of their living conditions, thereby threatening their whole way of life.

According to Højrup, the individual's situation is determined by his relationship with the surroundings environment characterised by the following resources and determinants'.[12]

- resources; assets which are controlled by the individual or group. These are individually bound resources, which include health and constitution, knowledge and skills, and financial and political resources.
- determinants; means or prerogatives for the individual's living conditions which he cannot himself control. These are social determinants (employment, service, fellowship, social norms) and physical determinants (the natural environment, the city, the dwelling, the workplace, transportation network and technology)

According to Højrup, resources and determinants in combination decide the individual's range of possibilities for taking action. Considering determinants, living conditions are then a balance of the living conditions needed and the living conditions allowed for by society.

Højrup's main object of analysis is rural communities and the living conditions of their residents. However, his method seems to be applicable in an urban context as well, supplementing the traditional concepts of 'the urban community' and the single individual. In the context of this study, Højrup's method of analysis will therefore be applied to residents' life in urban renewal areas. Which sort of life is lived by residents in urban renewal areas, and which sort of environment is necessary for that way of life?

Over and above a description of living conditions, it is important in this context to analyse how living conditions

are changed, and how they may be changed by physical planning. Urban problems and their relationship with the social and physical environment have a number of determinants in the economic sphere, and a number of political and social determinants at a central government level. These determinants are not being questioned in this context. Instead of focusing upon the overall structure of society, however, this thesis aims at analysing how an improved system of planning may enchance and improve living conditions in the Danish Urban Renewal areas of the 1980s. Therefore, stress will be laid upon those determinants which may be influenced by physical planning and which fulfil the intentions of the present Urban Renewal Act, the involvement of the residents.

Welfare and urban renewal

A policy for urban renewal has usually taken its point of departure in a concept of welfare for the individual. However, welfare cannot be defined in absolute terms, being determined by life qualities and living conditions; the concept of welfare changes with time and place.

During the last decade, urban renewal in many countries, especially in Europe and North America has changed from having the built environment as its main concern to a process directed towards the social environment as well. This change in aims and planning method has been discussed by a number of Danish researchers as a development from one concept of welfare, the economic-statistical approach, to another, the socio-anthropological (or cultural-anthropological) approach, closely linked to general concepts of democracy.13

The economic-statistical concept of welfare

In this concept of welfare, good living conditions are defined by a number of general accepted life qualities.[14] The main task of democracy is to secure a fair or equal allocation of resources, on the basis of a general consensus in society. The role of planning is to distribute these resources accordingly, and welfare for the individual is reached through the fulfilment of these generally accepted norms.15

Urban renewal aims are specified by the help of science, and described by social indicators, 'a numeric treatment of observed data by being able to deal with similarities'[16], these general descriptions of welfare are incorporated in the sectors of central and local government administration. In urban renewal, housing and environmental standards are defined and implemented. The economic-statistical concept of welfare implies planning 'from above'; as they are based on a general consensus, the participation in planning of residents in a particular area is not necessary.17

The socio-anthropological concept of welfare

According to this concept, the living conditions of an individual, or a group, are determined by their opportunities to realise situations according to their values, experience and frame of reference.[18] Welfare is described as the individual's or group's command, under given determinants, over resources enabling them to control and direct their living conditions.[19] These demands are defined culturally, and may vary from one sub-culture to another.20

Planning must take its point of departure in the actual needs and problems considered in a total situation shared by the residents.[21] A description and analysis of living conditions is therefore essential, giving an impression of the residents' abilities to cope with a situation of urban renewal.[22] Aims for specific plans and areas must be set accordingly, through the active involvement of the residents, and a balance between these aims reached in a mutual agreement.

Discussion

These theories were internationally introduced in 1978 and 1979 in connection with two symposia on 'Urban Renewal and the Quality of Life', held by the United Nation's Economic Council for Europe (ECE).[23] A number of comments were received, both on identification of welfare concepts, and on the practical application of these ceoncepts to urban renewal.

Concerning welfare concepts, there is a general consensus among the contributors to the final ECE report that the

present aims for urban renewal include a concept of welfare as described in the socio-anthropological approach. The introduction to the report states that 'the main aim is that ... we will provide and secure for the people who are living in the areas, or who are going to live there, a better 'quality of life''.[24] In the conclusion the main objectives are stressed:

> '... the social needs and concerns of the people living in the renewal area are of utmost importance. It is their quality of life that has to be improved, and consequently, it is their participation in the renewal process that is essential'.25

The introduction of the concept of life quality for the present residents as the main object of urban renewal seems to be generally agreed. However, the fact that there may be contradicting interests between the present residents and those who will occupy the area after improvement, is not taken into consideration. Furthermore, the character of life qualities for residents in urban renewal areas is not made explicit, nor the social and physical determinants. These will be considered in the context of this study.

With regard to residents' participation, the report continues:

> 'Citizens should not only be involved in the urban renewal process, but should be continuously involved in maintaining and enchancing their physical surroundings'.26

Another ECE seminar, held in 1979, 'The Improvement of Housing and its Surroundings', concludes precisely that for housing improvement to be effective, 'it is of prime importance that the measures proposed be decided with the participation of the residents'.27

The careful phrasing in both reports reflects the range of interpretations possible for 'residents','participation' and 'involvement'. Residents' are clearly linked with 'the urban renewal area'. However, whether the residents are supposed to participate as a group, or as individuals, is not explicitly stated. The extent to which the 'residents' are meant to be involved is not specified in the report concerning 'Quality of life', while the 'Housing improvement' report contains certain suggestions, which are not based on an overall theory, however.

Compared to this, the application of socio-anthropological principles requires the fulfilment of a number of specifications to resident participation, including not only involvement, but 'the active involvement of the residents'. This correspond to an interpretation of life quality proposed by Scandinavian researchers during the 70s. A Swedish group of researchers, 'Expertgruppen för Regional Utredningsvirksomhed' (ERU) expand in one of their reports the concepts of living conditions to include the possibilities of action for the individual.[28] A Danish SBI report from 1974 points out that:

> 'the goal of the political system ... to give everyone opportunities, equal opportunities, to strive for their own well-being in coorporation with one-another'.29

It is clearly seen that the concept of participation is connected with ideals of democracy, and will be further pursued in that context.

However, it is not only the range of options open to the individual which is essential; the quality of these options, and the consequences of their implementation is considered of prime importance.[30] According to the socio-anthropological approach, aims and preferences in urban renewal must be based on a mutual agreement between residents and groups of residents in the area, and the agency implementing urban renewal - a concept which is not explicitly part of the ECE recommendations. Therefore, the conclusions reached by the ECE symposiums cannot be said to be identical with the requirements of the socio-anthropological approach, even though the underlying concept of welfare is the same.

In the ECE report on life qualities, the practical application of the socio-anthropological approach was critisised for not taking into consideration the life-and-death cycles of cities, and 'the changing social and economic functions of modern urban society'.[31] It was suggested to bring together 'planning from above' and 'planning from below' in its practical application, in as much as the economic-statistical approach contained elements which were 'indispensable' for implementation of renewal policies, such as the quantitative studies necessary for drawing up a list of priorities.32

In a later publication on welfare analysis, two of the original co-authors, Knud-Erik Hansen and Niels Boje Groth, carried on the discussion. According to Hansen and Groth, one must in an analysis work from well-defined and precise approaches; these concepts of welfare must be considered as explanatory tools for the analysis, not as overall planning models, as anticipated by ECE members.

> 'Ideal types are used as a heuristic tool for catching a complex reality in meaningful totalities - as a tool forming the hypotheses and questions from which one wishes to work from in the scientific analysis'.33

Based on this inspiration, a further analysis of the approaches involved in urban renewal will be attempted in the next section.

Intentions and strategies - an analysis

The process of change

The process of urban renewal may be considered as the practical application of renewal policies. Therefore, an analysis of the process must necessarily consider its prevailing policies as well as its resulting outcome, taking its point of departure in a general model of change:

(i) to be, to experience the existing conditions
(ii) to acknowledge a need for a change
(iii) to consider what you want to obtain, and how to get there
(iv) to decide which goal to choose, and the way to get there
(v) to act, to outline the process in detail, to perform
(vi) to reassess - and back again.34

The Five Approaches to housing improvement

Aims and decisions which guide the process of housing improvement are an unseparable part of housing policy; therefore, intentions must be seen in the light of urban renewal in general, while the improvement process may be considered in its own merit.

Different interest groups in society will approach the problem in different ways, influenced by economic and political forces, and promoting different improvement strategies. For the purpose of this thesis, a number of analytical approaches are defined,

each based on specific conceptions of the aims of urban renewal. These approaches are confronted at the point of decision where a particular (central) policy is decided and a corresponding strategy chosen, in this case a strategy for housing improvement. Methods according to this strategy will be chosen to implement housing improvement; on a local level, however, these five approaches may form the basis of alternative decisions and renewed action, and furthermore provide a feed-back into the system of planning.

These five approaches are present in any of policy discussions, but usually remain implicit. They are defined here as explanatory terms in order to clarify the process, and to describe and evaluate for the results of a specific process of housing improvement. Each concept is defined as an approach to urban renewal, the object being the built environment or the present residents in a renewal area, and each representing a suggestion for change in the present situation.

- The Sanitary Approach. The assumption is that our health depends on sanitary conditions, and that sufficient sanitary facilities should be secured for present and future citizens. The aim is to benefit citizens in general by providing better sanitary housing conditions. The assessment covers the standard (basic amenities) and conditions (maintenance etc.) of the building/area.

  After a decision in favour of improvement, the preferred method is to improve the dwellings to a politically decided level of standard and condition.

- The Conservative Approach. The assumption is that there are historical, archaeological and cultural qualities in certain buildings and their environment which are worth preserving for present and future generations in general. After recording these qualities, the aim is to retain the buildings which possess these qualities, and to preserve and enchance them.

  After a decision in favour of rehabilitation, the preferred

method is to encourage or introduce a process of maintenance and - if an improvement is taking place - to perform it with regard to preservation and enhancement of the acknowledged qualities.

- The Environmental Approach. The assumption is that our environment is the major determinant in shaping our lives, and that beauty, pleasantness and aesthetical qualities must be pursued. The aim is to create or enhance these qualities, for the sake of present and future residents in the area. The assessment includes weaknesses and qualities in the local environment.

  After a decision in favour of rehabilitation, the preferred method is to reach the desired level of quality through the encouragement or introduction of a process of environmental improvement.

- The Social Approach. The assumption is that continuity of the social environment is important, and that characteristies and qualities of the latter are worth preserving and enhancing for the sake of present and future residents in the area. The aim is to preserve or create a socially viable community. The qualities and weaknesses of the community and its residents are assessed, on the basis of social indicators and/or the residents' demands and needs.

  After a decision in favour of rehabilitation, the preferred method is to encourage or introduce a process of maintenance and improvement which will preserve and strengthen the present community, at a scale agreed with the present residents.

- The Economic Approach. The assumption is that property and dwellings have a value in monetary terms, and that a possible investment in for example housing improvement should raise its market or resource value accordingly. The aim is to preserve or improve the economic viability of the property. The present value is assessed according to

the objectives (market value, resource value), and the necessary investments required to produce a change, for example housing improvement, calculated. This investment is compared to a future value, produced by the improvement, and the economic viability of the scheme established.

After a decision in favour of rehabilitation, the preferred method is to encourage or introduce a process of improvement which gives the best value for money, according to the expected return on invested capital.

In a general way, all five approaches have as their final aim to benefit 'the people', to contribute to citizens' welfare. From the sanitary point of view, it is present and future citizens in society, for the conservation approach present and future generations; for the environmental and social point of view, it is the present and future residents in the area. In the case where the economic approach is taken by central or local government, other groups in society - or maybe the tax payer - could benefit from alternative economic priorities.

For both the sanitary, conservation, enviromental and economic approach, the physical environment is the main object of renewal, from the social point of view, the highest priority is given to social relations and the present residents; objectives are reached through provisions for residents, whether for the single resident or the residents as a group.

In all approaches, a thorough maintenance is called for. Concerning housing improvement, there are no real objectives from the conservation and environmental point of view, as long as these housing improvements do not interfere with the qualities which are intended to be preserved. Seen from the sanitary approach, housing improvement in the terms of installation of standard amenities is essential. In the social point of view, housing improvement is accepted, if the operation allows the residents to stay, or to return to the dwelling after improvement, in terms of organisation and economy. From the economic approach, housing improvement is accepted if it is value for money for the person or agency who finances the operation.

Closing note

It must be pointed out that these approaches are merely analytical tools with which to illuminate the process, and to take the 'univeral' character out of complex problems like attitudes to housing improvement by enabling us to describe comprehensive policy backgrounds, renewal strategies and their resulting outcome in relatively simple terms.

Considering the way in which these approaches or incentives for urban renewal are usually subdivided to serve an analytical purpose, this is not an unusual grouping. One example is the ECE report on housing improvement which was mentioned earlier; here, the recommendations for action are divided into the following headings:

- town planning, architectural and constructional aspects
- social aspects
- economic aspects and organisation

Another example is the amenity concept where, according to David L. Smith, the pursuit is for 'a good environment for the promotion of a healthy and civilised life'.[35] This conceptual approach may be sub-divided into a number of aims:

- public health and pollution; here included in the sanitary approach
- pursuit of pleasantness: the environmental approach

In the context of this study, conservation is thus defined in its narrow sense while aesthetical aims, good architecture, would be defined as an environmental approach. Fred Berry defines the sanitary idea as 'the feeling that insanitary conditions ought not to be tolerated and that it is the State's duty to prevent them'. 36

The way in which these approaches differ from many other analyses is that the Five Approaches defined in this context are not comprehensive approaches as such, but rather tools for clarifying the analysis. These discrete positions do not exist independantly, and in no case of urban renewal can a single element claim dominance.

As the ECE report on 'Improvement of housing and its surrounding area'notes, 'the incentives ... which inspire the improvement of the old housing stock are numerous and closely interwoven'.[37] It is the alliances, the resulting factor between these (often contradictory) aims and preferences in which we are interested, and the way they develop over time and place, as the ECE report continues, 'a continous process which responds to the needs and aspirations of the residents as they change and develop over time and as the opportunities for responding to those needs and aspirations present themselves'.38

1.4. Conclusion

The 1980 Urban Renewal Act has introduced a new dimension to urban renewal, with the intention of involving the residents, landlords and owner-occupiers in planning and implementation. The overall policy is explained on a background of recent international trends within urban renewal, expressed as an increasing emphasis towards urban renewal as a social process, and turning to residents' involvement and participation.

In considering how the residents could be involved, a theoretical background on which to base an overall concept of involvement has been established. It is based on a paradigm of life quality, as determined by life style and living conditions, and their determinants; in this context, those determinants which may be influenced by physical planning. Furthermore, a number of analytical tools have been set up, covering all aspects of motivation and strategy, for analysing the process, its prevailing policies, and its resulting outcome.

The Danish legislators have in overall terms acknowledged a socio-anthropological concept of welfare for urban renewal; statutory provisions for resident participation have, however, mainly included full information during planning and implementation, and protection for the single resident against an improvement he does not want. No overall concept of resident involvement has been implied; thus the intentions behind the Urban Renewal Act have not been fully accomplished.

In developing this overall concept, the socio-anthropological concept of welfare and its demands for an 'active involvement' of residents should be accepted as a frame of reference for Danish urban renewal. To support this allegation, a number of subject must be further discussed:

- living conditions; urban renewal has as its main aim to increase the quality of life for the present residents; therefore, the role of its present residents in urban renewal areas, must be pursued
- community; living conditions are determined by social and physical determinants, of which the community and the local area are inseparable elements. Thus the relationship between residents and their community must be described and explained on a theoretical background
- participation; the principles of participation and its overlying ideals of democracy must be outlined, giving the background for a number of generally applicable requirements to resident involvement
- planning; the process of urban renewal must be coordinated with these aims; organisational structures able to coordinate the various interests must be suggested, the nature of these agencies to the system of local government being considered.

Chapter One + References

1. Boligministeriet. Kommentarer til Boligministeriets lovudkast om boligforbedring og byfornyelse af juli 1979. København, Boligministeriet, 1980. p.11. trans.
2. Plovsing, Jan. Sanering på Nørrebro. Publikation 65, Socialforskningsinstituttet, København, Teknisk Forlag, 1975. p.56. trans.
3. Indenrigsministeriet. Rapport om sanering. København, 1938.
4. Boligministeriet. Udviklingen i boligsektoren. København, 1978. p.27. trans.
5. Byggeriets Udviklingsråd. Byfornyelse - et debatoplæg. København, BUR, 1977. p.a ff.
6. Danmarks Statistik. Boligopgørelsen pr. 1.januar 1982. Preliminary draft.
7. Hansen, Jens Schjerup; Møller, Jonas. Christianshavn - varsom byfornyelse? SBI-byplanlægning 43. Hørsholm, SBI, 1983. p.19.
8. Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut. Research on Quality of Life in Urban Settlements in Denmark. Hørsholm, SBI, 1975. p.9.
9. Lov om byfornyelse og boligforbedring. Lov nr. 300 af 9.juni 1982. §1. trans.
10. Højrup, Thomas. Det glemte folk. Livsformer og centraldirigering. Hørsholm, SBI, 1983.
11. Ibid. p.178.
12. Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, op.cit. p.19.
13. Brorson, Lisbeth; Larsen, Frits; Hansen, Knud-Erik; Groth, Niels Boje; Gottschalk, Georg. Byfornyelse og livskvalitet. SBI-notat 80. Hørsholm, SBI, 1978.
14. Ibid. p.7.
15. Groth, Niels Boje; Hansen, Knud-Erik. Levevilkår og regionplanlægning - en teoretisk analyse. SBI-meddelelse nr. 1. Hørsholm, SBI, 1981. pp.9-10.
16. Wilhelmsen, Anne Marie.(ed). Methods for Surveying and Describing the Building Stock. Stockholm, Swedish Council for Building Research, 1982. p.16.
17. Groth et al, op.cit. pp.9-10.
18. Brorson et al, op.cit. p.7 ff.
19. Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, op.cit. p.13.
20. Groth et al, op.cit. pp.9-10.
21. Brorson et al, op.cit. p.8.
22. Ibid.
23. Economic Commission for Europe,Urban Renewal and the Quality of Life.New York, United Nations, 1980.
24. Ibid. p.1.
25. Ibid. p.54.
26. Ibid.
27. Economic Commission for Europe. The Improvement of Housing and its Surroundings. Synthesis Report on the Seminar held in The Hague in Oct. 1979. New York, United Nations, 1983. p.4.
28. Groth, Niels Boje. Sociale indikatorer, velfærdsanalyser og by-indikatorer - et litteraturstudium. SBI-meddelelse 2. Hørsholm, SBI, 1981. p.61.
29. Tonboe, Jens Christian. Offentlighed, hemmelighed og medindflydelse i forvaltningen. SBI-byplanlægning 39. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1974. p.238.
30. Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, op.cit. p.13.
31. ECE, 'Urban Renewal...', op.cit. p.40.
32. Ibid. p.32.
33. Groth, op.cit. p.155.
34. See Malpass, Peter; Murie, Alan. Housing Policy and Practice. London, Macmillan, 1983. pp.103-105 for comparable models.
35. Smith, David L. Amenity and Urban Planning. London, Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1974.
36. Berry, Fred. Housing - the Great British Failure. London, Charles Knight, 1974. p. 163.
37. ECE, 'The Improvement of Housing...', op.cit. p.9.
38. Ibid. p.4.

Chapter Two + Residents and Community

2.1. Preface

In the official comments following the Urban Renewal Act, it was explicitly stated that 'the residents should be given the option of staying in their flats or in the areas' in a situation of urban renewal, thus linking 'the residents' and 'the area'.[1] These aims are in accordance with the earlier mentioned recommendations from the Economic Council of Europe, (ECE) stressing the importance of 'the social needs and concerns of the people living in the area'.2

In both cases, the area is defined by a geographical delineation, a planning unit, a result of functional or management considerations. The definition, however, requires a consideration of the 'area' concept in a broader context. In considering a system for planning and implementation of urban renewal according to our preferences, an analysis of urban renewal areas is called for, generally and in a Danish context. This analysis requires a further consideration of physical and social determinants in a local scene, or the concept usually referred to as a community.

What are these urban areas like, and which are the living conditions of the residents? How are urban communities organised, and how do their residents respond to a process of change? And finally, which are the needs and wishes of the present residents to urban renewal? The answers to these questions will be considered seen from an overall point of view: the community analysed for planning purposes, and from the inside: the individual's notion of community.

In analysing the community idea, its historical development must necessarily be taken into consideration and related to the overall purpose of this thesis; however, it must be pointed out that the main objective is not to reach yet another definition of community.

To avoid misunderstandings, the terminology needs to be specified. 'Urban community' will in this context be used for the overall concept. 'The planning unit' is the geographical

area subject to a plan for housing improvement, small or large as it may be. 'Community' will (mainly) refer to the social attributes of the unit and 'the local area' to the physical environment. And finally, 'residents' will be used generally for tenants, owner-occupiers, landlords, shopkeepers and all other people with a stake in the urban community.

2.2. Residents in urban renewal areas

Urban slums

A dwelling is in need of rehabilitation when the dwelling itself or its immediate surroundings no longer fulfil the standards and conditions demanded by society. Similarly , an area is in need of urban renewal when it does no longer meet the demands and needs of its residents. Specifications to be met by dwellings and their surrounding areas change with time and place, housing priorities, economical and political development, the system of housing provision, and technical resources in the society concerned. Therefore, it is difficult to generalise about urban renewal areas. However, to provide an overall background, a number of mutual trends within the market economies in Western Europe and North America of inner city renewal can be given.

In these countries, the need for replacement and housing improvement is mainly concentrated in old cities.[3] This is a result of housing and economic policies pursued during the last decades, resulting in productive decentralisation and an increased investment in peripheral areas. Thus, the old built-up areas have been neglected, which together with an increased marginalisation of lower income groups has resulted in a number of physical and social problems in the inner cities.

The Danish researcher Jan Plovsing has in part of his important research on Copenhagen urban renewal defined a 'slum cycle' outlining the development of the social and physical characteristics which are labelled 'slum'.[4,5] According to Plovsing, the macro-determinants for some areas developing into slum - and others not - are economical disparity, national

changes in living conditions, and relocation of work places, while more individual determinants are economical resources and life cycle of residents. General deterioration of a residential area may lead to physical deterioration, if it is not prevented by an effort of rehabilitation.[6] The dwellings deteriorate in standard and condition, and the level of public and private service is reduced, thereby encouraging the households which are able to do so, to move away into areas which they consider more desirable.

Thus, the various residential areas of a city will be inhabited by different groups, the communities being internally homogeneous and different from other urban areas. The term used for this situation - and for the process leading to it - is segregation, defined by Plovsing as 'a spatial separation of different population groups within an urban area'.[7] A segregated city is thus a city where different groups of the population each occupy a specific part of the city, the less desirable areas being inhabited by low-income households, the areas in high demand by households with higher incomes. Market mechanisms will increase the difference in housing condition between the various areas of the city. According to Plovsing, the less desirable urban renewal area will as a result of this development be inhabited by households without resources, low-income groups and social losers, in a segregated environment. Dwellings are sub-standard and characterised by deterioration, lack of maintenance and standard facilities, small and overcrowded flats, lack of amenity areas and unsatisfactory area facilities, exposing the residents to health and fire risks. This environment will, according to Plovsing, again produce social problems and social losers which eventually contributes to the general deterioration of the residential environment.8

Plovsing's 'slum cycle' indicates that people are trapped within a vicious cycle of deprivation from which they cannot escape on their own, and thereby includes an element of inadequacy on the part of the residents. However, his theories includes both overall, structural determinants as well as

more locally-based social and physical determinants, thereby suggesting a change of conditions. The problem is how to reverse this development.

Charles Stokes has in his research papers on American neighborhoods developed a theory which separates 'slums of hope' from 'slums of despair'[9]. 'Slums of hope' are only temporary areas of residence for its inhabitants, with a relatively high degree of geographical and social mobility out of the area. 'Slums of despair', opposed to that, are permanent living places for its inhabitants, the community dominated by a 'culture of poverty' .

Both Stokes and Plovsing base their definition on the perception of slum areas as homogeneous in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of its residents, in a strongly segregated environment. For Stokes, this can be explained on the background of the segregation of American neighborhoods. According to Anthony Downs, the American researcher, most US residents want to segregate themselves from those which they regard as socially, economically or ethnically different.[10] The result is the etablishment of many separate suburban communities, dominated by middle-class households while the poorest households are concentrated in deprived inner areas, an example of a strong social and geographical segregation of urban communities.

There is no doubt that such areas of substandard housing and a strong community spirit and inter-dependance exist; the question is, however, whether this is a characteristic applicable to urban renewal areas in general. Considering the extent to which segregation has taken place, this must necessarily vary, according to local determinants.

According to Plovsing, the Danish urban renewal areas are not segregated to the same extent as for example the American neighborhoods; they are far from 'areas of minimum choice in a McKenzian sense', which must be mainly attributed to the fact that private demand is strong in the Copenhagen fringe areas, with the housing market in full operation.[11] Similarly, Hammett's analysis in Inner London suggests that urban renewal

areas contain a social mix, and that gentrification of previous working-class areas has resulted in a social mix between various socio-economic groups, although this may exist for only a short time.12

The traditional concepts of slums may seem to explain the development which leads to urban deterioration. However, living conditions in urban renewal areas differ according to national and local determinants. The Danish urban renewal areas are not considered to be segregated to the same extent as in other countries, and are not necessarily slums in the sense defined above. In order to reach an understanding of the Danish urban renewal areas, a further characterisation of these areas and their residents is called for in a broader context.

Socio-demographic characteristics

In The ECE report on housing improvement the population of older urban areas is characterised as 'a demographic, ethnic or socio-economic imbalance or by some combination of these'.[13] In terms of household size and age of head of household, urban renewal areas generally have a higher proportion of small households and elderly people, i.e. in the DDR, in Britain and in Denmark as a result of the size of dwellings and the general growth of older age groups.[14,15,16] In the United States, urban households are also relatively small, but socio-economic characteristics vary, due to more overall determinants.[17] Claude S. Fischer characterises the US urban population as 'more heterogeneous with regard to ethnicity, religion and social classes, and of higher social status' compared to smaller communities in the US.18

Even though some parts of European inner cities, like the core area of Copenhagen, may have a population characterised in this way, this is, however, not typical of inner city areas in Europe as a whole. The population of renewal areas with an inner city or fringe location are characteristically working-class residents, or residents with a low income often with a number of social problems related to their living conditions.

Taking the Irish example, the urban population is characterised by poor physical conditions and poorer than average social conditions (low income, unemployment, low education, health problems, a high crime rate) in addition to inadequate community facilities.[19] Similarly, in the urban renewal area of Nørrebro in Copenhagen, on the fringe of the Inner City, the residents were predominantly workers, pensioners and 'social losers'.[20] This is a Danish expression for low-income, or rather, vulnerable population groups, for whom the researchers have offered a definition:

> Vulnerable groups of the population are groups for whom a number of straining living conditions are united: bad economy, bad housing conditions, ill health, few or no social relations, none or little paid employment, no education, no chances for a place in an institution and sub-standard recreational possibilities.21

In other words, many residents or urban renewal areas have problems, not related to housing alone, which they are not able to deal with on their own accord. Therefore, they are in permanent need of any help in the form of social services and support that the authorities or their social network may offer.

Considering housing standard, it is typical for both England and Denmark, that a proportionally high percentage of residents out of work live in dwellings in need of rehabilitation. In England, 24 per cent of households in which there are no wage earners live in a dwelling lacking at least one basic amenity, the group constituting 15 per cent of the total work force.[22,23] In Denmark, the similar figure are 41 per cent against 20 per cent. (Note that this group, in Denmark, comprises OAPs and persons out of work.)[24,25]

In both countries, elderly people are the largest group in unsatisfactory housing. In the Danish inner city areas, a relatively high proportion are OAPs, about 30 per cent, compared with a national average of 11 per cent.[26] Similarly, the English House Condition Survey of 1976 identified certain characteristics for residents living in sub-standard accommodation. A typical household would share one or more of

the following tendencies:

- to be headed by an elderly person
- to be small
- to be dependant on a low income
- to have lived for a long time in their present accommodation.27

A high proportion if households in inner city areas are thus 'unproductive' in a traditional sense. In cities with a high unemployment rate, urban renewal areas will have a high number of unemployed residents; however, this does not necessarily indicate that these areas in all cases have a higher unemployment rate than the city as a whole. In Denmark, the percentage of unemployed residents in the inner city areas corresponds to the national average.[28] Another significant factor in these Danish areas is that the proportion of people with employment remains the same in all categories of housing, regardless of housing tenure and standard.[29] This seems to suggest that the group of residents in unsatisfactory and substandard housing in the Danish inner cities do not only include pensioners and social losers, but also contain a relatively high proportion of middle-class residents. We will, in the following, assume that these residents as compared to more vulnerable groups of the population, have a surplus of social and economic resources.

Population flows

One of the internationally characteristic features of urban renewal areas is the high degree of resident turnover when compared to an overall pattern, a feature which has its background in the migration from the inner cities of Western Europe and North America during the last decades.[30] This migration followed a priority for investment in housing in peripheral areas, with a subsequent deterioration in the inner city environment. In planning terms, this geographical expansion was made possible by changes in transportation and communication networks, as well as a technological development.

For the single household, the choice of moving from an inner city location to a suburb is determined by access to private

and public service and transport, the space available, compared to the job market and the economic resources of the household. However, according to Downs, there are two types of outward movement from deteriorating housing areas. Apart from the individual outflow of households, resulting from a change in socio-economic or family status, and neighbourhood transition outflow, the present or expected change of the neighbourhood may have consequences for the resident composition in an area.[31]

Internationally, the trend of families migrating from the city centres, having dominated for a number of years, now seems to be reversed.[32] A United States report observes that there are signs of a renewed interest in the central cities as places to work and to live in. The demographic changes for this development include later marriages, declining birth rates and more single people, and it is further determined by energy shortage and higher financing and building costs[33] plus journey-to work problems. Similar trends in Britain are explained by the rise in transport costs and the fact that more women seek employment, presumably in service jobs in central areas.[34] The American researchers define it as a two-way flow:

> 'professionals, couples whose children have grown, and households of unrelated individuals are moving into central cities; young married couples and the more affluent continue to leave'.[35]

This trend will maintain the inner city as a residential area for single people and households without children.

A number of cities have experienced a continuing or growing prosperity, thereby increasing the level of public service and the number of jobs available. In these areas, the flow of population back to the city centres has resulted in an increasing demand for dwellings with a central location. For the urban renewal areas, like the Copenhagen areas on the fringe of the Inner City, an uncontrolled development along these lines will inevitably result in gentrification, replacement of the original working class and low-income residents with more affluent groups of the population, a subject which will be given further attention.

Normally, urban communities are considered unstable, because of a high degree of population turnover. As Downs points out, however, a high turnover rate is not equivalent with unstability; a stability requires a certain in- and outflow of population in order to maintain a dynamic character, necessary for the survival of any neighbourhood.36

According to Downs, 20 per cent of all households in the US move every year; however, about half the households have not moved within the past five years, and 30 per cent have stayed for twelve or more years. Thus, every neighbourhood has a significant fraction of stayers who remain in the neighbourhood for long periods of time untouched by the average population turnover.37

The English 1981 Census reveals a similar picture of mobility: more than 20 per cent of all households have lived at their present address for more than 20 years, and 63 per cent for more than five years.[38] Similarly, Cullingworth's study of an inner area of Lancaster showed that more than half of the town's private tenants had lived in their houses for over 20 years.39

In both countries, the proportion of stayers shows certain characteristics.[40,41] Young people move more often than old, and owner-occupiers less than tenants. Downs found that the turnover rate was higher with a higher proportion of:

- young households
- renters
- expensive housing, especially rented
- central city location

Comparable results were found in the English House Condition Survey of 1976, where one of the characteristics of residents in dwellings of unsatisfactory conditions was their long period of residence in their present accommodation, compared to the national average.42

In Denmark, similar trends prevail. A recent report from the Danish Institute of Building Research (SBI) concerning the gentrification in Inner Copenhagen, points out that the average mobility rate of 20 per cent in Copenhagen generally increased to 25 per cent in areas of urban renewal, and that the 'stayers'

are mainly old people.[43] Another recent report, by Steen Martini for the Danish Institute of Social Research (SFI), analyses the older inner city tenements in a number of large towns, predominantly flats in private renting.[44] Here, about one-third of the residents have lived in their flats for more than 30 years; the same pattern of mobility is found in other urban renewal areas of Copenhagen.[45] It is worth noting that the proportion of 'stayers' seems to be considerably higher than even the average for English and American neighbourhoods. According to Martini, these stayers are mainly elderly residents, the proportion being relatively higher in substandard than in acceptable housing.

The main conclusion to be drawn here is that Danish urban renewal areas, compared to an international average, contain a relatively high proportion of stayers, and that these are mainly elderly people.

The role of urban renewal areas

When considering the social environment, or the community, in urban renewal areas, a strong solidarity among residents is often claimed, both in traditional working-class areas and in the more mixed inner city areas. The situation in specific areas where the majority of residents belong to one class or ethnic group, the 'urban villages' will be analysed in more details later. At present only the situation in the more mixed areas will be discussed.

The concept of solidarity between residents in a slum area is often referred to as 'slum romanticism' by Danish politicians. Lewis labelled this common solidarity as a 'culture of povertry', a subculture of the poor 'handed down from generation to generation ... producing particular attitudes ../especially/a fatalistic apathy and resistance to change'.[46] Plovsing considers this culture to be a result of common residence and a shared situation of poverty, but not especially attached to the family structure.[47] Otto Krabbe, a Danish social worker, has labelled slum areas as a niche for survival for social losers due to a special tolerance in those communities.[48]

In Danish research of urban problems, however, it has often been questioned to what extent a special culture of poverty really exists in slum areas or areas of urban renewal in Denmark. Plovsing states that the poorest in Danish society is a far more inhomogeneous group than in most countries, and a study made for the Institute of Social Research (SFI) in the 60s reveals a lack of stability, contact and solidarity in these groups.[49] The same characteristics are found by Martini in his recent investigation of residents in inner city tenements, where the allegation of mutually supporting networks cannot be confirmed.[50] Plovsing found that in many Danish urban renewal areas a close social contact between residents may exist side by side with residents without any social contacts.

The conclusion to be drawn from these surveys is that the Copenhagen urban renewal areas cannot be labelled as some areas with close-knit communities and others with a rapid neighbourhood transition, but rather as a mix of population groups, maybe without any social contact in the same local area in order to provide a frame for a further analysis.

Plovsing defined the general role of urban renewal areas for its inhabitants thus:

- permanent residential areas for low income groups
- tolerant niche for social losers in society
- place of establishment and transit, for young residents in particular. (1975)51

In a more recent report from the Danish Institute of Building Research, this definition has been extended to:

- a residential area for old people of long residence for whom the local area has become a major determinant in their way of life, and who do not want to move
- transit area for young students with low aspirations
- transit area for young couples with children taking their first step on the housing ladder.52

In England, the residents in privately rented accommodation have been characterised in similar terms by Donnison:

- young people with modest incomes and no dependants, working their way upmarket

- older people, many in retirement, who have missed their chance of getting into the market 53

In view of the fact that by far the majority of dwellings in Danish urban renewal areas are in private renting, this may suggest that the role which is fulfilled by the private landlord in England, is also fulfilled by the Danish private landlord.

It is worth noting, that about 40 per cent of all Danish residents spend their entire day in their home environment, a proportion which will be growing with rising unemployment, scheme for early retirement and the growing proportion of older age groups, and emphasising the increasing importance of 'black' and domestic economies.

Needs and wishes of present residents

Contrary to the economic-statistical concept of welfare seeing high housing standards as a desired objective, residents often express a relative satisfaction with their substandard dwelling, a statement which requires a further analysis.54,55,56

Downs found that residents, especially those who participate in residents' associations, are reasonably satisfied and want to preserve status quo.[57] He assumes that those residents who are 'extremely dissatisfied' with their environment 'probably have moved away'; he does not, however, seem to justify this assumption, and it remains a question whether these dissatisfied residents in all cases would have the actual choice of going away.

In an investigation of resident satisfaction, carried out under the auspices of the English House Condition survey 1976, a 'tentative' conclusion was drawn:

> '... there exist an identifiable group of households with low expectations and aspirations deriving, perhaps, from their personal and financial circumstances, who exhibit an apparent inertia against any change in their accommodation'.58

This seems to point towards the fact that even though residents express satisfaction with their present accommodation, this 'satisfaction' is mainly dictated by their resources and the

determinants for their present situation, thus producing a reaction against change.[59]

In the Danish situation, it is an experience from all programmes for housing improvement, or 'sanering' plans, that the present residents prefer a moderate improvement for several reasons. In most cases, however, the motive for this decision is the economic consequences of an improvement, the Danish rent in principle being a cost rent directly related to the cost of the improvement.[60] According to Martini's study of inner city residents, improvement is considered as a commodity like all other consumer goods, and concludes accordingly that housing improvement enforced by the local authorities will, for a large minority of residents, interfere with their general choice as consumers.[61]

Plovsing found, in his study of Nørrebro, the run-down Copenhagen renewal area, that the great majority of residents wanted an improvement of their housing conditions, and of the environment. Practically all the residents wanted the buildings to be better maintained, and some also wanted housing improvements provided that these entailed only moderate rent increases.[62]

Thus, the survey revealed the economical determinant as the most important incentive against housing improvement, Plovsing found, however, that a number of additional factors were important in determining residents' attitudes, both on a political, psychological and organisational level. These will be further formed at the end of this chapter.[63]

Closing note

In this section, the Danish urban renewal areas have been characterised in an international context. As opposed to most British inner urban areas, the need of rehabilitation are mainly concentrated in areas with a high demand for housing. The urban renewal areas contain a large proportion of smaller dwellings, mainly flats in private renting, many small households and few children, and a high proportion of elderly residents. These areas serve mainly as residential

areas for working class and low income groups, 'social losers' and, more temporarily, for students and people moving up the housing ladder. Some residents are characterised as vulnerable, in permanent need of help, in the form of social services or support from their social network. However, the majority of residents are relatively 'stable' groups with - presumably - a certain degree of individual resources. It is a characteristic feature that the proportion of residents in work remains the same in all categories of housing.

The areas contain a relatively high proportion of 'stayers' which are mainly elderly people. The urban community cannot be characterised as 'close-knit', but rather as a social mix where residents with close social contacts live in the same tenement as residents with few local contacts. However, they share a general resistance against change in their environment, a resistance which is based on economical, but also political, psychological and organisatorial factors.

The direct relationship between real income and real rent after improvement determines the economic consequences for the single resident, balanced by a consumer choice. The political, psychological and organisational factors, however, are not quantifiable to the same extent as the direct economy involved. In order to clarify their importance for the single resident, these determinants and the extent to which they can be influenced by planning measures, remain to be analysed.

2.3. Concepts of urban community

Preface

Urban renewal policy is an integral part of a larger policy complex. However, policy aspects will, having the urban communities as their object, in each case be attached to the local environment, reflecting the general social and spatial segregation in society. It is this special character which establishes the urban community as an area of analysis in the context of this study.

It has earlier been assumed that the urban community is defined

by physical and social determinants in a local scene, 'local' suggesting some attachment to a geographical area. In the following section, the underlying theoretical assumptions behind the community concept will be pursued, with the aim of applying community theory to the implementation of renewal policies.

Community concepts

In search for an explanation of inner city development and problems, a number of community theories have been brought forward during the last century. These theories have reflected the wavering between the social or the physical environment as the main determinant, and the degree to which conditions and organisations on a local level is weighed against the overall structural determinants. Two main trends are usually labelled human ecology, based on environmental determinism, and the new urban theory, based on structuralist determination. In the following, these concepts will be outlined and discussed in a historical context.

One of the earliest researchers of community theory, Ferdinand Tönnies, defined in his book 'Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft' (1887) two opposite concepts of community, Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (association).[64] Social change is conceptualised as a continuum between these two poles, referring to the contrast between the rural and urban life.

According to Tönnies, human relationships in the Community are intimate and longlasting, based on a clear understanding of the status of each person within the community. The institutions of the church and the family are strong, and members of the Community are relatively immobile, socially and physically. In contrast to this, Association is a large-scale system with a highly specialised division of labour, 'an urban society, large, non-isolated, heterogenous, lacking group solidarity'.[65] The approach is characterised by environmental determinism and an ideal of a static society, based on traditional values. Life in the country is clearly described as preferable, as seen on the background of the industrial cities of the 19th century, with

their uncontrolled growth and, in William Morris's words, their 'squalor and hideousness'.66

In defining community organisation as a changing situation between two ways of life, this outrules the possible definition of a third or fourth way of life, which was, however, not an issue in Tönnies' time to the same extent today. The dichotomy is thus characteristic of the 19th but hardly of the 20th century European urban community.

The first comprehensive studies of the city as a phenomenon in itself was undertaken by the researcher of the Chicago-school, from the 1920s and onwards, its main theories being labelled as human ecology. Here, the human environment is characterised on two levels: a community level which is mainly based on competition, and a cultural level, society above the community level, based on communication and consensus.

The ecological theory is seing the Community as a result of natural and unplanned processes which cannot be controlled by the individual;[67] these processes are identical to the ecological processes controlling populations in nature. The fight for survival leads to competition on resources which eventually leads to a situation of stability. If this status quo is disturbed, a cycle of adjustment is set into motion leading to a new stability. Above this, a Society is defined, a cultural dimension based on mutual values, consensus and co-operation.[68] In correlation with spatial resources, the city may be subdivided into 'natural' communities, each with its own cultural and geographical identity. Society is seen as an environment which offers a vacant niche; a present-day spokesman for this approach has compared a community to 'an organism, self-sufficient, growing', regarding the solidarity and shared interest of community members as 'a function of their common residence'.69

Concerning the urban environment, buildings are considered to undergo the same life cycle: a general ageing and deterioration of a building causes a change in the type of occupancy, resulting in lower rents and disrepair, until a new development takes place with a change in the status of the area.70

The main characteristic of the ecological approach is its locality-bound character, allowing the individual a high degree of influence on his immediate surroundings, but not leaving much space for influence and activity outside this niche. Again, it is the physical environment which is considered to determine the life-and death cycle of urban communities. A notion of development is inherent in this concept, but a development determined by 'natural' processes outside the influence of both Community and Society. The deterioration processes of the built environment and the question of intervention in order to reverse the process is not, however, considered.

The Chicago theories were further developed by Louis Wirth. Reconsidering Tönnies' rural-urban continuum, Wirth contrasted the city to the folk society, defining urbanism as a 'way of life'.[71] (1938). According to Wirth, an increase in the size and density of the population in the city will lead to increased anonymity, which together with the more widespread division of labour produces social heterogenity.[72] The crowding of people into small areas leads to segregation of neighbourhoods, while the lack of physical distance between residents results in social contact, breaking down existing social and cultural patterns - the 'melting pot effect' - which will eventually lead to a social system like Tönnies' Gesellschaft.[73] This city life is dominated by secondary contacts or relationships which are relatively impersonal, superficial and transient,[74] and Wirth considers the urbanite to 'loose the morale and the sense of participation that comes from living in an integrated society'.[75] Family and relations have become less important, because of a decline in co-operative production, and due to a number of demographic factors like a decreasing birth rate. Contacts between neighbours have disappeared, due to an increased social and geographical mobility which gives the city resident a choice of contacts and facilities; urban residents will only meet in segmented roles, the social contacts being determined by their mutual interests. Due to this increased mobility, Wirth defines the whole city region as the urban

community. Thus, planning of neighbourhoods have no meaning; and planning should rather contribute to social integration of the city region as a whole.[76]

As opposed to the earlier analyses, Wirth includes overall determinants like demographic factors, but no economic or political determinants; it remained a question whether the size of population, density and heterogenity alone would result in the social consequences which Wirth suggested.[77,78] A number of studies during the following decades furthermore seemed to suggest that the inner urban areas differed from the image outlined by Wirth, among these Young and Wilmott's study of Bethnal Green (1957)[79] and H.J. Gans' study of Boston (1962).[80] According to R.E. Pahl, these studies revealed the existence of 'urban villages' in city centres, with a high level of cohesion and primary contacts, based on interwoven kinship networks. In other words, also the cities contain smaller homogeneous groups characterised by social structures and cultural patterns which protect and isolate these groups from the rest of the urban population.[81]

Confronted with the social reality of the 60s, the traditional paradigm further revealed its limitations. The urban riots, especially in the United States and in France, raised the question of inequality between classes and races, urban deterioration and overall policies, rather than ecological balance. Where the human ecologists had focussed on problems of social integration and adaption, the focus in the new urban sociology was concerned with distribution and allocation of resources, and broad structural changes affecting the overall determinants.[82] According to this new approach, the city could only be understood in close relationship with the socio-economic, political and ideological structures of society. These theoretical approaches to urban life were taken up by mainly the English Weberians, here represented by R.E. Pahl, and the neo-Marxists, here represented by Manuel Castells.

Like Wirth, R.E. Pahl considered the 'city' in capitalist society as no longer separated from the 'non-city'. The life

styles of the city invades and dissolves the rural communities. This is seen as a global process; therefore, the traditional object for urban sociology is lost, and Pahl defines a new object, not the city as a physical environment, but as 'a given context or a type of allocation system in which space is a significant factor'.[83]

An allocation of life chances will be created in an interaction between 'national and local forces'.[84] Pahl considers the space in which these forces operate to occupy its own identity, and the physical restrictions for the allocation of resources to operate more or less independently from the economical and political structure.[85] In his later work, Pahl introduced the urban managers as the major determinants for allocation of urban resources.

Focusing on the action of individuals with a strategic position as allocators or 'gatekeepers', Pahl argued that the role of these technical specialists was crucial for the allocation of urban resources and facilities.[86] Newton suggests, however, that the question is not whether officers dictate policy, but rather the degree of control that officers have, and the determinants for their influence.

For Pahl, the socio-spatial structure is a result of restrictions of space and inequal distribution of resources; this is in opposition to the neo-Marxist theories where the problem is seen as firmly rooted in the exploitation at the point of production. These theories, here represented by Manuel Castells and his - often contradictory - work, consider economy to be the main determinant at society level, surpassing political and ideological determinants.[87] Classes and status are determined by relations at the point of production, and the relationship between politics and the state is defined as part of the class struggle. The state is seen as playing an increasing role in maintaining social cohesiveness and in provision for the general infrastructure. In terms of political economy, a central concept is collective consumption which in housing could be seen as state intervention in order to reduce costs of reproduction for industrial capitals. In the development

of advanced capitalist societies through this century, capital movement has become increasingly internationalised, followed by an inevitable tension between movement of capital and the fixed nature of investment in housing.[88] The relationship between the state on one side and the urban movements on the other is considered essential, especially Castells has emphasised the potential in an alliance between the movements and the working classes, an alliance which could form the way to a democratic way to socialism.

For Castells, the physical environment is a result of a social structure; a given space will always be the product of the social structure of which it is part. Thus changes in the physical environment will always be a specification of transformations in the social structure, processes which are specific to the capitalist mode of social organisation, and related to a particular period in the development of capitalism.

The environmental determinism inherent in human ecology has been thoroughly critised in new urban sociology. This seems to have resulted in a denial of any importance of the physical environment at all, to such an extent that it has disappeared from the theories altogether. There are trends, however, in the works of Castells and Peter Saunders pointing towards a reformulation of urban theories which will include physical determinants.[89]

Conclusion

In considering these theoretical paradigms and the present situation in urban areas, it is evident that the societies in which these researchers worked and established their community analyses have changed. The question remains whether any of these concepts are representative of the processes active in present urban communities.

Part of the answer to this was given by Castells who recently met the critism of his own early theoretical work by pointing out that 'the theories have not lost their explanatory power because they are no use as theories, but because the object which they try to describe no longer exists in its original form'.

In other words, societies and their determinants have changed and continue to change; therefore, none of these theories can fully explain what actually happens in the urban areas of the 1980s. The survey of community theories seems to support this conclusion, providing little evidence to suggest a 'universal' concept of urban community. However, in many studies the existence of common bonds between residents in urban renewal areas have beeen documented, bonds which are important for residents' life style. This calls for a renewed consideration, in this study, of the community concept.

2.4. Internal community organisation

Preface

The point of departure for a community interpretation must necessarily be taken in an overall concept of community theory and its relationship to power and the State. As shown in the previous section, a number of different approachers are available for the researcher, each emphasizing certain social or physical determinants. In spite of these basic differences in the underlying assumptions, however, the agreement on the basic features and the internal organisation is remarkable.

One of the first community researchers, R.R. Park of the Chicago School, considers the urban community to be 'not a geographical phenomenon merely, but ... a kind of social organisation', an impression gained by 'tramping around cities in different parts of the world'.[90] An American researcher of the 1950s found strong evidence of a community being dependant upon area, common ties and social interaction,[91] while Wirth, in his considerations of its characteristics, emphasises a set of 'social' conditions, like the size of the population, the density of settlement and the heterogenity of its inhabitants.[92] In 1970, Butterworth and Weir in 'The Sociology of Modern Britain' argue that community contains some or all of the following: 'a territorial area, a complex of institutions, and a sense of belonging'.[93] Finally, Dear and Scott in 'Urbanisation and Urban Planning in Capitalist society' (1982) refers to neighbourhoods 'in which ethnicity, class, communal institutions and other building

blocks have built an overlapping set of bonds through the years'.[94] In other words, the determinants which should be considered include territorial restrictions, social relationships and psychological attachment, all seen in a time perspective, for, as Dear and Scott emphasise,

> 'community does not exist in any apriori way .. /it is/ slowly created over time, and may wax, wane or be altogether absent'.95

In this section, the determinants for living conditions in urban areas will be analysed. With which bonds are people tied to their community? Is a community equivalent with a certain geographical area, or is the common element a social tie between the residents? And finally, how do residents react to a situation of urban renewal?

Community may be regarded from a comprehensive approach, reflecting administrative convenience, dividing the urban area into sub-units for analysis and administration; this planning aspect will be dealt with in a later chapter. Another viewpoint may represent strong feelings of common interest, seen from inside the community. It is this approach which will be taken in the following section.

Community seen by the individual

Searching for a definition of community, an American National Commission on Neighborhoods stated, in a report on neighborhood relations 'in the last analysis, each neighborhood is what the inhabitant thinks it is'.[96] How does the individual perceive his community? This was analysed by the British social psychologist Terence R. Lee through a number of surveys on urban communities (1963):

> 'The obvious way to seek evidence was to ask people, but I am not sure whether to ask them about an area of ground or about an aggregate of neighbours. Gradually, it became clear that, so far as the people who actually live in cities are concerned, they cannot separate the two ... For them, physical and social space are inextricably linked - in the mind - and it is only for purposes of analysis that it might be helpful to separate them'. (1936)97

According to Lee, the residents have a clear notion of the

determinants of their environment; these social and physical determinants, however, cannot be separated. Lee claims that the human being assembles models in his mind, 'assemblies of selected and organised past experience' which are related to, but not always coinciding with, the physical environment.[98] These 'assemblies' are constantly being modified by 'sensory information from the physical and social objects in our urban locality, arising from our repeated transactions with neighbours, tradesmen, buildings, bicycles, parks etc'. A similar image is found in a metaphor, attributed to Ludwig Wittgenstein, comparing the concept of a city to a language, as a kind of game between people, 'a collective product with a long row of historical relics, old experiences and new constructions'.99

Lee concludes that changes in the physical or social environment result in the replacement of some elements in the assembly with others, replacements for which the individual needs time to assimilate. In a later section, this psychological aspect of resident reaction to change will be dealt with in a wider context.

Social networks

In addition to the resident's individual perception of community, also the social dimension in the form of the social network provides a continuity. The social network is the resident's social frame of reference - people with whom every resident shares his life, who have a lasting and intimate influence over a span of years, family, friends, neighbours, collegues,aquaintances etc.[100] J.C. Mitchell, the British researcher, suggests that the urban community may be explained by analysing three types of relationships, structural, categorical and personal relations. In structural relationship, norms are defined in the form of role expectation of others in i.e. a work situation. Categorical relations are superficial and perfunctory contacts where people tend to be characterised by visual characteristica, like race - or sex - while personal relationships are the individual's relations, close or not close, with his fellow citizens.[101] The social network includes all these social contacts, thereby replacing 'the community' as a framework for the study of social relationships.

The structural relationships may, according to P. Mayer, the British researcher, be determined by a common pattern, adapted to the demands of its industrial context, while the 'away-from-work' relations are found in marriage, and friendly, religious and sociable relations, often of a voluntary character.[102] Within the structure of the family, its social function and element of co-operative production has gradually disappeared, due to demographic factors, and the urbanisation factors in general. This has again affected the structure of social networks, increasing the importance of relationships outside the family, or as phrased by Niels Peter Agger, the Danish researcher, 'a materially based co-operation has been replaced by ideological relations', equivalent to the tendency mentioned by Wirth.103

Agger has outlined a number of characteristica for working and middle-class networks, mainly based on Young and Wilmott's studies in East London.[104] Working class networks are considered to be small, based on family and kinship, informal and with a number of overlapping functions for its members. It is considered to be defensive, and with a strongly separated working and home environment. Opposed to this, the middle-class network is large, with chosen friends and collegues; relationships are based on professional co-operation, and with a formal character. The working situation is important for the development of new contacts, and there is a high turn-over of network members. Considering the Danish situation, the weakest social networks are found in areas in need of rehabilitation on the fringe of the inner cities, and in peripheral system-built housing, while networks are strongest in older built-up areas, developed over a period of time, and with good potentials for self-help. 105

There is a profound difference in the size of networks of various socio-economic groups. Norwegian surveys consider working-class networks to contain 30-50 persons, middle-class 50-150.[106] There are no Danish studies on this subject, but 'experience seems to confirm these results'.

It has already been pointed out that the Danish Urban renewal areas are not segregated to a very high extent; their function

as permanent rather than temporary residential areas for a broad section of the population, and the general abscence of close-knit working class communities - if not urban villages - being a characteristic feature as well, the question that should be considered in the context of this study is whether Danish urban communities can be sufficiently described through crude network generalisations; or whether a more sophisticated conceptual framework is called for. An alternative analysis of urban life style has been attempted by Thomas Højrup, the Danish researcher, being introduced in the following section.

Urban life styles

The main theme of Højrup's study is to explain the hostile reaction to centralised state intervention from rural communities, with the example from fishing villages in remote areas. This reaction is explained through an analysis of the life style and living conditions of these communities. Even though Højrup's main object of analysis is rural communities, his conceptual framework seems to be applicable, and useful, in an urban context as well. 107

In order to characterise the difference between various life styles, Højrup reintroduces production as the main determinant rejecting the idea of a rural-urban continuum, three different ways of life are defined, each characterised by its relationship to production. One life style is characterised by its members being directly involved in production, i.e. a family or co-operative. Solidarity towards the other participants is required, as well as commitment and responsibility towards the work and its practical implementation. According to Højrup, this is - mainly - a rural life style while the other - mainly urban - life style is characterised by a number of activities, which are separated from production, like leisure and family life. These activities, however, are only maintained through demands on production, working hours, wages, working environments etc.

This mainly urban life style may be further subdivided into a working class life style and a life style tied to a professional carreer. In the working class life style, work is the way to earn a living, for enjoying your spare time; solidarity unifies relations

at the work place, among collegues. This life style includes a sharp division between work and leisure. As opposed to this, the life style tied to a professional carreer is, on the contrary, dependant on the work and work place, where engagement and diligence give the head of the family all his self-understanding, and the family its status.

One conclusion which should be emphasised in this context, is that all three life styles seem to exist side by side in the urban communities of Denmark. Højrup points out that these distinctions are not only founded on variations in education or income, but more in different life styles and everyday ideologies, made possible under these living conditions.

The characteristic feature of this concept is that it is not the individual's activity pattern which is described as typical, nor the activity of the whole of a social network, but rather patterns of activity typical for various groups of individuals,[108] determinants including both social, physical and psychological aspects. Another characteristic is that it allows for a definition of 'community' groups which are not necessarily living in the same block or group of blocks, but may instead represent a group of residents with a mutual interest in a specific determinant, like provision of kindergartens in the area. In other words, community groups are not a function of common residence, but of common <u>interests</u> in community life. This is a supplement, not an alternative to a possible future community definition. The urban community is thus defined as a mixture of sub-groups and sub-cultures, each with its own distinctive way of life, and changing with time and place.

The question of whether people living in the same area constitute a community must be answered in the negative community being defined in this new context. However, residents within the same community live in the same area, and several communities may share the same locality. Between these groups, life style and living conditions may vary profoundly; what they do have in common, however, is that a situation of urban renewal will affect them all.

Status and class in the community

There is an inherent contradiction between the Marxist concept of class struggle at the point of production, and the situation in urban areas, when it comes to the question of status and power within the community. Castells has especially emphasised the relationship between the urban movements and the working classes, and the potential in a situation of urban renewal. However, as Pahl argues, 'a crisis in the provision of the collective means of consumption, far from bringing the non-capitalist classes together, as Castells suggests, leads to further fragmentation'.[109]

In the process of urban change, class conflicts are considered to be fragmented against 'social groupings describing themselves as communities'.[110] In specifying this conflict, Cynthia Cockburn considers housing in its contemporary form to 'separate workplace from residence, reinforce family instead of factory relations and isolate the worker as worker from the worker as consumer'.[111]

The application of the concept of class struggle to housing at the point of reproduction has been attempted by the English researchers basing their research on Weber's theories. Colin Bell and Howard Newby defines class as an analytic category, relating to the economic sphere, while status, in contrast, refers to a social dimension, and a group within the community[112] - two concepts which Højrup attempts to unite in his conceptual framework. An attempt to redefine the concept of class struggle in housing was carried out by John Rex and Ray Moore on the basis of a study of the Spearbrook area, an immigrant area of Birmingham.[113] Rex and Moore identified access to housing as the main determinant for living conditions, and accordingly outlined a system of housing classes. These are defined as groups of residents occupying accommodation at various levels of desirability; the class struggle here at the point of reproduction, is reduced to a struggle for a place to live in. This was again based on the assumption that the basic desire for all residents - regardless of situation - is to become an owner-occupier in an attractive suburban area.[114] According to Rex and Moore all demand will be directed towards these areas, thereby leaving the inner city to those who cannot enter the'housing ladder'.[115]

These definitions have been critisised by a number of researchers, among them Murie stating that 'there is no consideration of the relevance of housing history and only guesses about future opportunities'.116

An alternative definition of classes in housing, more specifically based on the means of access to housing, has been offered by Pahl, still based on the assumption of the desirability of ownership above other determinants.

'1. Large property owners and capitalist speculators

2. Smaller landlords

3a. Owners of capital sufficient to own their own houses, and owning

3b. Owners of capital sufficient to own their own houses, and renting

4. Those who must rent'. 11.117

In the acknowledgement of income as the main determinant for access to housing, this status list is still, like Rex and Moore's housing classes, based on the households' present housing situation, not including preferences for a future situation. As an alternative a number of researchers, i.e. H.J. Gans and Claude S. Fischer, have pointed towards the household's stage in life cycle as the main determinant for housing needs and desires.[118] In a Danish context, Frank Bundgaard and Steen Martini, among others, have emphasised that in urban areas, housing priorities for the same type of household may furthermore vary profoundly, depending on the total situation of the household's opportunities.119

Obviously, access to housing is in a central position as a determinant for life chances. As Murie points out, the totality of housing market processes must be examined, especially in relation to the position of disadvantaged groups of the population.[120] In a definition of strata within the community, however, also determinants like life-cycle stage, established traditions and community networks must be considered,[121] concepts which, as Norman Dennis points out, 'have proved important as

discriminators in practice'.122

Size of community

In a consideration of physical determinants for the urban resident, the question of size and delineation is of some importance, especially in a planning context. The Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland carried out a survey prior to local government reorganisation (1969). Part of this survey attempted to seek the residents' view on the subject of community delineation. However, it is evident that the Commission was not successful in securing the assistance for building up a picture of communities 'which exist for wider purposes', and 'almost everyone was able to think of his or her 'home' area in very local forms indeed'.[123] This is a good example of the fact that the way in which the individual perceives his local area, on psychological grounds, may have little to do with functional aspects of community life, while planning units as such are again set out on the basis of overall policy implementation, a theme which will be dealt with in Chapter 4.

Considering the psychological aspect, Terence R. Lee made an interesting observation in his Cambridge investigation of residents' perception of their neighbourhood.[124] He found that people perceived the actual extension of their neighbourhoods very much alike, no matter whether they lived in an outer middle-class suburb or high-density slum. The area found was approximately 75 acres, or, according to Lee, equivalent with 2,500 inhabitants by normal density regulations.[125] In other words, Lee claims that residents do not delineate their local area in terms of density or number of houses, but as a space. For planners, it is a fascinating hypothesis that the urban community could be defined through area measurements, or there is an optimal size of a local area. However, only little support may be gathered for this claim. In most studies, residents' perception of community seems to include smaller or larger geographical areas, according to the resident's life style.

Bell and Newby question the role of the built-up area as a social universe for residents, and point out that for most residents, it is a much smaller area that is significant, according to social and physical determinants.[126] Working-class residents generally consider their local area as smaller than middle-class residents, corresponding with the relative 'size' of their local networks,[127] and the relative closeness of the urban working-class community.[128] However, proceeding beyond these network terms, not all communities are close-knit Bethnal Green communities; furthermore, the extent of the local area varies with the resident's function in the network. As emphasised in an English report on personal mobility and transport planning, women generally have access to smaller areas than men, and young children cover still smaller areas.129

In urban renewal areas, a relatively high proportion of residents are elderly people and vulnerable population groups whose movements are restricted because they, in David Donnison's words, 'cannot spend much on transport, or because they must stay close to other people upon whom they depend for support'.130

In conclusion, the hypothesis of an optimal neighbourhood size based on geographical delineation is not supported by these researchers. The resident's perception of neighbourhood is seen as based on personal mobility and the character of the social network. The relatively limited mobility of a growing proportion of residents, the elderly, and the resulting limitations in their access to local facilities, will have to be considered when setting up a system for urban renewal.

Resident reaction to change

Residents in urban renewal areas are usually considered as both parochial and conservative regarding any changes in local conditions, independant of income level or ethnicity.[131] Considering the psychological background for this, Lee's theory of community as 'assemblies of selected and organised past experience' is valuable.[132] One of Lee's conclusions was that changes in the physical or social environment result in the replacement of some elements in the assembly with others,

replacements for which the resident needs time to assimilate. Even if the individual has a psychological requirement for complexity in the environment, stability is an important factor psychologically. Considering the fact that buildings provide a continuity of the physical environment, the retention of the building stock thus gives the individual a point of recognition, or landmarks with which the individual is able to determine his position in the environment.133

This points towards the fact that pace of change is an essential determinant.[134] Even Patrick Geddes critisised the 'great clearances of decayed and insanitary areas' of his time, being cleared'often indeed too sudden and sweeping'.135

A situation where an individual has to take in too many changes in a short time, for instance in a situation of slum clearance, leads to condition of shock, a feeling of loss. In Marc Fried's study of the Boston West End, (1963), he found that forced relocation has an emotional effect on people comparable to the loss of a family member, 'only without the benefit of a funeral to cope with internal feelings'.136

Fried found also that residents with a minimal attachment to their former local area reacted emotionally and even physically for an extended period after their relocation.

In further analysing which type of resident suffered under forced relocation, Fried found that in adapting to residential relocation, preparedness to change seems to be the main determinant, 'dwarfing the importance of the relative improvement of living conditions'.[137] Less than one-third of Frie's sample were both happy and satisfied with the change; residents with a higher socio-economic status showed considerably larger proportions of adjustment, compared to working-class residents. According to Fried, this 'signifies an ability to utilize the wider range of options offered by the open society' by middle-class residents.[138] Comparable results were found by Plovsing in Nørrebro.[139] Here, the majority of residents which were rehoused from the area, expressed satisfaction with their new home. One out of four residents, however, had problems in adaptation. This was due to changes

in living conditions, destruction of the social network, but also the loss of a recognisable environment.

Conclusion

The internal structure and organisation of the urban community has been considered; the bonds which binds people together is a mix of territorial restrictions, social relationships and psychological attachment. In the analysis of determinants, the Danish urban renewal areas have been considered in the light of social network theory; this concept has been found inadequate as an overall description and an alternative model for analysis has been suggested, based on the life style and living conditions for groups of residents. A detailed description along these lines must be established as a necessary basis for understanding the structure of urban communities, and for a community-based urban renewal policy. However, such an analysis will not be attempted in the context of this study.

As a traditional class analysis cannot be applied to class and status within the community, other determinants like access to housing, life-cycle stage, established traditions and community networks must be considered in a definition of strata within the community. Subsequently, a pluralist model for community organisation and power will be accepted, saying that the making of most community decisions are concentrated in the hands of a few but different groups taking decisions on different problems.[140] In short, power is tied to issues, and interests of special groups.

In the redefinition of community, the area-base is not challenged as such. Thus, residents in the same community will normally live in the same area, and several communities may share a locality without having anything in common. In a situation of urban renewal, however, they will all be affected.

In order to analyse residents' reactions before and during the implementation of urban renewal, Plovsing sets up a number of 'levels', equivalent to the five approaches set up within the context of this study, levels from which the residents assess the event of urban renewal in their area:

(i) the political level; the resident's fundamental attitudes to urban renewal, housing and housing policy

(ii) the economical level; attitudes based on direct economical consequences for the single resident

(iii) the psychological level; attitudes based on social ties and with a psychological background

(iv) the organisational level; attitudes based on previous or present contact with authorities and the agency implementing housing improvement.[141]

We have earlier acknowledged the importance of the economical determinant for residents, at least in the Danish context. The way in which psychological and social determinants are affected in the event of urban renewal has been analysed in this section. What remains to be considered is the contribution that an active involvement by residents or residents' organisations has made, and may make, towards the implementation of urban renewal.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, a number of characteristics for urban renewal areas, generally and in a Danish context, have been established, and the Copenhagen situation has been further considered. A main characteristic is a location on the fringe of the inner city, with a majority of flats in private renting. Many households are small, and there are few children and a high proportion of old people, with a substantial group of stayers. These areas serve as residential areas for working class and low-income groups, social losers, students and young people moving up the 'housing ladder'. In other words, the urban community is a mixture of sub-groups, each with its own distinctive way of life, area-based, but changing with time and place. Some of these residents' groups are vulnerable, in permanent need of help in the form of social services including

- elderly people, many OAPs, of long residence, for whom the local area has become an important determinant in itself

- social losers for whom a number of social problems are combined, not related to housing alone, problems which they are not able to deal with on their own accord.

In the society of the 1980s, unemployment, schemes for early retirement, the general growth of old age groups, mean that a larger and larger proportion of the population lives a full-time life in their communities. In the Danish inner city areas, four out of ten are not working, and three of those are OAPs.

Quite a large part of the Danish population do not have any permanent connection with the labour market. Many of these people experience a loss in material welfare and massive social and psychological problems.[142]

The situation of retirement or permanent unemployment means that a considerable part of the social network is forever lost, and the area to which the resident has access severely restricted.

The home and its immediate environment which have served as a place of reproduction between work hours, thus assumes a changed function, for which it is inadequate in most cases, especially in renewal areas. Social relationship to the community must be built up, but the social network in these areas is usually weak.[143] On the whole, a large amount of adaptability is required from the individual in this situation.

Up to the present, implementation of urban renewal policies has largely destroyed the social networks for residents in renewal areas, and the process of change has resulted in social and economic costs especially for the vulnerable resident groups.[144,145,146] In the present housing situation, these groups do not have the choice of going somewhere else, and slum clearance followed by forced relocation removes the well-known surroundings, thereby removing the last trace of continuity and taking the resident's ability to adapt to its limits.

A renewal policy in which the main aim is improving the conditions for the present residents in urban renewal, cannot ignore these groups and the problems being a result of this

major change. All resources must be concentrated in identifying the determinants for their living conditions, and introducing a system of implementation which preserves and enchances the life quality for these and other residents in renewal areas . The task is to find the determinants in the environment which limits their action possibilities; 'the social functions of the area must be respected, renewal policy is thus becoming a matter of community involvement'. In considering a model for housing improvement it must be remembered that the urban community in a Danish context may provide potentials for support. The existence of a close social network in these areas has been rejected, but other possibilities are present:

- the areas contain a high proportion of stayers, thereby providing a social continuity
- the built-up environment is (still) mainly intact, thereby providing a physical and psychological continuity
- with a steady demand for inner city dwellings, public and private investment in these areas are likely to continue
- a majority of residents, in both tolerable and sub-standard housing are relatively stable population groups with a potential of individual resources
- in the more transient group of residents, students and apprentices may add the energy and 'muscle' to common activities.

However, these trends are not supportive as such. In a situation of urban renewal, all resident groups, regardless of exclusive interests, have a change inflicted upon them which concerns them all, thus sharing a common experience. With the interest of the residents as the main priority, the involvement of residents in the planning and implementation seems to be an unseparable part of such a policy, uniting these community resources in shared activities.

Chapter Two + References

1. Boligministeriet. Kommentarer til Boligministeriets lovudkast om boligforbedring og byfornyelse af juli 1979. København, Boligministeriet, 1980.
2. Economic Commission for Europe. Urban Renewal and the Quality of Life. New York, United Nations, 1980. p.54.
3. Donnison, David; Ungerson, Clare. Housing Policy. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982. p.85.
4. Economic Commission for Europe. The Improvement of Housing and its Surroundings.Synthesis report on the Seminar held in The Hague, Oct. 1979. New York, United Nations, 1983.p.22.
5. Plovsing, Jan; Jørgensen, Winnie. Byfornyelse på Nørrebro.Socialforskningsinstituttet, publikation 90. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1979. pp.29-31.
6. Plovsing, Jan. Sanering på Nørrebro. Socialforskningsinstituttet, publikation 65. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1975. p.54.
7. Plovsing et al, op.cit. p.28.
8. Plovsing, op.cit. p.54.
9. Quoted in Plovsing, op.cit. p.53.
10. Downs, Anthony. Neighbourhoods and Urban Development. Washington D.C., Brookings Institution, 1978.
11. Quoted in Bundgaard, Frank. Bysociologi og social virkelighed. Kulturhistoriske Skrifter nr. 17, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Kultursociologi. København, Akademisk Forlag, 1983. p.68.
12. Quoted in Murie, Alan; Forrest, Ray. Housing Market Processes and the Inner City. Report commissioned by the Social Science Research Council, Inner Cities Working Party. London, SSRC, 1980. p.89.
13. ECE, 'The Improvement of Housing...', op.cit. p.4.
14. ECE, 'Urban renewal...', op.cit. p.47.
15. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.191.
16. Plovsing, op.cit.p.63.
17. Fischer, Claude S. The Urban Experience. New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1976. p.95.
18. Ibid.
19. ECE, 'Urban Renewal...', op.cit. p.29.
20. Plovsing, op.cit. p.62.
21. Andresen, Susanne; Sloth, Lisbeth. Planlægning af offentlig service og byfornyelse. København, Planstyrelsen og Socialstyrelsen, 1982. p.8.
22. DoE. National Dwelling and Housing Survey. London, HMSO, 1979. p.35.
23. Landsorganisationen i Danmark; Boligselskabernes Landsforening; Lejernes Landsorganisation; Det Kooperative Fællesforbund; Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd. Boligpolitisk Hvidbog. En solidarisk Boligpolitik. The Union White Paper. Kø-enhavn, Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 1976. table 10.
24. DoE, op.cit. p.28. Note that unemployed are counted under their previous occupation.
25. Scottish Development Department. Census Scotland 1981. Small area statistics, all Scotland figures. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1981. p.6. Note that unemployed are counted under their previous occupation. The SEG groups 16 and 17 are counted under 'not economically active'.
26. Martini, Steen. Beboerne og byfornyelsen. Publikation 17, Socialforskningsinstituttet. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1983. p.46.
27. DoE. English House Condition Survey 1976. Part 2. Report of the Social Condition Survey. Housing Survey Report nr. 11. London, HMSO, 1978. p.5.
28. Martini, op.cit. p.48
29. Ibid.
30. ECE, 'The Improvement of Housing...', p.64.
31. Downs, op.cit. p.34.
32. ECE, 'The Improvement of Housing...', p.65.
33. Ibid.
34. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.17.
35. ECE, 'The Improvement of Housing...', op.cit. p.65.
36. Downs, op.cit. p.24.
37. Ibid. p.34.
38. Census 1981. England and Wales. London, HMSO, 1982? Chart 8.15.
39. Murie et al, op.cit. p.191.
40. Downs, op.cit. p.27.

41. Census 1981, op.cit. Chart 8.15.

42. DoE, English House Condition Survey, op.cit.p.5.

43. Plovsing, op.cit. p.56.

44. Martini, op.cit.

45. Danske Arkitekters Landsforbund. Beboerindflydelse i byfornyelsen. Project material. Not published. København, 1983.

46. Lewis, quoted in Cosh, Thomas. Community Self-management. A Study of a Local Response to Urban Decay. Thesis submitted for the degree of M.Phil. Department of Town and Regional Planning. University of Glasgow, 1983. p.46.

47. Plovsing, op.cit. p.65.

48. Quoted in ibid.p.70.

49. Henning Friis, quoted in ibid. p.66.

50. Martini, op.cit. p.20.

51. Plovsing, op.cit. pp.210-211.

52. Foerlev, Bent. Friarealer og byfornyelse. SBI-rapport nr. 139. Hørsholm, SBI, 1983. p.62.

53. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.185.

54. Ibid. p.191.

55. Martini, op.cit.

56. Cosh, op.cit. p.45.

57. Downs, op.cit. p.174.

58. DoE, English House Condition Survey, op.cit.p.5.

59. Martini, op.cit. p.94.

60. Udvalgsbetænkning 5/1983. Saneringsudvalgets betænkning ang. Brumleby. Københavns Kommune, 1983. p.8.

61. Martini, op.cit.

62. Plovsing, op.cit. p.226-

63. Plovsing, op.cit. p.72 ff.

64. Tönnies, Ferdinand. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Leipzig, 1887. English edition: Community and Association. London, 1955. Quoted in Bell, Colin; Newby, Howard. Community Studies. London, Allen & Unwin, 1971. p.23 ff.

65. Ibid.

66. Patrick Geddes, quoted in Henderson, Philip. William Morris. His Life, Work and Friends. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967 (1973). pp.239-240.

67. Bundgaard, op.cit. p.13.

68. Albertsen, Niels. 'Den nye byteori'. Blød By 27, november 1983. pp.14-23.

69. Cockburn, Cynthia. The Local State. London, Pluto Press, 1977 (1980). p.159.

70. Bundgaard, op.cit. p.30.

71. Gans, H.J. 'Urbanism ans Suburbanism as Ways of Life'. In Pahl, R.E. (ed). Readings in Urban Sociology. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1968 (1974, 1978). p.96.

72. Pahl, R.E. 'The Rural-urban Continuum' in Readings in Urban Sociology. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1968 (1974, 1978). p.265.

73. Gans, op.cit. p.96.

74. Plovsing, op.cit. p.43.

75. Pahl, op.cit. p.266.

76. Albertsen, op.cit. p.15.

77. Gans, op.cit. p.98.

78. Pahl, op.cit. p.267.

79. Young, Michael; Wilmott, Peter. Family and Kinship in East London. London, Penguin, 1962 (1980).

80. Pahl, op.cit. p.267.

81. Gans, op.cit. p.98.

82. Albertsen, op.cit. p.15.

83. Bundgaard, op.cit. p.80.

84. Ibid. p.82.

85. Ibid. p.85.

86. Quoted in Malpass et al, op.cit. p.113.

87. Albertsen, op.cit. p.17.

88. Murie et al, op.cit. p.10.

89. Bundgaard, op.cit. pp.115-116.

90. Park, R.E. 'Human Communities'. New York, Free Press, 1952. p.5. Quoted in Bell and Newby, op.cit. p.92.

91. Hillary, George A. 'Definitions of Community; areas of Agreement'. 1955. Quoted in Bell and Newby, op.cit. p.27.

92. Quoted in Butterworth, Eric; Weir, David (eds). The Sociology of Modern Britain. Fontana/Collins, Glasgow?, 1970 (1982). p.79.

93. Ibid. pp.15-16.

94. Dear, Michael; Scott, Allen J.(eds). Urbanisation and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society. London, Methuen, 1981. p.320.

95. Ibid. p.320.

96. Downs, op.cit. p13.

97. Lee, Terence R. 'Psychology and Living Space'. In Transactions of the Bartlett Society. vol.2 1963-64. Bartlett School of Architecture, University College. London, 1964.p.18.

98. Ibid. p.23.

99. Wittgenstein, quoted in Wilhelmsen, Anne Marie (ed). Methods for Surveying and Describing the Building Stock. Stockholm, Swedish Council for Building Research, 1982. p.28.

100. Agger, Niels Peter. 'Social netværksstruktur - Byplanlægning'. Blød By nr. 6, dec. 1979. pp.12-15. & 56-58.

101. Mitchell, J.C. 'The Kalela Dance'. Manchester University Press, 1966. Quoted in Pahl, R.E. 'A Perspective on Urban Sociology'. In Readings in Urban Sociology. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1968 (1978). p.323.

102. Mayer, quoted in Pahl, ibid.

103. Agger, op.cit. p.56.

104. Agger, Niels Peter. 'Linealens skarpe snit'. I Arkitekten, 2/1984. pp.26-29.

106. Ibid. p.27.

107. Bradley, Ian. William Morris and his World. London, Thames & Hudson, 1978. p.64ff.

108. Groth, op.cit. pp.62-63.

109. Pahl, quoted in Lee, Yvonne J. Working Class Community Action in Scotland. B.Sc. thesis. Not published. Heriot-Watt University, Department of Town and Country Planning, Edinburgh, 1982. p.17.

110. Ibid. p.12.

111. Cowley, John. Housing - for People or for Profit? London, Stage 1, 1979. pp.61.62.

112. Max Weber, quoted in Bell and Newby, op.cit. p.219.

113. Murie, Alan; Niner, Pat; Watson, Chris. Housing Policy and the Housing System. University of Birmingham, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies. London, Allen & Unwin, 1976.p.77.

114. Bundgaard, op.cit. p.66.

115. Ibid. p.68.

116. -

117. Pahl, R.E. 'Urban Processes and Social Structure*. Unpublished paper, quoted in Murie et al, op.cit. p.78.

118. Bundgaard, op.cit. p.15.

119. Martini. op.cit.

120. Murie and Forrest, op.cit. p.95.

121. Gans, op.cit. p.10.

122. Dennis, Norman. Public Participation and Planner's Blight. London, Faber & Faber,1972.p.264.

123. Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland 1966-69. Report. The wheatley Report. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1969. p.174.

124. Terence Lee, op.cit. p.17.

125. Ibid. p.17.

126. -

127. Bell and Newby, op.cit. p.60.

128. Agger, 'Linealens...', op.cit. p.27.

129. Hillmann, Mayer; Henderson, Irwin; Whalley, Anne. Personal Mobility and Transport Policy. Broadsheet 542. Political and Economic Planning. European Series no. 21. London, Chatham House/PEP, 1973. p.17.

130. Monck, Elisabeth; Lomas, Gillian. Housing Action Areas: Sucess and Failure. Centre for Environmental Studies POlicy Series no. 10. London, CES, 1980. p.119.

131. Downs, op.cit. p.172.

132. Terence Lee, op.cit. p.23.

133. -

134. 'Boligmiljø og sundhed'. Den Almindelige Danske Lægeforenings prisopgave. Ugeblad for Læger. 145.årgang, maj 1983. p.34.

135. Quoted in Stalley, Marshall.(ed). Patrick Geddes. Spokesman for Man and the Environment. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1972. p.187.

136. Fried, Marc. 'Functions for the Working-class Community in Modern Urban Society'. In Tilly, Charles (ed). An Urban World. Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1974. p.427.

137. Ibid.p.461.

138. Ibid.

139. Plovsing et al, op.cit. p.20.

140. Dahl, Robert. 'Who Governs?'. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961. Quoted in Bell and Newby, op.cit. p.236.

141. Plovsing,op.cit. p.72 ff.

142. Petersen,E. et al. Arbejde og arbejdsløshed under krisen. Psykologisk Institut, Århus Universitet.

143. Agger, 'Linealen...', op.cit. p.29.

144. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.119.

145. Agger, 'Linealen...', op.cit. p.28.

146. Fried, op.cit. p.427.

Chapter Three + The Government of Urban Renewal

3.1. Preface

A system for urban renewal must be seen in a wider frame of general housing provision. In the context of this study, two major aspects of this policy are of special interest; these are the degree of public intervention in housing and urban renewal, as opposed to a regulation solely by market forces, and the degree of community involvement in local government, as opposed to district administration and control. In this chapter, the main trends within these two policy aspects will be pursued in an international context, and a conclusion for the Danish situation attempted.

3.2. State intervention in housing

Preface

This section will deal with state intervention in housing and urban renewal, and the underlying assumptions, theoretical and administrative, for a policy of direct state intervention in urban renewal.

The role of government in housing

In taking action to influence the production, distribution and consumption of dwellings, the state accepts a responsibility for the provision of housing. The theoretical background for this is, however, subject to different theoretical assumptions, theories which, in Alan Murie's words, may be localised in a spectrum between the functionalist and the conflict approaches to the role of the state.1

A functionalist approach implies a basic concensus on fundamental values, with the state acting on behalf of society as a whole, eliminating 'dysfunctional' features of industrial society, i.e. intolerable and inhuman housing conditions, as an agent of welfare improvement. A conflict approach at the other end of the spectre, includes housing as a part of the class struggle, the arena for this struggle being the state. Decent housing for the working classes, is, however, necessary for a productive labour force. As provision of housing for the working classes is,

however, necessary for a productive labour force. As provision of housing for the working classes is unprofitable, it is therefore in the interest of industrial capital to have this solved by state intervention.2

In both cases, it is broadly agreed that the market mechanism has failed to produce and distribute a socially acceptable supply of housing; state intervention is thus needed to remedy these deficiences of free entreprise; the task is to reach a balance between preserving the main function of the housing market, and relieving substandard housing conditions in general. In Murie and Forrest's words, the task is to overcome the contradiction between housing as a need and housing as a marketable commodity.3

The extent and form of this state intervention is, however, not a subject of general agreement. The discussion will therefore be concerned with the character of the intervention necessary - intervention which may direct itself towards housing as well as the structure of industry, social problems and urban management.

In this local scene, policy is implemented by the district and the state, joining forces with other groups in society, like trade unions, co-operatives and the building industry. This 'society corporation' is by Villadsen described as 'a system of co-ordinated interests between organised groups and the State or the districts, specifically in economic areas'.[4] The purpose for establishing these corporations in housing and planning, is to control the development of urban areas.

In his studies of corporate power in Norway, Gudmund Hernes has introduced the concept of 'the Iron Triangle'.[5] This is a triple alliance consisting of a sector organisation, like the building industry, a local government department, like the housing department and the trade unions within this sector, like the building worker's union. According to Hernes, a corporation of this nature will hold an amalgamated power which is not proportional to its democratic potential or membership. Society outside this corporation may have difficulties in influencing decisions; thus, the process of corporation activity is not ruled democratically. As supposed to society corporations,

a non-corporative sector exists, consumer groups, and smaller organisations with a specific interest. Villadsen has characterised these groups as social movements, interest groups and political parties at the local level, all canvassing for their interests in public policy through demonstrations, lobbying, public meetings etc.[6] Interest and consumer groups may be divided into two main types, defined by John Cowley, the English researcher as those who are formed to fight a specific issue and those representing the general interests of a group of residents.[7] Interest groups are local organisations of longer standing usually with a sector interest to defend, while political parties at the local level are generally concerned with overall policies, this being a fairly generalised description. These various residents' groups may have quite different - and opposite - interests to defend, competing, in Saunder's words, for public service at the local level. Thus, the concept of a community which is 'united' in all aspects must be rejected.

Strategy of state intervention

In considering the degree of state intervention in housing and its practical application, Donnison and Ungerson suggest a differentiation of roles to be assumed by market-economy governments in their housing provision. These roles are determined by the degree to which each government intervenes in the operations of the housing market. Donnison and Ungerson define these roles or degrees of responsibility as:

- the housing market regulated by market mechanisms
- the government assuming a 'social policy' role in housing
- the government pursuing a 'comprehensive' policy of housing provision.8

The degree of responsibility assumed by each government is a result of the political system, and the stability and economic development of the country in question.[9] These determinants change in time, whereby 'the decision to assume or decline responsibility .. has to be made by each government again and again, through ... controversy, experiment and improvisation'.10

According to Donnison and Ungerson, the first degree of responsibilities may today be seen in the southern European countries, where major social, economic and political changes have occurred recently.[11] In these countries, industrial development and investment are given priority as compared to housing; consequently, housing for low-income groups is built as 'unauthorised' or squatter housing. Some direct subsidy may be given, i.e. towards the formation of housing co-operatives, but usually, housing is regulated solely by market mechanisms, and therefore outside the control of central or local government.[12]

The next group of countries have a longer industrial history, like Switzerland, Britain, Canada and Australia, with governments assuming a 'social policy' role.[13] Here, the aim is to help those who cannot secure housing for themselves in the open market, through state intervention, accepting, however, the continuation of a large private sector. The assumption is that state subsidies and the expansion of public housing are temporary measures brought about by unsual circumstances,[14] or 'exceptional' interventions within an otherwise 'normal' system.[15] A necessary condition for this restricted role is the existence of a well-organised and long-established private capital market. The operations of the housing market are restricted, and housing needs which the market cannot satisfy are met by state provision or provision by a public agency.

This strategy is a result of a 'residual' housing policy, defined by Mallpass and Murie as 'a process whereby housing provides a safety net for those who, for reasons of poverty, age or infirmity cannot obtain suitable accommodation in the private sector'.[16] This theory draws on a normative concept of moral superiority based on individual freedom and responsibility, acknowledging that there are people who remain so poor and disadvantaged that a residual public sector is needed.[17] The problem inherent in this approach is the accordance between implementation of social policy objectives and the activity of private organisations, based on commercial profitability. On one hand, the state must guarantee standards; on the other hand, profitability and therefore a sufficient supply of dwellings

at a price that people can afford must also be secured. The resulting balance is based on a political decision, taken by central government.

The third degree of responsibility in housing policy, as outlined by Donnison and Ungerson, is the 'comprehensive' form of housing policy, usually adopted by countries with a high level of industrial and economic development, and sophisticated systems of welfare, like in most Western European and the Scandinavian countries.[18] Conceptually, this policy is based on the assumption that individuals have rights as well as responsibilities. Housing is considered a basic necessity, and is thus provided by the state in collective responsibility, as a right of citizenship.19

Governments which pursue these aims are, in Donnison and Ungerson's words, not only regulating but shaping the social and physical environment for its citizens. Accordingly, the distinction between a public and a private housing sector may gradually loose its practical significance.[20] In many countries where a comprehensive housing policy is pursued private entreprise still plays a large role in the provision of housing, but in accordance with government restrictions, and formally detached from the operations of the private housing market. The ultimate development along these lines is total responsibility for and ownership of all housing.21

It is emphasized by Donnison and Ungerson that this approach presupposes a large and competent body of administrative and technical staff, both on central and local level, a bureaucracy which is able to join forces with other groups in society on a corporative basis, like trade unions, co-operatives and the building industry, all having an interest in a continuing housing activity.22

A general assumption is that governments move from the more limited to the more comprehensive role. Furthermore, the set-up of this 'scale of government intervention' seems to imply a connection between increasing state intervention and economic development. However, it is pointed out by Donnison and Ungerson that a position on the scale indicates the present level of state intervention while any development in one

direction or the other depends on a number of increasingly complex determinants, e.g. the balance between short-term and long-term policies.[23] In further detailing the positions between a 'social' and a 'comprehensive' policy, Donnison and Ungerson emphasize that a policy may be comprehensive in the sense that many different programmes are closely co-ordinated to achieve specific aims, thus 'avoiding unnecessary destructive conflicts' between different programmes.[24] Comprehensive policies also include those which are designed to meet the needs of all citizens, with positive discrimination against the more vulnerable groups in society.

In this spectrum, Britain is assumed to take its place among the group of countries pursuing a 'social policy' of housing, while Denmark is supposed to assume a more 'comprehensive' role. In further pursuing housing policies of these two countries, and especially policies of urban renewal, a closer look at present renewal policies will give further details about the situation in Britain and Denmark. However, not only present policies, but also policy backgrounds, their historical development and basic changes in society are determinants. What seems to be important in the context of this study apart from the present situation, is the possible future direction of these policies towards an increased state intervention or the opposite.

In each case a housing policy is based on these main approaches to state intervention. This policy calls for a mixed strategy for its implementation, combining public service with voluntary agencies and private entreprise. Urban renewal is, necessarily, an integrated part of a wider housing policy, and state-subsidised housing improvement is only one part of urban renewal, which includes a wider social and physical environment. In considering housing improvement and strategies for state intervention, two main tools or options are available for central and local government in its policy implementation:

(i) encouragement to private owners; owner-occupiers and landlords are encouraged to improve their property by help of direct subsidy: grants to cover a proportion of the cost of renovation, and indirect subsidy:

expectations of increased return by later sale of improved property, and tax deductions.

(ii) public housing improvement; property is acquired from owner-occupiers and landlords by a public agency, for improvement and re-letting on social principles.

In urban renewal, a mixed strategy is called for; therefore, these tools, reflecting the residual and collectivist argument for state intervention, do not exclude each other in the process of practical implementation. However, the application of one or the other will each affect different population groups. In the context of this thesis, these strategies must therefore be considered, having consequences for present residents in urban renewal areas.

Closing note: the Danish situation

Successive Danish governments have for a number of decades been committed to state intervention in urban renewal, and have especially during the last decade shown an understanding for a comprehensive and coordinated effort. The introduction of the Urban Renewal Act was the statutory landmark of a comprehensive approach to urban renewal and received the support of all major parties in Folketinget. In the light of past failures, the Act introduced public support to a wider range of measures than before, and state funding for urban renewal was increased by 270 per cent for the following year. A number of determinants in the Danish situation furthermore supported a policy along these lines; however, this is a subject which will be dealt with in a later chapter.25

Thus, an overall consensus of the necessity of public intervention is present in Danish politics; however, the strategy to reach these declared aims is not subject to a general agreement. A mixed strategy is called for, and a framework for allocation of resources set up; but there is no consensus of the political priorities given to one strategy or the other. Accordingly, the Act has a clear intention of involving the residents, but few detailed provisions, apart from certain rights for individual residents.

In Chapter Two, a case was established for positive discrimination against vulnerable groups in urban renewal areas. The fact that these groups, the old, the social loosers and the low-income families, live in sub-standard housing is in itself an indication of the failure by the market system to provide a decent dwelling for these groups. In giving a priority to these groups, the structure of housing finance and the operation of the housing market have to be altered, either by changing the present advantages of other residents or by eliminating the shortage of dwellings of a reasonable price and size. In terms of strategy, four main options seem to be available:

(i) a general redistribution of wealth

(ii) subsidies to residents sufficient for the low-income tenant to compete on the housing market

(iii) encouragement to landlords and owner-occupiers for housing improvement

(iv) direct public intervention through public control with, and social allocation of, housing.

A relatively short-term solution, aiming at improving the housing conditions for residents in the Danish urban renewal areas of the 1980s, must necessarily concentrate on the last three suggestions. While the relevance of (ii) and (iii) will not be disputed as general strategies for urban renewal, it is nevertheless claimed that, in the context of this study, direct public intervention is the main strategy for benefiting the more vulnerable groups in Danish society; this claim will be further supported in Part Two.

The other main objective was the involvement of residents in urban renewal. What remains to be seen is how a principle of public control and allocation can be combined with community involvement.

3.3. Devolution of power to communities

Preface

In investigating how communities may be involved in urban renewal,

the relations between community and local government call for a further investigation. In this section, the recent trends for a delegation of administrative and political power to urban communities will be dealt with in more detail, and the consequences for provision of public services - like housing - in applying different models discussed in an international context. The aim is to identify the trends in local administration in Denmark, for a further consideration of the link between local government and community involvement in urban renewal.

The local arena

In a situation of economic crisis, an increase in economic and administrative control is necessary. This increased control would, according to many researchers, involve the districts in central government steering of economic and political development, thereby transforming the scene of urban conflicts from the central to the local government level.[26]

Simultaneously, the pressure from citizens concerning public service provision increases, especially in the larger cities, due to urban and social conditions in general. Thus, the local administration is both a state representative and a social administrator for the communities, and the district level is the scene or arena of conflict between public activity and resident demands and needs.[27] In this way the local scene is defined as having an identity of its own, the districts being subordinate to, but not agents of, central government.[28]

Devolution of local government

In response to conflict on the local scene, many cities have attempted a devolution of LA power to urban communities, in both political and administrative aspects. The system will, of course, in detail vary with different systems of local government; some main characteristics may, however, be discussed.

The LA may establish an advisory group of residents in the area, or choose to subdivide its administration into locally-based units; it may delegate some, maybe all, of its power to a community council or a community-controlled agency. Accordingly,

four main principles for these organisations may be set up:

(i) Community council for consultation

(ii) Locally-based service centre

(iii) Community-controlled service agency

(iv) Community council with executive power

Community council for consultation

In the first case, the LA retains the right to make all major decisions, and initiates the setting-up of a community council, elected by the local residents. The purpose is to provide the LA with an advisory body articulating the needs and wishes of the local community.

Examples of this principle are the community councils set up in Scotland, following LA reorganisation. These councils were established as 'broadly based organisations of official standing with which local communities as a whole could identify, and through which they could speak and act'.[29] After definition of an area for a community council, usually between 5,000 and 15,000 inhabitants, the LA would organise local elections, and provide modest funding for community purposes.

Locally-based service centres

This principle includes devolution of most public service to provision at the local level in the form of local centres, concentrating all public service in one place within each community, employing staff with executive powers.

An example is the establishment of social centres in Copenhagen, covering areas with 15,000 - 20,000 inhabitants, and providing most LA services to the community in one place. The range of services covered includes social security, pension, home help, allocation of rent allowances, visiting nurses etc., services for mainly vulnerable groups of the population. The community is not directly involved, except as clients.

Community-controlled service agencies

The LA retains the right to overall decisions, delegating, however, powers concerning one sector interest to a community-controlled agency.

An example of this principle can be found in Rotterdam, where the implementation of urban renewal has been delegated to the urban community, with between 2,000 to 6,000 inhabitants. For each urban renewal area, a project group with resident majority is set up; the resident members are elected within the community. The responsibility of the project group is to contribute to the planning and to carry through urban renewal in the area. Accordingly, the group has a budget to employ administrative staff.30

Community councils with executive power

In this case, the LA delegates a number of ma or decisions on several sector interests to the community. A community council is elected locally, and commands a budget and staff sufficient to carry through its obligations.

An example is the community councils of Bologna. Here, a community council has been established in most inner city areas, each area comprising from 7,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. Members of the community councils are elected along party political lines. The council is responsible for a number of public service functions like planning permissions, and council members participate in smaller local groups controlling urban renewal. In addition to this, the provision of social service has been decentralised to the local level, corresponding to community council areas and administratively cooperating with community councils.31

Discussion

This list of principles for devolution of local government represents an increasing degree of resident involvement. In relatively stable urban communities with little or no need for urban renewal, the establishment of a community council as an advisory body and a point of identity may be an appropriate way to deal with problems arising in the community. However, in the context of this study, the focus is on urban renewal areas with a number of physical and social problems. Furthermore, the declared aim is that the residents should be involved in the planning and implementation. The character of this involvement

has not yet been decided upon in further detail; however, the information and consultation inherent in the advisory community councils are not alone sufficient to fulfil this demand.

If our only aim was to introduce a system of urban renewal which gave the maximum influence to the community, then the system should be based on a total devolution of power from LAs to community councils. However, this is not the case; other objectives are more important i.e. how an improved system of planning may enhance and improve living conditions in the Danish urban renewal areas of the 1980s. This involves the demand of a certain overall control with urban renewal. Therefore, a devolution of all powers to a community council cannot be accepted as good in the context of this thesis.

The need for a reform of the Copenhagen local government system is presently being discussed, and establishment of politically elected community councils with executive power have been suggested.[32] However, these questions are not likely to be solved during the next decade or two; as this thesis concentrates on short and medium-term goals, community councils in this form will not be pursued further. However, in assessing the viability of various systems, of housing improvement, the options for a later incorporation in a self-governing community council system should be considered.

As opposed to community councils, the establishment of locally-based service centres has benefitted from a broad political support during the 60s and 70s. This support has resulted in a reorganisation of the social sector concentrating a range of public services at the local level. In theory, these social centres were supposed to cover a wide range of public services; in practice, however, only a limited range of services, especially for the more vulnerable groups, is available.

In a recent report from the Ministry of the Environment, Susanne Andresen and Lisbeth Sloth suggest that a co-operation across all sectors should be pursued, and that implementation of urban renewal should be combined with social service provision, in a local centre comprising a social security office, a medical centre,

visiting nurses, home helpers, allocation of dwellings and kindergartens, and other services for the community like a lending library and a cafeteria.33

In a decentralisation of urban renewal in the Copenhagen context, the role of these centres must be considered as a possible extension of their service provision along the lines suggested by Andresen and Sloth. However, it must be pointed out that there is no direct community involvement in these social centres. In other words, a system of housing improvement based on the exiting structure would be locally-based, but with no community involvement.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the overall policy for urban renewal and the framework for its implementation; the trends in Danish local government towards a continuing public interference and more community involvement have been established. A claim has been made for direct public intervention as the most favorable strategy for positive discrimination of the more vulnerable groups in urban renewal areas; it now remains to be seen how this strategy may be co-ordinated with a locally-based policy and community involvement.

The need for a comprehensive approach to urban renewal is generally recognised in Denmark as well as in other countries. Programmes for housing improvement will, in Donnison's words, be more successful if they are 'closely coordinated with programmes to improve opportunities for work, education, transport services, shopping facilities and medical care',[34] and for economic measures to fit these programmes.

Apart from coordinated policy at district level, coordinating various sector interests, there is also a strong call for the establishment of service provision at community level. A local service center, which is easily accesible to residents may include all providers of public service at a community level, thereby encouraging co-operation between administrators representing various sector interests, for the benefit of the residents.

In the Danish context, there seem to be advantages in combining the already existing social centres with a locally-based system of housing improvement. However, implementing housing improvement as a co-ordinated part of public service provision raises a number of problems:

- as opposed to health, education and social security, state subsidised housing improvement is not offered to all residents in an urban renewal area and - usually - only for a limited period of time. This may call for an ad-hoc arrangement and a flexibility which is not normally a part of social service provision
- the various sectors of public service provide for different client groups, clustered in smaller areas or spread over a larger area. Therefore, the geographical areas covered by various sector interests are not identical, and not equal in size, but determined by functional aspects and 'manageability'
- in attempting to make all boundaries for all facilities fit together, the effectiveness and impact of public intervention in each sector may be lost. Urban renewal is in itself a very complicated measure, and may be further delayed or confused by incorporating other social objectives at the level of implementation, objectives which aim at wider population groups than those in urban renewal areas.

A number of factors - in the Danish situation furthermore the fact that state subsidised housing improvement traditionally has been carried out by agencies at central government level - thus point towards the development of a separate agency for housing improvement. This is a subject, however, which calls for a further analysis in a context of social planning.

It must be pointed out, that a comprehensive policy is called for and a closer co-ordination between housing and other social programmes. The local authority should respond to local needs and ameliorate social problems associated with the renewal process. In the context of this thesis, however, the administrative details

for a comprehensive policy in all sectors are not pursued; therefore, the closer administrative relationship between local provision of social services and housing improvement will not be considered further.

In a situation of urban renewal, planning and implementation of housing improvement must be controlled by a public agency. The aim is to involve the community. Therefore, this agency must be locally-based and the community engaged in its activities; the degree and character of resident involvement will be pursued in the following chapter, where the residents' interests will be takeninto consideration.

Chapter Three + References

1. Malpass, Peter; Murie, Alan. Housing Policy and Practice. London, MacMillan, 1982. p.3.
2. Ibid.
3. Murie, Alan; Forrest, Ray. Housing Market Processes and the Inner City. Report commissioned by the Social Science Research Council, Inner Cities Working Party. London, SSRC, 1980. p.25.
4. Villadsen, Søren. Bypolitik. København, Paludan, 1984. p.27.
5. Gudmund Hernes in AC Debat. Marts 1984.
6. Villadsen, op.cit. p.25.
7. Cowley, John. Housing - for People or for Profit?. London, Stage One, 1979.p.134.
8. Donnison, David; Ungerson, Clare. Housing Policy. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982.
9. Ibid. p.39.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. p.67.
12. Ibid. p.71.
13. Ibid. p.16.
14. Malpass et al, op.cit. p.7.
15. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.76.
16. Malpass et al, op.cit. p.174.
17. Ibid.p.16.
18. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.76.
19. Malpass et al, op.cit. p.17.
20. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.81.
21. Ibid. p.91.
22. Ibid. p.78.
23. Donnison, op.cit.
24. Ibid. p.17.
25. See Chapter Six.
26. Villadsen, op.cit. p.19.
27. Ibid. p.25.
28. Ibid.
29. Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland. Report. The Wheatley Report. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1969. App.III p.12.
30. Representative for the District of Rotterdam. Seminar on 'Byfornyelse', Arkitektskolen i Århus, april 1982.
31. Chairman of a community council in Bologna, Signor Laffi, ibid.
32. Kirkeby, Christian. Hvordan leve,bo,arbejde i København? Socialistisk Folkeparti, 1983.
33. Andresen, Susanne; Sloth, Lisbeth. Planlægning af offentlig service og byfornyelse. København, Planstyrelsen og Socialstyrelsen, 1982. p.128.
34. Donnison et al, op.cit. p.121.

Chapter Four + Urban Renewal and Resident Involvement

4.1. Preface

Having considered the relationship between residents and community, and the major policy aspects of the government of urban renewal in Chapters 2 and 3, the question of community involvement and planning is discussed in this chapter. First, a theoretical consideration of resident involvement will outline the aspects for resident organisation in urban renewal areas, and the administrative arrangements open to LAs and residents will be discussed. Then, the question of community delineation and size, and the establishment of planning units is considered, and a conclusion of a possible 'fit' between these two aspects attempted. Finally, the requirements to a locally-controlled system of housing improvement will be set up, requirements which will be further considered in the Copenhagen context in Chapter 7.

4.2. Resident involvement

Preface

In Chapter 1, it was agreed that the change in aims and planning method of urban renewal which can be detected internationally may be described as a development from one concept of welfare, the economic-statistical approach, to another, the socio-anthropological approach.[1] The latter calls for 'the active involvement of residents', thereby including a scope for action for the individual in the living conditions to be pursued in urban renewal.[2] The question remains whether the intentions expressed in the Urban Renewal Act are in accordance with this interpretation.

In accepting resident involvement as one of the main aims of urban renewal, the Danish legislators have in overall terms acknowledged a socio-anthropological concept of welfare for urban renewal; however, no overall concept of resident participation, or its administrative and practical consequences has been implied. In continuing this argument, the theoretical background for participation needs to be considered and linked to organisatorial aspects. An introduction to a participation theory will provide a background on which to define and assess participation. Further considerations will be given to the administrative options open to LAs when co-operating with

residents; and finally, a conclusion on the demands to resident participation in urban renewal areas will be attempted.

Theory of participation

Democracy

Democracy is 'the rule of the people', and has by Schumpeter been defined as 'a political method, or a certain type of institutional arrangement for arriving at political - legislative and administrative - decisions'.[3] According to Jens Christian Tonboe, the common and basic elements in the classical concept of democracy, as represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Stuart Mill are:

- politicl equality, equal opportunity for equal influence
- personal freedom and independance
- political freedom
- protection of private rights of property and freedom of trade.[4]

The human being is seen as an independant individual, seeking to enchance his quality of life through participation in 'public life'. The goal of the political system is accordingly to give everyone equal opportunities to strive for their own well-being in cooperation with fellow citizens.[5] The allocation of resources is based on a consensus in community or society, built up through an open debate; in the establishment of this consensus, the participation of citizens should be extensive, with residents having influence on decisions.

As a result of participation in decision-making, the individual learns to distinguish between his own impulses and desires;[6] he learns to be a public as well as a private citizen, acting not only for his own benefit, but also for society or community as a whole.[7] For Rousseau, the major function of participation is thus an educative one, education of the individual, the ideal situation for decision-making being one where no organised groups are present.[8]

Against this stands the modern[9] theory of democracy, which is also labelled the 'scientific'[10] or 'revisionist'[11] principle of democracy. While the classical theory is normative, the modern 'theory' is the facts of present-day political attitudes and behaviour as revealed by sociological investigation, and is built on the stability and continuity of the political system in itself. This system is ruled by a politically elected, 'dynamic and well-informed élite';[12] this élite solves common problems and balances conflicting interests.[13]

Schumpeter defined democracy along these lines as 'that arrangement in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote'.[14] In other words, an elected élite takes decisions on behalf of the citizens. This élite must be genuinely representative,[15] and therefore several élites each representing various interests in society, compete for the people's vote. On the side of the citizens, the democratic element is reduced to voting for leaders, the individual having the option of switching support from one set of leaders to another. Accordingly, apathy in the electorate is considered a positive feature of a well-functioning democracy.[16] Alternatively, the conclusion reached by supporters of the classical ideals is that modern democratic society does not work because it creates apathy in people.[17]

In his study of the development of Danish democracy, Tonboe finds sufficient reasons to claim that the Danish ideal of democracy is considerably closer to the classical than to the modern theories.[18,19] In Danish democratic traditions, it is expected that people are actively involved in the political process, and not only at elections; citizens are supposed to be involved in many aspects of policy, in widespread and equal participation.

These considerations seem to give a sufficient base for claiming that the measures for resident involvement should be in accordance with the democratic principles embodied in the Danish constitution and traditional legislative practice.[20] However, according to Tonboe, Danish society has generally developed along the more modern lines of democracy, thereby

revealing a discrepancy between the democratic ideals and political practice. The study in which Tonboe reaches this conslusion, is concerned with the degree of resident influence in common practice for district planning. It was found that even though the introduction of certain measures for resident participation has extended the range of both participation and resident influence, the 'undemocratic tendencies' had not been reversed. Planning practice is found to be 'unstandardized' and favouring the well-articulated and privileged groups of society.[21] Tonboe's conclusion is that real citizen influence is 'not found' in municipal planning in Denmark.

As earlier mentioned, the provisions for resident participation embodied in the Urban Renewal Act are based on the provisions for participation in current planning legislation. If these provisions do not fulfil the requirements for resident involvement inherent in Danish concepts for democracy, this points towards the conclusion that the provision in the Urban Renewal Act are similarly inadequate. Therefore, a return to classical ideals for democracy will call for new systems for resident participation.

In an application of classical democracy to present-day society, many researchers have pointed towards a combination of these two principles, into practice, among them, Leif Lewin, the Swedish researcher. In his model of inter-active democracy, it is emphasized that participation from residents should be as extensive as possible.[22] But there is also a leading élite; this élite cannot passively represent the interests of the population, but needs to clarify the interests of the citizens through a dialogue. According to Lewin, this dialogue may be strengthened by a decentralisation of decisions.

In the classical theories, the goal is the production of active citizens.[23] However, as Carole Pateman, the British researcher points out, the modern theorists have emphasized the importance of structures outside central and local government as important for political socialisation; Pateman considers these two aspects to be closely connected.24

Jürgen Habermas, the German sociologist, points out that the process of reaching a consensus does not necessarily indicate a consensus in society as a whole.[25] The important thing is that as many as possible participate in social processes in order to reach a clarification of which interests are common, and whose interests are special or particular to certain population groups, the latter being determined through a compromise.

Participation theory

A system for resident participation which may fulfil the requirements inherent in classical democracy, should be considered next. However, in order to set up an organisational model according to these principles, the degree of resident influence must be assessed; therefore, a theoretical background of residents' participation, a scale against which any effort may be appraised, is considered in the following paragraphs.

Carole Pateman has defined a 'ladder of tenants' participation' as a scale on which any effort may be weighted:[26]

(i) Pseudo-participation

Definitions have already been made; the residents are being incorporated into a plan, and a false feeling of participation is applied, in the interest of persuasion. There are three degrees, manipulation, therapy, information

(ii) Partial participation

Residents are allowed to influence decision-making through decisions taken by the manager/local government. This is consultation and attention to consumer demands.

(iii) Full participation

Equal power of every individual in the exercise. Partnership and delegated power are parts of this approach, as well as the control of the decision-maker

(iv) Full participation at all levels

'Citizen control'.

In 'Tenants Take Over', Colin Ward gives an example of how this ladder can be applied to housing management.

> 'It begins with total control by the housing manager, who regulates the tenants/A/which in most situations still is the underlying pattern ... managers are encouraged to inform tenants of what is happening ... they do this through tenants' handbooks, tenancy agreements, and try to obtain goodwill by attending tenants' association meetings, or even by organising occasional informal meetings. The keynote here is persuasion/B/When this reaches the level of area housing committees, or housing sub-committees where tenants have voting rights, participation reaches a working partnership/C/. If tenants negotiate an agreement for ... a management co-op,... participation becomes self-government within limits/D/. Finally, a full co-operative/E/ with common ownership of houses completes the 'tenants take over'. 109.27

A simpler model of requirements to this co-operation between the LA and the public is given by Tonboe:

(i) information, or one-way communication

(ii) discussions, or two-way communication

(iii) joint determination or co-operation

(iv) self-determination.28

It is essential for the use and application of these concepts to understand that this must be considered as a scale with which to measure a single aspect, and that in any project, the level of participation is not static, but will change, and change direction in time.

Discussion

In setting up a system for participation, based on the classical concepts of democracy, a number of requirements to the process have been established:

- residents should be active in the political process
- involvement should be widespread and equal
- social equality should be pursued

If these requirements are considered in the light of a scale of residents' participation, it is evident that pseudo-participation, or manipulation, therapy and information, cannot be accepted as

a sufficient degree of resident participation according to these objectives. In other words, the principles of a working partnership between the residents and the agency implementing urban renewal must be considered next, in the light of social considerations.

In his study of democracy, Tonboe claims that Danish democratic traditions have a distinctive social character since it strives not only for political equality, but also for a certain degree of social equality.[29] The pursuit of this equality, or rather positive discrimination of vulnerable resident groups, will necessarily involve a number of measures. These measures which are not related to participation alone have an organisational and economic character.

A consideration of the social effects of urban renewal must include the present system of rent control, and subsidies to and allocation of housing. The details of these economic measures are, however, outside the scope of this study; in this context, the requirements to the system should allow for all households to obtain and pay for decent housing according to their general situation.

If private ownership to housing for rent - in the Danish situation, the system of private renting - is to be maintained, a pursuit of social aims requires a quite sophisticated system of subsidy and control. In securing the vulnerable groups, it seems likely that a direct public intervention may involve a change in ownership the requirements for which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Returning to the resident participation in urban renewal, it has earlier been established that the individual requires a stake in decisions influencing his home environment. According to Groth and Hansen, the individual's ability to tap his political resources to safeguard his interests will depend upon the autonomy he enjoys,[30] and whether clear aims can be discovered for his efforts.[31] Therefore, the relationship between the individual and the agency implementing urban renewal is essential. These interests are specific for the individual and may in urban renewal be secured through a number of relatively

simple and protective statutory measures like a right of veto for certain improvements for the single resident, and direct and frequent contact with the agency implementing urban renewal. The individual must have a stake in if and when his dwelling is going to be improved, and to which level. Furthermore, he should have a choice of rehousing, with the option of returning to his former dwelling after improvement.

However, urban renewal is more than improvement of dwellings, and the resident has accordingly a number of interests in influencing e.g. environmental improvements and provision of public service in the area. These interests are shared with other residents in a similar situation. Therefore, residents have a direct interest in participating as a group, being able to articulate their common needs and wishes to urban renewal. From the works of Rousseau and Mill, we learn that feelings of political efficacy are more likely to develop in a participatory environment.[32] According to Rousseau there is an interrelationship between the authority structures of institutions and the psychological qualities and attitudes of individuals.[33] Accordingly, Carole Pateman suggests that experience of a participatory authority structure might be effective in diminishing tendencies towards 'non-democratic attitudes' in the individual.[34] Participation by residents as a group thus provides the possibility for group or community responsibility to emerge, thus fulfilling the educational aims of classical democratic ideals.35

Considering group participation in urban renewal, the resident must have the opportunity to participate directly in decisions. In other words, the organisation must be based on direct democracy - decisions taken by simple voting - or in a limited representative system which still allows the resident to have a direct stake in decisions. In other words, this calls for a consideration of the scale of participation, the level on which participation takes place and decisions are taken. The next question to be considered is the range of decisions in which residents should be involved.

Seen from an administrative point of view, we have in chapter 3 established the advantages of a housing agency in urban renewal as opposed to a more integrated system of public service provisions at a local level.

Seen from the residents' point of view, participation is a question of control over living conditions. In urban renewal, the possibilities for participation depend on the resources of the individual. If the residents were to participate in complicated policy decisions at a local level, a number of skills are required, skills which presuppose a certain degree of knowledge and energy. In urban renewal areas, many of the present residents cannot meet these requirements. In order to pursue equal opportunities for participation for all residents, it should be considered to concentrate on participation in one sector interest or policy area only, in order to 'apply the everyday skills and experience that most people have'.[36] Everyone can participate with the qualifications and resources that they have, involving human resources which cannot be used by the labour market. This enables the residents to improve their own situation by their own resources. As compared to a system of local government delegated to a local community council, the resident will feel more free to join and participate in a system of housing improvement as the responsibilities and skills needed are limited to housing, which is a subject that all residents know well, and which does not demand many special qualifications. The relatively simple aims to be pursued will allow for an organisational structure where work does not have to be highly efficient. Furthermore, in a consideration of the powers being 'given back to the community', housing and urban renewal are clearly these subjects which would give the best opportunities for fostering a broad interest among all members of the urban community. Therefore, participatory systems which are mainly based on housing improvement could fulfil our overall aims of democratic involvement.

A spokesman for the modern democratic theories may argue that even though authority structures in urban renewal should involve residents, the role of the individual would still be confined to

a choice between competing leaders or representatives. However, Pateman argues that one does not preclude the other. In her study of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia, she found that the worker enjoyed both higher and lower levels of participation, directly participating in a wide range of decisions while at the same time being part of a representative system.[37] Therefore, the introduction of a participatory system of housing improvement is not necessarily an alternative to a traditional comprehensive democracy; similarly a locally-based agency for housing improvement with resident participation may exist side by side with an elected community council in the urban environment.

Participation in practice

In practice, participation is making decisions which, as Joan Ash, the British researcher, remarks, 'result from a process of interaction between the ideas and proposals of tenants and authorities'.[38] But how may this co-operation between the residents and the LA be established? In an international context, the United Nation's Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) has supported the principle of 'active involvement' of residents. In its report on 'The Improvement of Housing and its Surroundings', a number of more specific recommendations are given The ECE committee recommended a local presence in the area, and the formation of two separate committees:

- a special committee composed of representatives of the LA, the construction entreprises, public institutions etc. to hold informal meetings and individual talks with the residents
- a group of representatives of the residents which can be responsible to act jointly together with the special committee and to organize self-help activities for the inhabitants. 39

The ECE report on 'Urban Renewal and the Quality of Life' likewise recommends a local presence through all phases in order to allow residents to work with local officials in formulating renewal plans.[40] Furthermore, it is suggested to the LA to form residents' organisations with 'defined possibilities,

appropriate resources and easy access to relevant information'. David Donnison suggests that the local authority confers 'real power' to the representatives of the local community,[41] like local committees, co-operatives or community housing associations. Some of the responsibilities and benefits of ownership may then be conferred to these organisations, benefits which may extend to the allocation of vacant homes on their estate.[42] Donnison furthermore suggests the involvement of already existing groups in the community, 'organised groups of people capable of speaking convincingly for the groups they represent'.[43] Similar recommendations have in an international context been made by other researchers.[44,45]

In considering these recommendations, there seems to be a general agreement on the need for local offices, from which the LA may work in co-operation with the residents. Furthermore, the LA is recommended to set up a representative group of residents with both responsibilities towards residents and a stake in decisions takenby the renewal agency. The degree of responsibility which is recommended varies from decisions taken in co-operation with the LA, to self-government within limits in for example allocation of housing. However, it remains to be seen through which system of guided participation our objectives may be met in the best possible way, and whether one system is generally applicable. In order to reach this conclusion, the organisational structure of co-operative groups should be investigated through a number of case studies.

Conclusion

In this section, the case for a return to classical democracy in participation has been argued, and the organisational consequences outlined. The main statutory principles for resident participation in the Urban Renewal Act are, however, not adequate for fulfilling these aims. Therefore, a new system for resident participation is called for in the Danish context. This system should take its point of departure in a working partnership between residents and the LA. It is emphasized that participation should include both the single resident and residents as a group, articulating their common needs and

wishes to urban renewal.

Seen from the residents' point of view, participation is a question of control over living conditions. However, participation in overall policy aspects may be difficult for some residents, those with few personal resources. In order to establish a system of active participation in which all residents regardless of skills may participate, a locally-based resident organisation but for housing improvement only presents itself as a possible solution. Accordingly, the options for an organisational structure will be investigated through a number of case studies, based on the requirements set out in this chapter.

Prior to the formulation of these requirements, the question of size of planning units and community delineation will need some further consideration.

4.3. Planning and community delineation

Preface

Being well-meaning administrators and professionals, how do we take the urban community into consideration when planning for urban renewal? The planner's task is to find the means which in the best possible way will fulfil the aims of his client. However, in a situation of resident involvement, the planner may well have two 'clients' with diverging interests, the central or local administration and the residents in the urban renewal area.[46] In the context of this study, the interests of both parts are pursued. Accordingly, in the effort of co-ordinating policies at a local level, the problem of a 'fit' between institutional frame and social and physical structure should be considered.

A locally-based agency for housing improvement or any other provision of public service must relate to the size of the locality, in consideration of the range of services provided and the community covered by the services. Similarly, requirement for resident participation necessarily involves the local area and the optimum delineation and size for resident

involvement. In the context of this study, there are thus a number of aspects to be considered:

- administrative and functional aspects; size of the planning unit
- psychological and social aspects; delineation of the urban community
- organisational aspects; the base for residents' organisations.

Functional aspects

From the outset of this investigation, one feels inclined to take a planner's approach, and define a planning unit as a managable area and a 'clearly comprehensible unit' for the urban administrators.[47] Other factors must, however, be considered; it is evident that in planning, the implicit or explicit adoptation of geographical boundaries has important implications for the way issues are identified and a policy formulated. In order to consider a geographical delineation in urban renewal, some guidelines may be found in the historical context, where in Britain, the size of communities have been implied in planning ever since the days of the early industrialists.

For Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City planners, the concept of neighbourhoods was an essential element in their planning.[48] The neighbourhood idea was taken further by Clarence R. Perry, the American researcher. In his survey of the New York Region, Perry took the neighbourhood idea further by advocating a population of 5,000 inhabitants per unit, based on one primary school and having its own shops and community facilities (1929).[49,50]

These ideas influenced the thinking of the British planners before and during the Second World War. The London County Council plan of 1943 recommend urban areas to be divided into neighbourhoods.

The aim was a subdivision of London in specialised precincts in the Inner Areas, and in more heterogenous neighbourhoods in

the outskirts, combined with decentralisation of work places.[51] The ideal size of a neighbourhood was again established as the catchment area for a primary school, which was by now set to 10,000 inhabitants.[52]

After the Second World War, this size of planning unit was critised as being inappropriate. Steen Eiler Rasmussen, the Danish architect-author notes in his revised edition of 'London', that the catchment area for a primary school was half or less that size, while the general post-war development of shops into supermarkets meant that an area with this population was becoming too small to support a 'reasonable' shopping centre.[53] In other words, a delineation based on 10,000 inhabitants was no longer supported by these functional arguments. Furthermore, the development within the planned neighbourhoods established along these lines gave rise to concern about the size related to social delineation as well.

One example of this development can be studied in Stevenage, the first of the new towns set up after the Second World War. Here, the original neighbourhoods contained 10,000 inhabitants and 3,000 dwellings, grouped around a shopping centre and several schools.[54] However, these neighbourhood units allegedly did not give a social identity. Smaller neighbourhood units were then defined around a shopping area, to serve about a 1,000 houses. To supplement this, a shopping centre with a larger no. of shops and a few supermarkets were then established on district level (50,000 inhabitants).[55]

In planning for a more recent New Town, Milton Keynes, another concept of neighbourhoods was applied. The Development Corporation Plan of 1970 rejected the idea of a planning unit based on the size and delineation of a catchment area for specific services, in favour of widely overlapping areas of service provision, linked by a communication network.[56,57] However, problems with social identity and access to service have led to the re-introduction of a more traditional 'village' concept with 2,000-3,000 inhabitants sharing a community hall, at least one shop, a workshop, a small school and a leisure centre.[58]

These two examples represent attempts to find a planning unit which is defined in functional terms, and which at the same time has a social identity. Comparable efforts were made by the Wheatley Commission in its report on local reorganisation in Scotland (1969).[59] Here, a number of existing settlements, both rural and urban, were analysed and classified for the purpose of establishing community councils as a part of local government reorganisation.

These communities were defined on the basis of a set of basic criteria, a community defined as 'a grouping of the population on a geographical basis ... which has social and economic coherence'.[60] According to the Commission, existing communities may be defined at four levels, of which two are of interest in the context of this study, the 'parish' level and the 'locality' level.61

A settlement in the parish category is a centre for a primary school, a small sub-post office and a bank, and local community organisations. The committee found it difficult to define the size of a 'parish' area. However, an analogy was found between the number of settlements, and the number of parishes, charges and county council electoral divisions in the particular area.60,62

In Scotland the latter would comprise from a few hundred to a few thousand inhabitants. At the locality level, the settlements identified provided more facilities than within the parish concept, for example a senior secondary school, greater shopping facilities, gas and electricity show rooms, medical services, entertainment facilities, small local employment centres and possibly a weekly newspaper. The Commission found that these areas corresponded fairly closely to present district council wards, even though a large variation in size was noted.[63] These wards are based on 6,000 to 6,500 inhabitants.

In their wide variations, these examples indicate that the 'neighbourhood' idea in planning was more closely linked to functional and administrative aspects of service provisions than to any analysis of social identity. However, there seems to be a certain indication in all three examples that if a 'fit' between functional and social identity is to be obtained, the population size to be considered should be considerably lower

than the 10,000 inhabitants which were advocated earlier. In addition, the aspects of catchment areas for public service provision will influence the choice and should be considered next.

Aspects of Service Provision

Traditionally, public service, both in Britain and in Denmark, is provided for relatively large units with 20,000 inhabitants or more.[64] However, in accordance with the growing realisation of the need to plan for smaller units than before, the principle of decentralised public service centres has been introduced, in Denmark as well as in Britain. In setting up a decentralised service centre, a catchment area for the service that the centre provides must be considered, in spite of the fact that the administrative areas and subdivisions adopted by each service never coincide.

A Danish research project, set up by the Århus LA, had allegedly good results with a centre based on an older urban area of 6,000 inhabitants,[65] while the social centres set up in Copenhagen during the 1970s cover relatively larger areas, from 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants.

In an attempt to consider a further decentralisation of public service, a recent Danish report on urban renewal and public service provision and urban renewal suggested public services provided at three levels; a block with 100-150 residents, a community with 1,000-2,000 inhabitants and an urban area with 5,000-10,000 inhabitants.[66] In the report, Lisbeth Sloth and Susanne Andresen suggested the provision at block level to include the establishment of amenity areas and a small creche-kindergarten; at community level, a school for the younger children , a creche and a kindergarten, a youth centre and special clubs and facilities for the elderly were suggested. Finally, at urban area level, a socio-medical centre with all types of social and private service should be established, together with a school, flats for the elderly and a resident centre.[67]

A comprehensive approach is called for by Donnison, in

suggestions which are closely related to size and scale of operation, and to resident involvement. In these urban programmes, Donnison suggests three main courses of action, each related to a specific level of community participation. Apart from plans for economic development, major investments for areas of 50,000 inhabitants or more, it is suggested that planning and allocation of resources should take place at a local scale of 10,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, and based on a system of community-elected representatives, 'speaking for a few hundred people'.68

Andresen and Sloth are mainly concerned with direct public service provisions, while Donnison argues for urban programmes in general. The main point, however, to be drawn from both suggestions in the context of this study, is that even though the provision at a very local level is considered important, most public services still need to be considered at a relatively high level of about 10,000 inhabitants in order to have the intended impact.

It remains to be seen whether a resident organisation for housing improvement based on an area of this size would respond to our requirements for community participation. However, it must be emphasized that in the context of this study, the aim is to set up a locally-based agency mainly with regard to housing improvement; therefore, restrictions imposed by other types of public service are not of immediate importance; a comprehensive policy at the local level should, however, be pursued.

Community delineation

In Chapter 2, the more psychological aspects of community delineation were considered, and the existence of an optimal community size rejected. Furthermore, it was established that the way in which the individual perceives his local area may have little to do with functional aspects of community or with overall planning units. A local area may be the area to which the resident has access, or the area covered by the urban community of which he is part, the latter being connected with functional definitions and psychological perception. While the

first varies according to personal circumstances and mobility, the latter is shared with a number of other residents.

Steen Eiler Rasmussen rejects in his book on British planning the neighbourhood of 10,000 people as 'too large ... for the residents to feel at home and comfortable'.[69] Similarly, Young and Willmot in their survey of working-class communities in East London argued for planning in small urban enclaves of about a thousand people, where the inhabitants feel at home, at the same time as having access to completely different areas outside.70

Rasmussen quotes a survey of Stevenage where only 31 per cent in a large sample was able to name their own neighbourhood, while everyone knes the name of the estate of around 2,000 inhabitants that they lived in.[71] Similarly, the upper limit of 2,000 inhabitants have been offered by the Child Care Officers' Organisation,[72] as a psychological boundary below which crime is likely to be prevented by social control from other residents.

These examples point towards community delineation with a thousand or two thousand inhabitants for development of a community identity. However, when it comes to resident involvement, there is only little agreement on sizes. David L. Smith considers the 'ideal unit for community involvement' to contain 5,000-10,000 residents,[73] while C.V. Baker considers large residents' associations to be a disadvantage; ' problems which may experienced in areas with several hundred dwellings are far less likely to arise where the number of tenants in a locality can be counted in tens rather than in hundreds'.[74]

As a part of a wider suggestion for urban renewal, programmes, Donnison argues, that if the aim is to 'mobilise people to help their neighbours and speak for their neighbourhoods in tenants' associations etc. ... we will have to work with groups living in no more than a street or two - their numbers counted in hundreds at most'.[75] In Lambeth, the community councils covered on the largest 20,000 inhabitants. But, as Cockburn concludes,

'size of area did not necessarily correlate with size and activity of membership'.[76]

A similar conclusion was drawn in a study by Thomas Cosh of the Yoker community near Glasgow, with around 3,500 inhabitants.[77] Here, a number of community groups achieved good results in involving the residents. However, community groups in the neighbouring Easterhouse area obtained similar results in an area about ten times this population, but another organisational pattern in the residents' organisation. On this background, Cosh suggests that the scale and form of intervention in Yoker may not necessarily be adequate or suitable for other areas.

Conslusion

In public service provisions and in urban renewal, action is needed at a number of scales, related to the size of the locality and the community covered by the services provided. For public service provision, larger areas must be considered for an equal allocation of resources, while much smaller areas are optimal with regard to residents' participation. According to the requirements in the context of this study, the planning unit should not be larger than to enable the residents - with or without an important contribution to make - to participate directly. On the other hand, the area should be large enough, in the words of an ECE recommendation to provide sufficient options for a comprehensive approach to be taken, and for an economic strategy to be decided.[78]

On the background of recommendations in this section, a conclusion cannot be reached on the size of communities as compared to resident involvement, as this depends on the organisation implied, and the level or levels on which decisions are taken. The subject must be further investigated through a number of case studies, where the functional, administrative and psychological aspects of community involvement are further analysed. However, there seems to be evidence to support the allegation that urban communities of a few thousand inhabitants at most would provide a suitable unit for comprehensive policies of urban renewal, while a much smaller scale is needed for the more detailed decisions to be taken in urban renewal.

4.4. Conclusion

The requirements

In this chapter, a new system of resident participation in urban renewal has been called for, involving residents as a group in an articulation of their common needs and wishes to urban renewal. An argument for a locally-based organisation only for housing improvement has been established, in order to allow all residents, regardless of skills, to participate. However, a consideration of planning and community delineation has established the problems inherent in setting up a resident organisation at the same time as meeting the overall demands of society. In order to meet the overall aims of resident involvement and provision for vulnerable groups in urban renewal areas, the following requirements to a system of housing improvement should be met:

(i) an actual devolution of power in planning and implementation of housing improvement to a local level. This should be administered from a local office, employing both administrative and technical staff, funded for a longer period of time, and with a budget sufficient to carry through housing improvement in the area.79

(ii) establishment of decision-making bodies at local level with some or all members elected by residents in the area, taking decisions on behalf of groups of residents, and with a budget sufficient to fund its activities.

(iii) a system of representation which involves as many residents as possible in the actual management of housing improvement, on an individual and community level.80

Organisational models which fulfil these requirements will be further pursued in a number of British case studies, and considered in a Danish context. For the locally-based agency, a number of more specific demands should be discussed:

- degree of resident control
- housing stock controlled
- administration system
- staffing

This agency should offer a close contact with local residents, yet cover a larger area in order to support a reasonable staffing. The area covered should be small enough for staff and residents' representatives to know it well, yet large enough to allow more overall objectives, like provisions for vulnerable resident groups to be met. Finally, planning and implementation should allow for efficient use of public funding, yet giving the single resident an individual choice.

The context

In order to achieve the desired objective, this agency and its activities must necessarily be part of a wider public effort. Planning 'from below' requires a continuous effort and support 'from above' in order to succeed; the wider objectives may include:

Housing improvement funded by public authorities should fully observe social considerations, by provision of a sufficient number of dwellings to meet the demands in the area, and by rent control, subsidies, and allocation of housing on social principles.

The agency and its activities should as far as possible be integrated in other local activities, thereby making the best use of all local resources, like resident organisations, voluntary agencies and community entreprises.

Several methods of finance should be employed, combining public and private funding, and combining improvement of dwellings with area regeneration in general. Newer research in Scandinavia has pointed towards the importance of activities in the informal economy as contribution to welfare,[81] and it has been suggested that there would be advantages in expanding the informal economy - activities outside market production and the public sector -

at a time where it seems more and more difficult to expand the formal economy.

Provisions of this character are mostly of a short-term character; their implementation does not solve the economic crisis, but rather, in Donnison's words, 'soften the impact of industrial decline'.[82] However, in changing the political process in the direction of more equal status, greater activitation and stronger motivation for urban residents, a contribution to a more long-term policy of changing the uneven distribution of resources in society may have been provided.

1. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). Urban Renewal and the Quality of Life. New York, United Nations, 1980.
2. Groth, Niels Boje. Sociale indikatorer, velfærdsanalyser og by-indikatorer - et litteraturstudium. SBI-meddelelse 2. Hørsholm, SBI, 1981. p.61.
3. Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. London, Cambridge University Press, 1970. p.3.
4. Tonboe, Jens Christian. Offentlighed, hemmelighed og medindflydelse i planlægningen. SBI-byplanlægning 39. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1974. p.238.
5. Groth, Niels Boje; Hansen, Knud-Erik. Levevilkår og regionplanlægning - en teoretisk analyse. SBI-meddelelse nr. 1. Hørsholm, SBI, 1981. p.60.
6. Pateman, op.cit. p.25.
7. Groth et al, op.cit. p.60.
8. Pateman, op.cit. p.24.
9. Ibid. p.15.
10. Tonboe, op.cit.
11. Groth et al, op.cit.
12. Tonboe, op.cit. p.239.
13. Groth et al, op.cit. p.10.
14. Pateman, op.cit. p.3.
15. Groth et al, op.cit. p.61.
16. Ibid. p.58.
17. Ibid. p.59.
18. Tonboe, op.cit. p.239.
19. Groth et al, op.cit.
20. Ibid. p.61.
21. Tonboe, op.cit. p.242.
22. Groth et al, op.cit. p.61.
23. Pateman, op.cit. p.105.
24. Ibid.
25. Groth et al, op.cit. p.63.
26. Pateman, op.cit.
27. Ward, Colin. Tenants Take Over. London, Architectural Press, 1974.
28. Tonboe, op.cit. p.241.
29. Ibid.
30. Groth et al, op.cit. p.19.
31. Wilhelmsen, Anne Marie (ed). Methods for Surveying and Describing the Building Stock. Stockholm, Swedish Council for Building Research, 1982. p.12.
32. Pateman, op.cit. p.27.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid. p.105.
35. Birchall, John. The Participation of Tenants in HAAs. MA thesis. Not published. University of York, Department of Social Administration and Social Work.York, 1980.p.4.
36. Cosh, Thomas. Community Self-management. A Study of a Local Response to Urban Decay. Thesis submitted for the degree of M.Phil. Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Glasgow. Not published. Glasgow, 1983. p.173.
37. Pateman, op.cit. p.109.
38. Ash, Joan. 'Tenant Participation. Part 1. Review of Techniques'. Housing Review, March-April, 1982. p.55.
39. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). The Improvement of Housing and its Surroundings. Synthesis report on the seminar held in The Hague, Oct. 1979. New York, United Nations, 1983. p.9.
40. ECE, 'Urban Renewal...', op.cit. p.54.
41. Donnison, David. Urban Policies - a New Approach. Fabian Tract 487. London, Fabian Society, 1983. p.7.
42. Donnison et al, op.cit. pp.246-247.
43. Donnison, op.cit. p.6.
44. ECE, 'Urban Renewal...', op.cit. p.32.

45. Ibid. p.22.
46. Groth et al, op.cit. p.66.
47. Andresen et al, op.cit. p.14.
48. Smith, David L. Amenity and Urban Planning. London, Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1974. p.51.
49. Rasmussen, Steen Eiler. London. København, Gyldendal, 1934 (1973). p.171.
50. Smith, op.cit.p.51.
51. Rasmussen, op.cit. p.475.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. LA officer in Stevenage New Town, april 1981.
55. Ibid.
56. Lord Llewelyn-Davies. 'Changing Goals in Design: the Milton Keynes Example'. In Self, Peter. New Towns - the British Experience. London, the Town and Country Planning Association, 1972 p.108 ff.
57. -
58. Officer at Milton Keynes Visitors' Centre, April 1982.
59. Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland. Report. The Wheatley Report. Edinburghm, HMSO, 1969.
60. Ibid. p.139.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid. p.59.
63. Ibid. pp.59-60.
64. Donnison, op.cit. p.9.
65. ECE, 'Urban Renewal...', op.cit. p.22.
66. Andresen et al, op.cit. p.14.
67. Ibid. p.15.
68. Donnison, op.cit. p.9.
69. Rasmussen, op.cit. p.569.
70. Ibid. p.570.
71. Ibid. p.569.
72. ?
73. Smith, op.cit. p.185.
74. Baker, C.V. Housing Associations. London, Estates Gazette Ltd, 1976. p.469.
75. Donnison, op.cit. p.9.
76. Cockburn, Cynthia. The Local State. London, Pluto Press, 1977 (1980). p.141.
77. Cosh, op.cit. p.28.
78. ECE, 'The Improvement...', op.cit. p.6.
79. Cosh, op.cit. p.70.
80. See 2.4 Preface.
81. Vestergaard, Hedvig. 'Den uformelle økonomi i et økonomisk perspektiv'. Det nye vardagslivet. Nordisk Ministerråd, 1984.
82. Donnison, op.cit. p.4.

Chapter Five + Urban Renewal Areas - an Introduction

5.1. Preface

This chapter aims at providing an overview of the general conditions in Danish urban renewal areas. In Chapter 2, these areas and their problems were seen in an international context, and it was concluded that many characteristics are shared in slum areas in Western Europe and Northern America. However, in addition to these common features, the Danish urban renewal areas were found to have some characteristics which are specific for the Danish situation. In search of a system of housing improvement with resident involvement, a further analysis of the Danish situation will be established - an analysis which would at the same time provide a frame of reference for the British reader, pointing out the differences and similarities between Britain and Denmark.

A first look at the pattern of urban development and density of population gives a clear indication of the differences between British and Danish housing.

1 Population, area and density of population
England, Scotland, Denmark

	England	Scotland	Denmark	
Population (mill.inhabs)	46,8	5,1	5,1	
Area (1,000 km^2)	131,2	78,8	43,1	
Density of population(km^2)	357	65	118	1,2,3,4

In Denmark, the density of population is lower than in England; furthermore, in 1979 only 34 per cent of the Danish population lived in areas characterised as 'urban' by the Statistical Office of the EEC, against 72 per cent for Great Britain as a whole.[5] This difference in pattern of urbanisation may again be traced to different time perspectives in the historic development of industrialism. Agriculture still plays a large part in the Danish economy, and the agricultural area per inhabitant is twice as large as the British.

2 Production United Kingdom, Denmark; 1970, 1979

	UK		Denmark		% of active population
	1970	1979	1970	1979	
Industry	44%	39%	38%	30%	
Agriculture	3	2	11	8	
Services	53	59	51	62	6

In Denmark, the number of people working within the industrial sector is considerably lower than in the United Kingdom. In both countries, a marked decrease in industrial employment is combined with an increase in the number of people employed in service jobs.

Denmark stayed a mainly agricultural nation up till the 1880s, with agricultural production still playing a large part in the economy. From 1890 and onwards, industrial development furthered the move from country to town, especially to Copenhagen, which is today the main industrial centre with 1,4 mill inhabitants in the Metropolitan area. Half a dozen provincial cities have more than 150,000 inhabitants; only one out of eight Danish districts have more than 25,000 inhabitants.7

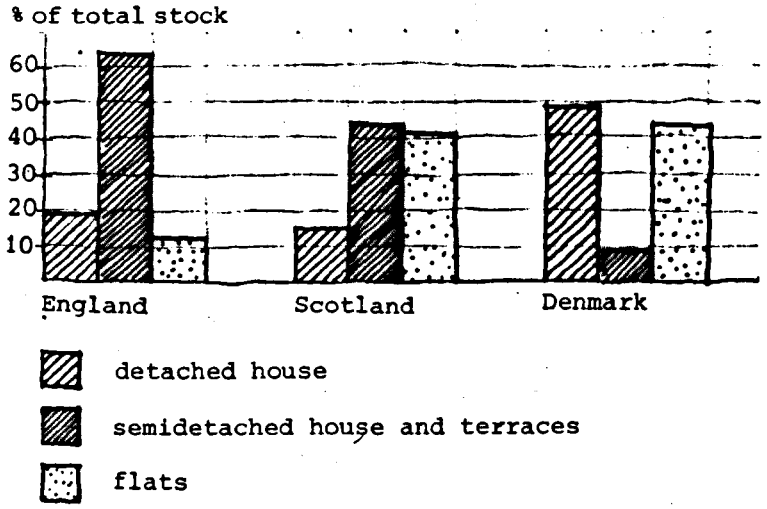
3 No. of dws and households
England, Scotland, Denmark:, 1980

	England	Scotland	Denmark
Number of dwellings (mill)	18,066 [17] [19]	2,012 [18]	2,162 [20]
Number of households (mill)	16,720	1,815 [18]	2,080 [20]

8,9,10,11

As in both England and Scotland, Denmark has a 'surplus' of dwellings in the sense that the number of dwellings exceeds the number of households. The housing stock in Denmark is typically flats in the larger towns and cities, and detached houses, 'parcelhuse', at the fringes and in the smaller towns.

4 Distribution of house types. England, Scotland, Denmark.



12,13,14

A comparison with the housing stock in England and Scotland gives a clear impression of the differences in house types - a fact which must be taken into consideration when organising urban renewal, having important consequences for its organisation.

When it comes to urban renewal, the proportion of older housing as compared with the total housing stock may give a first indication of the need for housing improvement.

5 Dwellings by age
England, Scotland, Denmark % of total stock

	pre-1919	1919-1944[x)]	1945-1981	total
England [24]	29.2%	22.0%	48.8%	18.066
Scotland [25]	28.2	17.1	54.1	2.012
Denmark [26]	25.3	17.0	57.4	2.181 +

x) 1939 for DK
+ 5.000 'others' included.

15,16,17

It is typical for the Danish housing stock that a relatively

large proportion was built after the Second War; in fact, half of the present dwellings were built after 1960. Scotland follows the same pattern as Denmark.

Denmark has a relatively smaller number of dwellings from the inter-war years as compared to England, while one out of four Danish dwellings was built before the First World War.

In order to determine the need for housing improvement and urban renewal, a more thorough analysis is needed, an analysis which must necessarily include the building stock as well as ownership, tenure and resident groups in urban renewal areas. A first indication of the nature of the problem may, however, be given through the results of an investigation, carried out by the Ministry of Housing in 1980, about the future need for investment in housing improvement and urban renewal. Of the total investment for future urban renewal, 65 per cent of the stock were in need of improvement in the privately rented sector, and 45 per cent in the Copenhagen area alone.[18] Furthermore, the need for urban renewal was clearly seen in the pre-1919 dwellings. This gives a base for concentrating this study on the rehabilitation of older housing in larger urban areas. However, the remaining part of the housing sector should of course be considered in the overall context as well.

In consideration of the possible future development, the total situation of housing provision in Denmark should be seen as an entity; therefore, an examination must include all providers of housing in Denmark, their organisation and their relative importance in housing policy.

5.2. Housing in Urban Renewal Areas

Main characteristics

A number of overall determinants of an economic character have resulted in a physical and social deterioration within the older built-up areas of the larger Danish cities. The more local determinants for this development include uncoordinated planning, the change in land values and traditionally determined ownership of older dwellings. These areas furthermore contain

a number of physical characteristics like small and unsatisfactory dwellings, a general lack of maintenance, high density of building, unsatisfactory amenity areas, inadequate public and private services for the residents, a complicated system of traffic, and an inappropriate mix of residential and commercial premises.19

In a report from the Danish Ministry of Housing, an overall appraisal of the need for investment in urban renewal has been carried out:

6 Future investment in urban renewal.
House type by location. Denmark, 1980 % of total investment

	Metropolitan area of Copenhagen	Other areas	In all
Housing improvement:			
Detached houses	4%	20%	24%
Semidetached houses and terraces	1	2	3
Properties with more than two dws	30	19	49
In all	35%	41%	76%
Environmental improvement:	11	13	24
Total	46%	54%	100%

20

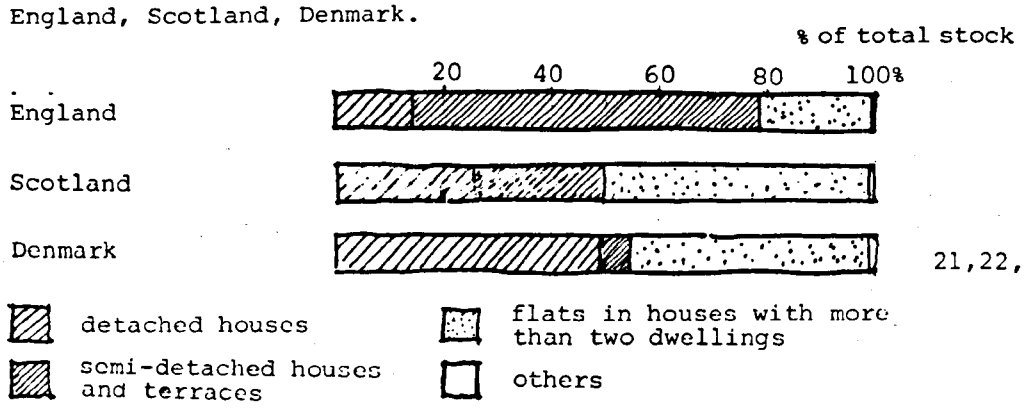
First of all, these figures demonstrate a need - and a central government priority - for housing improvement as opposed to area renewal. Secondly, one-third of all investments in urban renewal will be placed in housing improvement in the Copenhagen area. Considering house types, half of the dwellings in need of improvement are flats, mainly in the metropolitan area. However, also a relatively high number of detached houses in agricultural areas are in need of rehabilitation. In the context of this study, however, only housing within the urban areas will be dealt with.

House type and tenure

A closer look at the distribution of house types within the pre-1919 housing reveals a difference between Denmark and Britain

which must be taken into consideration when carrying out a comparative analysis:

7 Pre-1919-housing. Distribution of house types. England, Scotland, Denmark.



21,22,23

It is typical for Denmark that nearly half of these older dwellings are flats, and the other half detached houses. This is in contrast to England where two-thirds of the older housing stock consists of terraced housing. In Scotland, the proportion of older flats is even higher than in Denmark.

Concentrating on urban housing in the larger cities, there are typically flats and only relatively few houses. Around 120,000 flats or 11 per cent of the total housing stock are pre-1919 flats on private renting. However, the tenure pattern in these urban areas varies according to local circumstances.[24] In Copenhagen, the typical dwelling in need of rehabilitation is a flat in private renting, while a provincial town may have a mix of smaller tenements with a resident landlord, and owner-occupied town houses.

In the Copenhagen area, a number of tenements have been sold off to the tenants as private co-ownerships, 'andelsboliger', a tenure which comprises about 4 per cent of the Copenhagen housing stock or 13,000 dwellings.[25] This proportion is, however, much higher in the fringe areas of the inner city of Copenhagen. Another large proportion of flats have been sold off as owner-occupied flats, 'condominiums', a proportion which in the Copenhagen area comprises 16 per cent of the total housing stock. About 5 per cent of the stock is publicly owned, while the rest is in

HA and private renting.26

The Østerbro area of Copenhagen, a fringe area where a relatively large number of dwellings are in need of rehabilitation. Here, the distribution of tenure was in 1983:

8 Distribution of tenure. Indre Østerbro

Private renting	60 per cent	+
Condominiums (sold)	15	-
Private co-ownerships	25	-
HAs	-	
LA	-	27

+ of these 15% in tenements already parcelled out for condominiums.

With Østerbro as a representative of larger Danish urban renewal areas, it is typical with a relatively large proportion of dwellings in private renting, but also a - relatively large - proportion of private co-ownerships.

Before further conclusions are drawn on the subject of similarities between the British and Danish housing stock, a consideration of housing standard and condition will be made.

Housing standard and condition

The physical condition of the building stock can be measured by three main indicators: lack of amenities, unfitness, and the incidence of disrepair.

In the context of this study, 'housing standard' will relate to the number of basic amenities, while 'condition' refers to the level of maintenance.

Housing standard

In terms of housing standard, the concept of 'basic amenities' implies a certain level of comfort considered to be 'basic'. These amenities comprise a number of utilities; in the context of this study, the discussion will, however, focus on the more important of these amenities, in terms of costs and importance for the resident, WC, bath and central heating.

9 Lack of basic amenities
England, Scotland, Denmark

	% of all dws		
	England	Scotland	Denmark
Dwellings lacking bath	4.7%	2.3%	17.8%
Dwellings lacking WC inside	6.3	1.0	6.1
Dwellings lacking centr.heat.	50.8	49	12.4

28,29,30,31

In Denmark, the main problem to be faced is the lack of a proper bathroom in nearly one-fifth of all dwellings. Additionally a relatively large number of dwellings do not have central heating which in Denmark - with some justification - is considered to be a basic amenity. It is interesting to notice that this is not the case in Britain where half the population must do without this convenience. Another point to be made is the relatively high level of basic amenities in Scotland, a result which has been achieved during the last decade or two. As an example , it is worth noting that the number of Scottish dwellings lacking a bathroom was 13.5 per cent in 1971, against 2.3 per cent in 1981.

10 Lack of bathroom and WC by house type
England, Scotland, Denmark

Lack of bathroom:

	% of unfit dws within group		
	England	Scotland	Denmark
Detached houses	7.0%	12%	26.9%
Semis & terraces	81.3	13	3.4
Properties with more than 1 dwelling	6.5	71	68.0
Others	5.2	5	1.7

Lack of WC inside:

	England	Denmark
Detached houses	6.2%	25.0%
Semi terraces	87.7	1.7
Properties with more than 1 dwelling	2.8	70.8
Others	2.8	2.5

32,33,34

In a further consideration of housing standard as compared to house type, it is obvious that the lack of basic amenities in Denmark is concentrated within flats.

This is the same situation as in Scotland while the English problems of housing standard are over-whelmingly concentrated in terraced housing. Only 52,000 flats = 1.6% of all flats in England lack a bathroom. In Denmark 239,000 flats = 28.1% of all flats do not have a bathroom. This points towards the difference in quality between flats in England and Denmark.

Housing Condition

Concerning condition in terms of maintenance it is estimated in Denmark that 200,000 dwellings are not 'well kept'. There is, however, a certain overlap between dwellings with lack of basic amenities and 'not well kept' dwellings. 35

In order to get an impression of the distribution of repair problems, let us consider an economic assessment published by the Danish Ministry of Housing in 1980.

11 Repair costs compared to house type. Denmark
(Cost of essential repairs only)

	% of total cost	% of stock
houses in rural areas	14.1%	7.8%
detached houses	25.6	41.4
terraces and semi-detached	3.8	7.3
pro.with more than two dw. (rented)	51.4	35.9
(condom.)	5.1	6.3
others	-	0.9
	100%	100%

36

The need for repairs is concentrated in the flats, both in private renting and in the older HAs, and in some owner-occupied farm houses. Compared to this 12.2% of the English stock = 209,000 dwellings needed 'essential repairs' - repairs of foundation, walls, chimney, roof, suffering from dry rot or rising damp. In England about 7.6% of all dwellings need essential repairs without lacking basic amenities and this is mainly a problem of the privately rented sector.[37] But also a large part of the owner-occupied sector, about 175,000 houses, with all amenities, need essential repairs. A survey of housing conditions in Scottish HAAs found[38] that tenements in the city areas were in a worse state of repair than the rural areas, and that Glasgow tenements were worse than other areas, maybe due to former lack of control by the LA.

Unfit or 'Kondemnable' dwellings

Compared to standard and condition which may be registered in a relatively objective way, the concept of unfitness, in Denmark 'kondemnabel' implies a more comprehensive assessment with a statutory significance, the details of which will be pursued later. The two concepts, are, however, comparable.

In Denmark, about 100,000 dwellings or 5% of the stock are considered 'kondemnable'. This is mainly dwellings in private renting in the urban areas.39

This is equivalent to the English situation where the number of

unfit dwellings in 1976 constituted 4.6 per cent of the stock - a figure which increased to 1.1 mill or 6.2 per cent of the present stock in the 1981 survey. In Scotland, 2.8 per cent of all dwellings are below tolerable standard.40

In Britain, the unfit dwellings seem to be mainly in private renting, even though other tenures are affected as well.41,42

Household characteristics

Danish urban renewal areas, i.e. inner urban areas with flats are generally dominated by smaller dwellings and households, few children and a high proportion of elderly residents. In 1969, the one- and two-bedroom flats comprised 68 per cent of the total Copenhagen stock, compared to a 1980 figure of 59 per cent.43

The households of the inner areas are smaller than the Copenhagen average. In 1980, the average size of household in the inner city area of Christianshavn was 1.67, against 1.83 for the city as a whole.44

In his analysis of Danish inner city areas, Sten Martini finds that half the households are single people and about one-third are couples without children.[45] Only 13 per cent of these households are traditional nuclear families with children under 18 years of age, while this is the case with 31 per cent of all Danish households. 5 per cent are one-parent families, against 3 per cent as the national average.[46] On this background, Martini concludes that if urban renewal is carried out according to the needs and wishes of the present residents, then provision of dwellings for single people should hold a high priority.

Dwellings of a reasonable standard is distributed unevenly among the population. While 83% of the Danish population between 20 and 69 live in a dwelling with their own bathroom and central heating only 62% of the elderly non-skilled manual workers can enjoy their own bathroom.[47] This corresponds with the findings of the English 1976 National Survey.48

The Danish National Institute for Social Research has specifically investigated the conditions for elderly people, aged 62 or more - a group with special problems during a process of urban renewal.49

12 Residents over 62 years, with own bathroom by socio-economic status (Copenhagen)

	1962	1977	
Self-employed	57	85	
Employed, non-manual	71	90	
Skilled workers	44	75	
Semi-skilled workers & non-skilled	31	62	
Others	39	100	
In all	50	79	50

The group includes all persons presently and formerly employed.

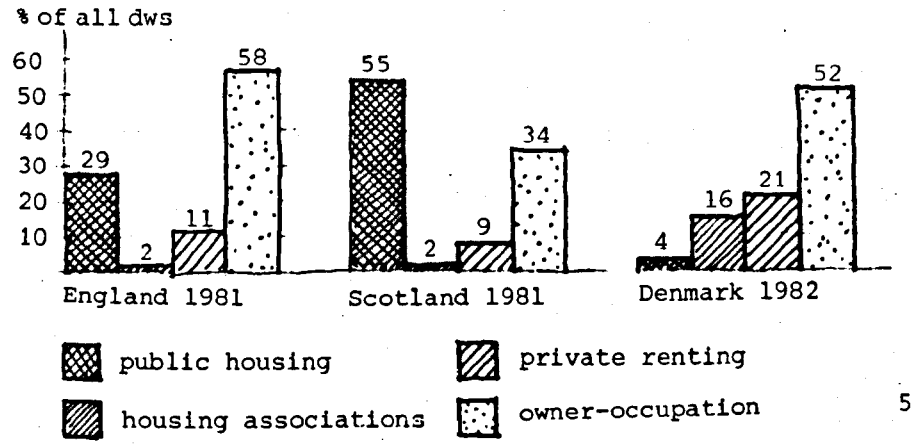
In Chapter 2, Danish urban renewal areas were compared to other international examples.

5.3. Providers of housing

Housing provision in Denmark

Before housing in the Danish urban renewal areas is described and analysed, a short overview of housing provision in general may be useful for the reader.

13 Housing tenure. England, Scotland, Denmark.



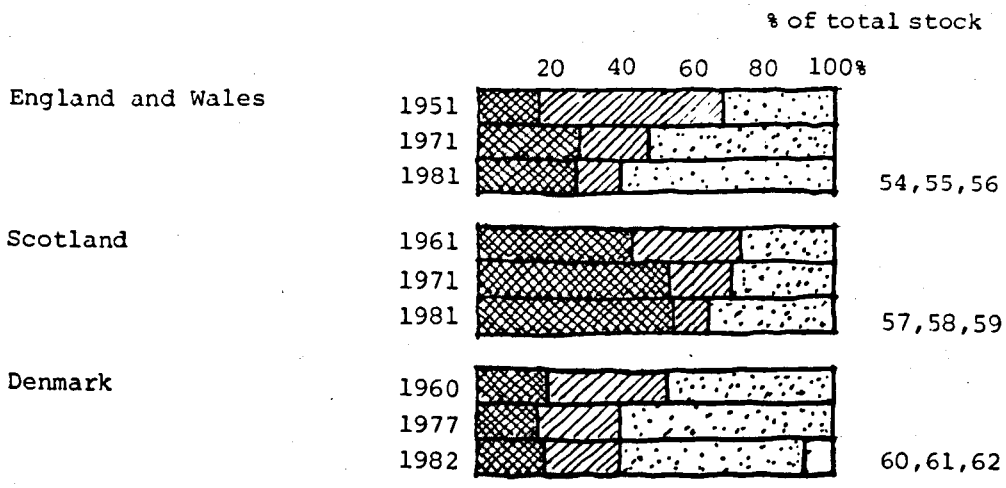
52,53,54

In Denmark, half of all dwellings were, in 1982, in owner-occupation, a proportion which in England is even larger. One out of five dwellings in Denmark is still in private renting, while in Britain only one out of ten dwellings still hold this tenure. 16 per cent of Danish dwellings are owned by the housing associations, compared to 2 per cent in Britain. In Denmark, only 4 per cent of all dwellings are owned by the public authorities, while in Scotland more than 50 per cent of all dwellings are in public ownership.

Obviously, the same tenures fulfil different tasks in the housing markets of Britain and Denmark. Therefore, in terms of tenure, a direct comparison is problematic.

Considering the development in tenure patterns, towards the present situation, a number of similar features may be detected:

14 Development of tenures.
England and Wales, Scotland, Denmark.



In these figures, the HAs are placed in the category of 'private renting' in Britain, but under 'public housing' in Denmark.

In Denmark, the relative proportion of owner-occupiers has grown during the last 20 years while the number of dwellings in private renting has declined. The proportion of HAs and other public dwellings has, however, remained static. This must be seen against the background of the fact that half of the present dwellings were built after 1960. As earlier mentioned, this increase mainly

took place within the owner-occupied sector.

A general decline of the privately rented sector is a common feature of the development in all three countries, a development which is, however, more evident in England than in Denmark and Scotland. Another characteristic development is the growth of the public sector in Scotland.

In order to reach an understanding of housing provision in Danish urban renewal areas, the various providers of housing, or the range of institutions which operate housing policy, should be considered, being different from the British situation. For which groups of the population do these institutions provide? Present and future roles of the Danish providers of housing should be analysed, specifically in the light of inner urban areas and their problems. In seeking an organisational model for housing improvement which would benefit the present population groups in urban renewal areas, the 'social' character of present tenures should be considered, including determinants like access, allocation and rent. Finally, present trends in policies of housing provision should be taken into account.

Origins of Danish co-operative organisations

In order to understand the development of housing provision in Denmark, it is important for the British reader to note that housing provision, far from being based on a landowner-tenant relationship, originates in a tradition for co-operative organisation, the details of which depend on the purpose of the association and the characteristics of its participants.

Steen Eiler Rasmussen, the Danish author-architect, has in his book on London commented on the development of provider strategies in Britain and Denmark and its links with housing finance:

> 'In both countries the ownership conditions and the building finance in the towns are clearly adapted from conditions in the agricultural areas, and the form of finance clearly related to the position of agriculture in the two countries. In England, the farmer is still dependant upon the landowner, and it is then natural that it is the big landowners who fatherly have to provide the funds for the farmers to improve the farm. After having left these paternalistic conditions in Denmark/in the beginning

> of the 19th century/it has been necessary to provide the farmer with capital supply for the estate. This is done after a German model through the credit societies ... Through this system, the proprietors unite for obtaining more favorable loans than would be possible if they were on their own'.63

The inspiration for the Danish co-operative organisations was found in Britain, in Robert Owen's experiments in New Lanark, and in the Rochdale workers' wholesale society of the 1840s. The Rochdale principles for co-operation formed the basis for the Danish co-op movement, the three main principles being:

- any surplus earned by the co-op is shared between its members according to their consumption of the goods provided by the society
- anyone (within a defined locality or group of people) may become a member of the co-op.
- all members have one vote in decisions taken by the co-op, regardless of their production or consumption of goods.64

A main characteristic for the Danish co-operative movement is its base in economic co-operation for the mutual benefit of its participants.[65] Furthermore, the movement includes both producers and users, thereby avoiding the inevitable clash of interests between these two actor groups. Another characteristic is the range of interests represented by the co-operative organisations.[66] One of the first co-operatives was a wholesale society in Thisted for buying and distributing agricultural products, established in 1866. The first co-operative slaughter houses were established in 1877, and the dairies in 1882. It is worth noting that within these sectors, these three types of organisation are still dominant.

Traditionally, there are strong links between the Danish folk high schools, for education of the farming population, and the co-operative movement, even though these connections are not formalised. Furthermore, it is typical for the co-op movement that it has always been in the hands of 'jævne folk', ordinary people, thereby preserving its unpretentious character and avoiding the paternalistic overtones inherent in the co-operative movements in other countries, like Britain.

In terms of housing provision, the co-operative movement has had both a direct and an indirect influence on the development of policies. As seen in the next section, the rise of the private landlord in Danish housing was made possible by the creation of credit societies where landlords borrowed money on their joint liability. Owner-occupation and housing associations started as building societies formed by Danish workers, and the later housing co-ownerships were formed on the basis of economic and practical co-operation between residents. Each of these tenures, its history, styles of working and its role in relation to housing policy will be pursued in the following sections.

Private landlords

On the traditional role of the private landlord in Denmark, Esbjørn Hjort, the Danish researcher notes:

> 'Prior to this century, building was based on self-financing, whereby only the nobility and well-to-do commoners had been able to build. They had seldom built beyond their own requirements, and the poor, therefore, had been forced to take lodging in the basements and attics of these houses, or, later, when rear and side houses became common, in these'.[67]

In Copenhagen, most of the city had burned down in 1797; furthermore, the destruction of most of the city centre by the English in 1807 resulted in a severe shortage of dwellings. Rebuilding was slow, and only reluctantly supported by central government.[68] Due to military precautions, a line of demarcation prevented any permanent house building immediately outside the city walls, and the population of Copenhagen was confined to a relatively small area within the old fortifications.

The demand for dwellings made it economically profitable to build for private renting, at first within the walls, and then - following the change of the demarcation system in the middle 50s - in new working-class areas outside the city walls. After the demolition of the ramparts in 1871, building outside 'the walls' accelerated. During the 1880s, a decreasing demand for agricultural labour meant that many drifted to the larger towns in order to get work in the expanding industry.

The building of tenements for private renting was furthered by the establishment of Østifternes Kreditforening, the first Danish credit society, in 1851.[69] A credit society is a co-operative body of borrowers who seek loans on the open market, on a guarantee of their joint liability, and through mortgaging of their real estate. Instead of cash, the borrowers receive bonds which are sold at the stock exchange. This system which was inspired by similar systems in Berlin and Vienna created the necessary financial base for construction of tenements on a larger scale. The development of flats instead of other types of housing was implicit in the system,[70] and was supported by the Copenhagen bye-laws of 1856. In addition to this, the Copenhagen system of rates furthered the building of flats, as flats below a certain floor space ration were exempt from taxation on the condition that they were inhabited by a family.[71] The result was that the majority of new working-class buildings were built as six-storey houses with two- or three-room flats on each landing, often with rear- or back extensions of the same height.

Private building for rent in Copenhagen reached its culmination in the middle 1880s where 7,800 flats were constructed between 1882 and 1886.[72] They were, however, not sufficient to enforce decent housing conditions for people coming to Copenhagen in considerable numbers.

> '...for the poorest classes conditions actually grew worse. In the year 1895, for instance, overcrowding of the most wretched flats reached its peak'.73

During the 1890s, economic prosperity resulted in an increasing living standard in general. The State intervened in the quality of working-class housing by means of tighter building regulations; thus, the areas of Copenhagen which were developed around the turn of the century contained larger and higher standard flats, which were, however, mainly inhabited by lower middle-class residents.

After the turn of the century, an increase in building production was financed by the banks; and between 1902 to 1909, 36,000 were built in Copenhagen.[74] This economic expansion made a

major contribution to the building crash in 1907, resulting in 10,000 empty flats in Copenhagen alone.

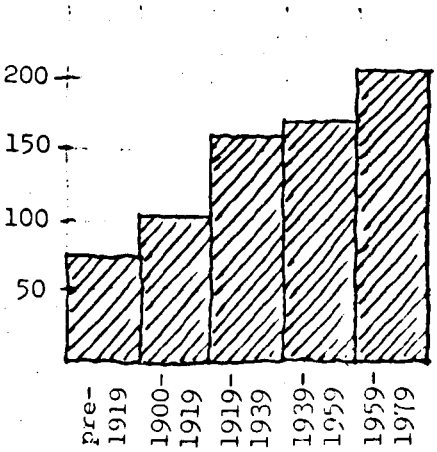
During the First World War, private building stopped, partly because of the surplus of flats, partly because private landlords were anxious to build when prices were high. This resulted in a shortage of dwellings by 1918, which was, however, met in other tenures than private renting.[75]

Private building was low during the 20s; however, after 1928, the private builder could once again be sure of profit by building and letting housing; through the housing boom of the 30s, private building for rent again took off, resulting in an over-production.[76] At the end of 1940, there were almost 16,000 unoccupied flats in towns and suburban districts.[77]

During the German occupation, relatively little house building took place due to restrictions in the use of building materials. Therefore, there was again a housing shortage at the end of the Second World War, which was, however, met by building for HAs and owner-occupation.

The Building Subsidies Act of 1946 allowed low-interest state loans also to private builders. But still, most of the building was HA building and small owner-occupied houses.[78] When policy changed from subsidy to free-market strategies in 1958, it caused a drastic fall in HA building and a similar increase in private building.[79] When owner-occupation started to develop, new built for private renting virtually ceased. In 1960, dwellings for private renting constituted one-third of the stock, in 1977 about one-fifth.[80] This relative loss may, however, be accounted for through the sale of a considerable number of flats, more than 100,000, into owner-occupation.[81] Furthermore, about 3,000 flats were demolished between 1939 and 1969, and 9,000 between 1969 and 1978,[82] under slum clearance action. However, the number of older flats left is still considerable:

15 Flats for renting. Age distribution. Denmark.



83

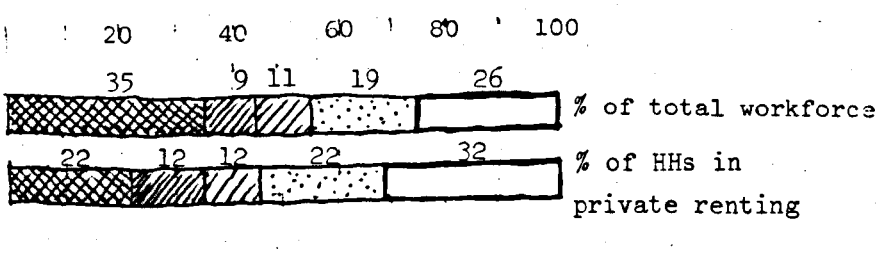
In other words, almost 180,000 of the present flats for renting were built before 1919. Of these, at least 120,000 or 11 per cent of the total housing stock is in private renting.

In our continuing investigation, the main interest will naturally be concentrated on these older flats, and mainly in the Copenhagen area.

Socio-economic groups

A general comparison of residents in private renting compared to a national distribution of socio-economic groups gives the following picture:

16 Socio-economic groups and private tenure. Denmark.



84

A relatively large number of households of which the head of household is not economically active live in private renting. This is due to the fact that the rents are relatively low, and that it is the only tenure where no initial payment is usually needed. The rent system in private renting will be described next.

Rent

For many years, a strict system of rent regulation kept rents within the private sector at an unrealistically low level which has again resulted in a general deterioration. In 1975, a new system of cost rent - 'omkostningsbestemt husleje' - was introduced. The way in which this rent level is calculated is however, not strictly speaking equivalent to the cost for the landlord:

The owner is permitted to raise the - relatively low - rent allowed under the rent restrictions according to his increased expenses on the property, regardless of housing improvements. The increases allowed for include:

- the return on invested capital; 7% p.a. of the official valuation from 1973
- running expenses; taxes, insurance, cleaning, transference to future repairs. Management costs are allowed up to a certain limit/dwelling.85

The Ministry of Housing carried out a survey on the average rent per square meter in Copenhagen before and after the introduction of the new measures. The average rent increase was found to be about 50 per cent in dwellings from all periods.[86] In other words, an increase in taxes or rates would enable the landlord to charge a higher rent, corresponding to his increased expenses on the property. If the private landlord wants to improve his property, he may charge an increased cost rent after improvement - unless the property is located within a sanering area in which case he will get a state subsidy.[87] The only 'encouragement' for improvement outside 'sanering' areas are embodied in increased rent, coupled with tax benefits, and profits at later sale.

The new rent level depends on the cost of the restoration. If the work involved is below a certain level for example new floors in half the flats, no consent from the tenants is needed. If the cost is higher, for example at the cost level of new kitchens in all the flats, the tenants' representatives must give their consent; if there is no tenants' representation the improvement cannot be carried through if more than one-fourth of the tenants object.[88] If this is the case, the decision is taken to the Rent Council, with possibilities for appeal.

Improvement at a higher cost, a proper modernisation, gives the tenant a right to be rehoused in a dwelling of a 'suitable' size, location and condition, and at a 'reasonable' rent. This usually means rehousing outside the local area.

As a result of these restrictions, rents in unimproved properties is low; even though the landlord is allowed to raise the rent according to an increase in day-to-day expenses, the rent level in private renting is still considerably lower than in other tenures, with an average of about 100 or 120 D.Kr. per square meter per year.

When a flat is improved to a higher standard, the building costs are paid through an increased rent, up to a maximum of 275 to 300 D.Kr. per square metre per year, a relatively high rent, but still considerably lower than for example a new built flat for a housing association, which may cost 400 D.Kr. per square metre per year. Because of this low rent level, flats in private renting are in high demand, especially for low income groups. For the same reason, there is relatively little mobility among private tenants as it is difficult to get another place in which to live at a similar rent.

The arrangements for tenant protection in cases of housing improvement means that if a landlord wants to improve his property, the tenants cannot be charged with the full cost; therefore, there is no real profit to gain from the improvement - with the result that no improvement takes place.

Resident involvement

In private renting, a majority of the tenants can decide to form a tenants' representation in the property, in Copenhagen typically two stairs or closes in a five-storey tenement. The tenants elected represent all tenants in negotiations with the landlord, and have the right to be consulted in the case of rent increases, repairs, employment of a caretaker etc. They furthermore have a consultative role to play in decisions for rent rises for improvement.

As a consultative body and a forum for discussions, tenants' representatives may have a function. In a situation of urban renewal, however, these tenants' representations and their powers are not sufficient to secure a resident involvement according to the principles set out in Chapter 4.

If a private landlord wants to sell his property, a tenant representation may exercise a right to buy, in which case the sitting tenants take over on a co-ownership basis. This situation which allows for increased resident influence will be dealt with later on in this chapter.89

Access and allocation

In private renting, the landlord chooses his new tenants himself. Until 1979, the Copenhagen City Council reserved the right of allocation to private renting partly on social grounds; however, this arrangement was abandoned, and the private landlord may now allocate his flats according to his own choice. Following a confirmation by the District Council, the private landlords are now obliged to report every third vacant flat to allocation for rehoused tenants by the LA. However, this is a system which is difficult to control, especially in the case of the many smaller landlords in urban renewal areas, with only few flats to let.

During the last 10 - 15 years, the supply of private renting has gone down, due to slum clearance, sale of flats into owner-occupation and practically no new built for private renting. At the same time, the demand for rented accommodation has increased, due to owner-occupiers going down market. As a result, access to the privately rented sector gets more and more difficult, especially in Copenhagen and the larger towns.

In conclusion, the households which cannot get access to owner-occupation or private co-ownerships, are still in a housing shortage. Jens Bonke, the Danish economist, sums it up:

> 'Today, there is nearly no possibility for distributing relatively good dwellings with a reasonable rent in houses for private letting, on social grounds./The flats/are instead distributed on everything but social grounds - for example personal relations or membership of private pension funds etc.'89

Conclusion

The private landlord is the main provider of housing in urban renewal areas; furthermore, the majority of dwellings in need of rehabilitation are in private renting. The question is, however, whether these dwellings should remain in private renting in a situation of state-subsidised housing improvement. There are several aspects to be considered; one of these is the 'social' and another the economical aspect.

Housing Associations

Like the British housing societies and associations, the Danish housing association movement has its roots in 19th century ideals. However, in their development during this century, the Danish HAs have taken another course as compared with their British equivalents. As the main provider of social housing in Denmark today, the question of their involvement in urban renewal areas arises. Therefore, the history and organisation of Danish HAs will be further outlined in the following.

History

As in Britain the Danish interest in sanitary conditions took off after an epidemic of cholera in the middle of last century. In 1852, cholera raged in Copenhagen. One reason for the severe and violent spread of the disease was considered to be the bad housing conditions of the working classes.[91] The Danish Medical Association arranged for the money, collected to help the needy after the epidemic, to be used for a housing project, 'Laegeforeningens boliger' or 'Brumleby' in Copenhagen. Dr. Emil Hornemann, the chairman of the Association had since the 1830s studied the new sanitary ideas. In 1852, he visited some English model towns, and the Brumleby project is based on

English ideas, that is on the relationship between health and environment.

The project was in the end supported by the City of Copenhagen, even though the council majority did not want the Council to become 'an entrepreneur for a project that should be left to private initiative'.92

Brumleby was finished in 1857, and contained two-room flats in eight two-storey blocks, and a cooperative grocery store, a library and a community hall. Today, Brumleby has barely escaped demolition, but that is a story of present-day Copenhagen policies which will not be pursued further in the context of this study.93

On one hand, the private landlord today fulfils a 'social' role in housing inasmuch as a relatively large number of people who are not economically active live in private renting. This proportion is even higher in the older urban areas. On the other hand, it is relatively difficult to gain access to the privately rented sector, because of a high demand due to the relatively low rent level, the latter being a main determinant for low-income residents. In other words, the private landlord provides for low-income groups, but flats in private renting are not at present allocated on social grounds.

The rent level is low, compared with other tenures, but the rent varies from tenement to tenement. Due to present regulations, private tenants do not pay the same for the same facilities. In other words, the system is not a fair-rent system like the British, but rather on the lines of a cost rent. Housing improvement according to these rules wil shift - or rather keep - the burden of payment on the shoulders of the future residents. Therefore, the cost rent system is not appropriate to serve our 'social' aims set out in Chapter 4. Therefore it remains an open question whether the tenure of private renting should be maintained in a situation of urban renewal.

The introduction of a system of cost rents in 1976, and the access to parcel out into owner-occupied flats, condominiums,[90] meant that during the 70s, it has been extremely profitable

to invest in older rented property, while the demand for cheaper flats for renting has increased during the same period. In introducing an increased subsidy to private landlords as an encouragement for housing improvement, the possible profit and capitalisation of these subsidies is continously a subject of discussion. In the legislative considerations, the effort has more or less concentrated on limiting these profits, rather than discussing the alternatives in terms of housing providion. A possible change from private renting to another tenure in order to remedy the deficiencies of the private landlord should be thouroughly d scussed in the context of housing provision as a whole.

The first workers' building societies were also influenced by English examples. Workers from a large Copenhagen shipyard founded in 1865 a workers' building society.[94] This was a terminating building society, where the tenant became an owner-occupied once having paid off his loan. The terraced houses, in two storeys, usually contained one flat for the owner-occupier and one or two for letting.

These early building societies stimulated the earlier legislation on housing, the first Act dating from 1887. This was the Government Loan Bill which provided for loans from central to local government, or to building co-operatives for flats to be let. However, there was too little capital to fund the programme. Furthermore, real estate values increased so sharply that in some cases; the people who backed the projects were able to repay the government loans and sell the houses with a considerable profit.95

These housing societies had only little effect on working class housing. The private builders earned the profit, and the workes who might have been interested in the co-operative idea were not able to provide even the modest down-payment to purchase the housing.96

Private house building suffered an economic crisis which ended with a crash in 1907. An acute housing shortage threatened while the building sector suffered mass employment. This situation gave rise to the first 'modern' housing associations. Esbjørn Hjort, the Danish researcher, writes:

'...leading members of the labour movement launched the idea that the workers should take matters into their own hands, and, by means of cooperative building, combat both the housing shortage and unemployment'.97

In 1912, the 'Worker's Co-operative Housing Association' (AAB) was founded. The operations of this association became a model for similar associations throughout the century.

During the First World War, the housing shortage continued, because private building had virtually stopped, mainly for economic reasons. This, combined with homelessness after the war, made the government move in to grant loans to housing associations through a State Housing Fund. The public subsidy was extended to private builders and building societies as well. Due to central government encouragement to private building in the late 20s, public funding for HAs was limited until 1933 when a Social Democratic/Radical government took over, reorganising the HA movement after a non-profit principle. Since the passing of the Act in 1933, profits and savings resulting from amortisation cannot be passed on to tenants, but must be employed in new construction.98

The 1938 Act made further loans available for these non-profit HAs, and introduced rent allowances for large families. From then on, the HA movement started to grow. Concerning the role of HAs, a government-initiated committee stressed in the early 40s that the main objective of the social housing movement was to provide good dwellings for the lower-income groups of the population at a rent they could afford.[99] In other words, the role of provider of social housing for general needs was in Denmark assigned to the HAs.

During the German occupation house building slowed down, leaving Denmark with a housing shortage of 32,000 dwellings after the war. Furthermore, intensive house building in 1949-50 brought prices and rents up, to such an extent that 'the ordinary tenant considers it too high'.[100] Therefore, certain restrictions were introduced in state loans to housing in the autumn of 1950[101] - a fact which dit not, however, influence building for housing associations.

House building during the 60s doubled the HA stock from 76,000 in 1955 to 153,000 in 1966. Several housing associations co-operated on very large projects, and a co-operative production machinery and technical assistance were developed, thus introducing system-building in HA building.[102] In 1965, 60 per cent of future projects were system-built, typically five-storey blocks of flats, and a few high-rise.

The Albertslund development from 1966 marked the beginning of a new trend in HA building, the low-rise atrium house in a high-density development - a trend which is being continued.

Today, there are 540 HAs spread all over the country, mainly in the larger towns and cities. In all, 16 per cent of the present housing stock is now owned by HAs. The total number is 310,000 dwellings, with 47.8 per cent in greater Copenhagen. 82 per cent of all Danish HA dwellings are flats, and 18 per cent houses, compared with 31 per cent flats and 69 per cent houses in English LA housing.103

It is evident that the Danish HA stock is different from British public housing. First of all, there are few high-rise tower blocks. In 1969, only 7.6 per cent of HA flats were above the 5th floor, of these 1.1 per cent above the tenth floor.[104] Secondly, present HA building is characterised as low-rise and system-built, and of a high density, a type which in 1982 constituted 72 per cent of all HA building.[105] Finally, a number of HAs, especially smaller HAs in provincial towns have experimented with housing of a more co-operative character with some shared facilities, the so-called 'bofaellesskaber'. In other words, there is still room for innovation within the Danish voluntary movement.

Considering housing improvement and urban renewal, the HAs and their national organisation 'Boligselskabernes Landsforening' (BL) are involved economically in the socalled 'sanering' societies, public agencies for urban renewal, and some HAs have participated in compulsory purchase orders. However, the HAs have, till recently, hardly been involved in the process of housing improvement, as in Britain. This seems even more remarkable when

considering the fact that HAs are the main providers of social housing, and that the problem of urban renewal is clearly a social and a housing problem.

Organisation

The Danish HAs have the task of building and administrating dwellings in close co-operation with the LA. At present, there are three types of HAs:

(i) housing associations. Net capital provided by members' contribution

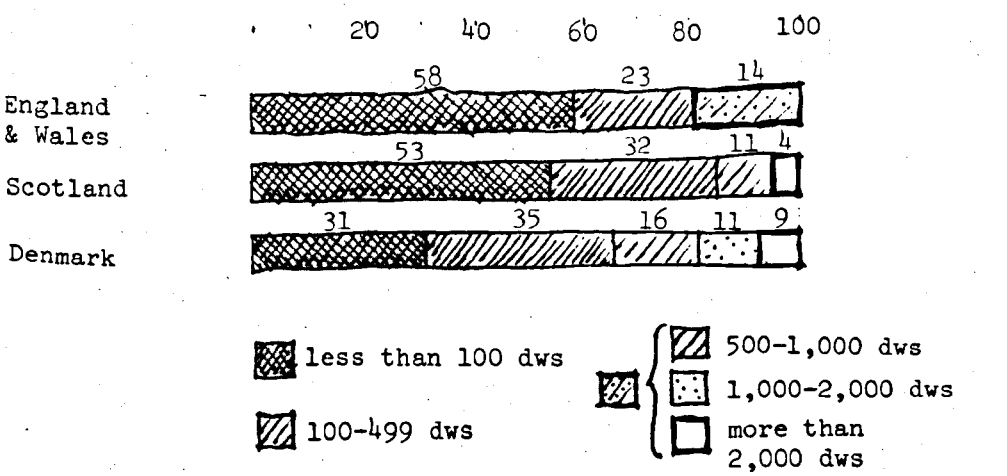
(ii) guarantee societies. Net capital provided by individuals, companies or LAs, at at maximum interest rate of 5 per cent

(iii) self-governing societies. No net capital provided.106

In terms of legislation, all three types of HAs have the same conditions for building on a non-profit basis. In 1983, the co-ops and selfgoverning societies each held 43 per cent of all HA dwellings, while the guarantee societies had 14 per cent.107

The Danish HAs are generally larger than the British, in terms of dwellings:

17 Housing associations. Distribition by size.
England, Scotland, Denmark.



108

These figures give a general indication of the fact that the HAs in Denmark are larger than in Britain. Typically, the older HAs at the outskirts of Copenhagen, and in the provincial towns would own between 150 and 500 dwellings. However, the increased industrialisation in HA building, brought about by the need for expansion in the 60s, initiated larger associations, typically between 500 and 3,000 dwellings. According to Jens V. Svendsen, the Danish social scientist, this development took place because smaller HAs were too tightly bound to local interests and too small to manage the larger building projects.[109] In other words, the original pattern of smaller HAs was changed, in order to fit industrialised production, into a more centralised structure.

Each HA is subdivided into estates or sections, each section being a single unit, economically and to some extent administratively. Inside each section, a tenants' committee is elected every year, typically with three members for every 100 households.[110] This committee does have some influence on the management, like establishment and control of communal facilities. A budget of two per cent of the total rent income is set aside for this purpose. However, the tenants' committee has only little control over more important issues like larger maintenance programmes, appointment of caretakers and allocation of dwellings. These decisions are all taken by the management committee of the HA, and carried out by its central administration.111

Depending on the type of HA, the residents participate in these overall decisions through a system of formal representation which varies for different types of HA.

In co-operative housing associations, all tenants' committees attend an annual general meeting where the management committee (MC) is elected. In some of these HAs the LA or other bodies may elect representatives; but the members elected by the residents will always hold a majority in the MC. In the smaller HAs, the annual general meeting is open to all members of the HA, i.e. the residents.112

In the second type of HA, the guarantee societies, there is no authority on the side of the residents. The annual general

meeting is only open to the guarantors, usually half a dozen, which are mainly others HAs, trade unions or LA representatives. More than half the members of the MC are appointed by this annual general meeting, and the rest elected by residents.113

The self-governing societies have no annual general meeting, and the District Council appoints more than half of the MC members. The remaining members are elected at an annual general meeting among the tenants' committees of the HA.114

Thus, the residents in co-operative associations hold the majority in the MC of the HA, which is not the case in guarantee societies or self-governing societies. Accordingly, the residents in the first type of association have more influence on important decisions like development, maintenance, programmes and allocation policy. It is, however, still an indirect influence, limited to the election of MC members at annual general meetings. For large HAs with 3,000 or 4,000 dwellings, the interests of the smaller sections may vanish for the benefit of more overall decisions.

During the last decade, an opposition within the voluntary movement has worked for increased resident influence and direct democracy in HAs. A number of factors do, however, prevent this development. First of all, the development of the HA movement during this century has linked it firmly to the large trade unions, the co-operative movement and the Social Democratic party in general, with the result that many of the individuals and groups active in the voluntary movement are also active in the other organisations. Secondly, the technical demands of house building has forced an amalgamation of smaller HAs into larger ones with a centralised and therefore easily controlled administration and representative system. Svendsen labels these HAs as:

> 'centralised organisations without tenants, these organisations became - because of the Social Democratic domination - a continuation of the Social Democratic Welfare Machine'.115

Because of these relationships, it is difficult to change the

direction and structure of the HA movement along more flexible lines and with a broader perspective for the future. A recent increase in Central Government support for HAs in economically difficult situations was, however, used as a tool for change. As a price for supporting the government, it was demanded from the Left that HAs receiving this support should change their structure from self-governing societies to co-operative associations, with a resident majority in their management committees. Thus, the HA movement is changing, but slowly and under pressure.

HA funding

As a principle, each section within the HA is economically one unit with no pooling of rent between sections. Until recently, all HA building was funded with a basic capital of 26 per cent of the costs, provided mainly by central and local authorities, while the rest was funded through ordinary credit society loans.

The basic capital consisted of:

10 per cent State loan

6 per cent LA loan

7 per cent National Building Fund Loan

3 per cent Tenants' deposit.

The National Building Fund gets its income from rent rises in existing HA housing, and from State loans.

State and LA loans were interest free, and repaymnet could be delayed for 50 years.

The rest of the cost of building was financed by ordinary credit society loans within 74 per cent of the valuation. The government subsidised this by bringing down interest rates through a direct subsidy, equivalent to the actual market rate of interest of 12-15 per cent and a 5-6 per cent guaranteed interest rate.116

This form of subsidy was introduced in 1966, as a temporary measure. Full subsidy was given for six years, then gradually phased out over four years, leaving the HA - and the tenant -

to pay the full market rate of interest, the HA rent being in principle a cost rent.117,118

The system of bringing down interest rates by state subsidy turned out to be a ticking bomb. The assumptions under which the arrangement was set up proved to be inadequate, and a prolongation of the scheme was arranged in 1972, 1974 and 1977. It was further extended to prevent rent rises so that an average family could still afford it. Especially the tenants living in dwellings completed in 1973/74 with a high rate of interest have had difficulties.

Traditional credit society loans are repayed according to an annuity principle. On account of the continued inflation, the actual amount of repayment and interest will be high at the beginning of the repayment, scaling down considerably after the first couple of years.119

In order to smooth out these differences, index-linked loans were introduced to replace the credit society loans. Here, the actual amounts of repayment and interest remain the same throughout the currency of the loan. The rate of interest may be three per cent, while the principal is regulated according to an inflation-based index. The actual amounts of repayment and interest are thus considerably lower at the beginning of the repayment period, enabling lower and middle income groups to manage.120

Thus, the direct public subsidy to HA building in Denmark is limited to the subsidy given to bring down interest rates, while the rest is financed through the rent, thereby leaving the burden of repayment to the residents.

Rent System

The HA rent is a cost rent. It is calculated to cover the actual costs for management and maintenance, the instalments on the original loan as well as the contribution to the National Building Fund.121

The State offers a direct subsidy to bring down interest rates from market level to a level of four to five per cent.[122]

Pooling between HA sections is not allowed.

The separate sections are financially self-supporting and have to charge the necessary rent which is basically the same for all tenants within the section, and differing from other sections. However, there is a maximum rent that the HAs are allowed to charge. In the Copenhagen area, this is at present D.Kr. 450 per square metre, or 163 per cent of the maximum rent allowed in older rented properties, and twice the rent paid in HA estates from the 30s. This seems unfair to tenants in new HAs.[123]

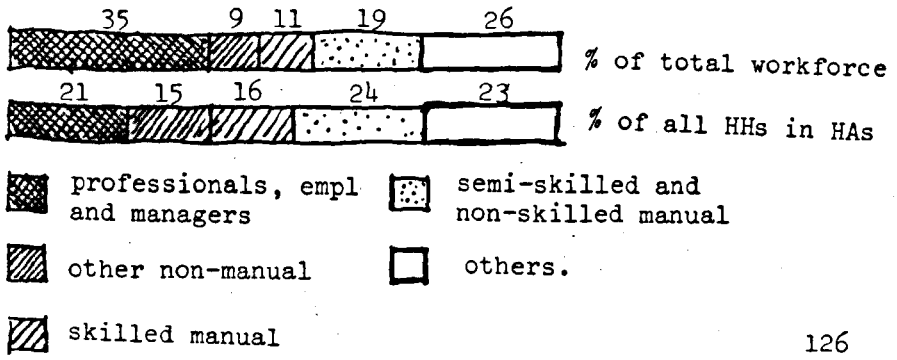
To compensate for this high rent, rent allowance is payable to tenants in both private renting and in HAs. It is assessed according to income, number of children, size of dwelling and rent level. The yearly rent allowance (1980) cannot exeed D.Kr. 3,360 for a household without children or D.Kr. 17,040 for a family with four or more children.[124] Even with the maximum rent allowance the net rent for a new HA family flat will still be D.Kr. 30,000 out of an income after tax of maybe D.Kr. 85,000 for an average worker. In spite of these income-related subsidies, it is therefore expensive to live in a newly-built HA flat, and the low-income families will therefore have to live elsewhere. However, there are special rules for retired people. As a principle, the household pays only 15 per cent of its income as 'rent', dependant on the size of the dwelling.[125] The rest of the actual rent is paid as a subsidy, up to a certain level.

Therefore, OAPs can afford to live in a HA dwelling - if they can get one, and if it is not too large.

Socio-economic groups and allocation

For whom do these HAs provide? How are their dwellings allocated? Apart from relatively few dwellings for the homeless, owned by the LAs, the HAs are supposed to fulfil a social task giving priority to low-income groups and families with children. Are the HAs fulfilling these demands? A first indication may be given by an analysis of the relative proportion of socio-economic groups in HAs as compared to the total workforce.

18 Socio-economic groups and HA tenure. Denmark.

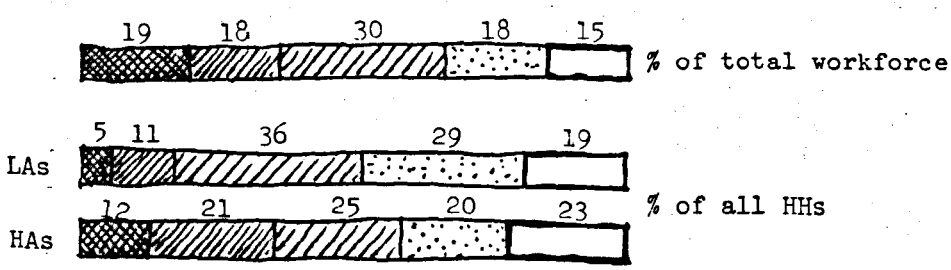


126

Insofar as these figures are comparable, the distribution of socio-economic groups within the total workforce is equivalent to the socio-economic groups of HA tenants, with, however, a relatively larger proportion of manual workers living in HAs. 40 per cent of the HA households against 30 per cent of the workforce. However, if the HAs were providers of social housing, a relatively higher proportion of tenants should be lower-income groups.

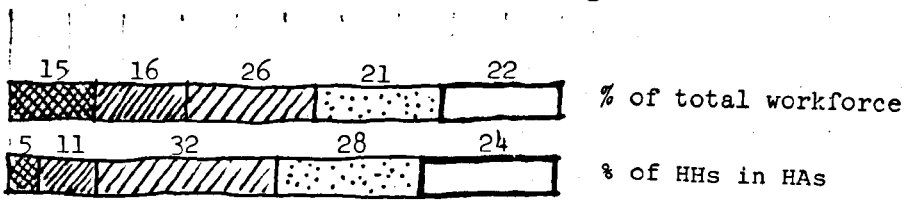
Generally, the social task of the Danish HAs is equivalent to the task of council housing in Britain.

19 Socio-economic groups in public housing. England.



127

20 Socio-economic groups in public housing. Scotland.



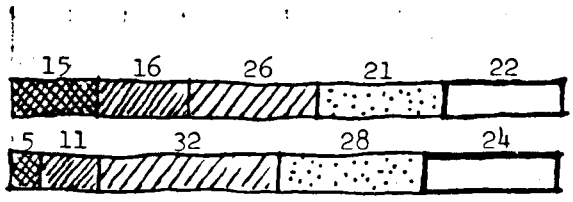
128

In England, 65 per cent of the LA households are headed by manual workers who constitute 48 per cent of the work force; in Scotland, the sme figures are 60 and 47 per cent. These figures seem similar to the Danish situation. It is worth noting, however, that in England, the economically non-active live in public housing to a higher degree than in Denmark, especially in housing associations.

In looking at allocation policy, the following is an example from a Copenhagen HA, owning 10,000 dwellings in and around the city.[129] The head office of the HA keeps waiting lists for each section (estate) of the HA, and allocates on the grounds of present housing and family situation, size of present flat; income, in cases of application for one of the cheap flats within the association. Date of application is very important, while length of residence in the HA does not qualify for extra points. In the HAs where date of application counts, this may well be the major determinant for obtaining a flat, as opposed to urgency related to housing need.

As the rent differs from section to section and from HA to HA, the older and cheaper flats are in high demand. These relatively inexpensive flats are mainly small, while the newer flats are

20 Socio-economic groups in public housing. Scotland.



128

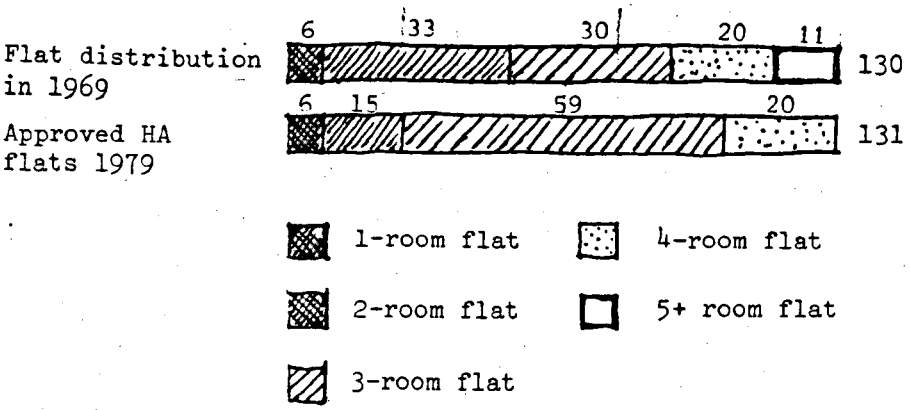
In England, 65 per cent of the LA households are headed by manual workers who constitute 48 per cent of the work force; in Scotland, the sme figures are 60 and 47 per cent. These figures seem similar to the Danish situation. It is worth noting, however, that in England, the economically non-active live in public housing to a higher degree than in Denmark, especially in housing associations.

In looking at allocation policy, the following is an example from a Copenhagen HA, owning 10,000 dwellings in and around the city.[129] The head office of the HA keeps waiting lists for each section (estate) of the HA, and allocates on the grounds of present housing and family situation, size of present flat; income, in cases of application for one of the cheap flats within the association. Date of application is very important, while length of residence in the HA does not qualify for extra points. In the HAs where date of application counts, this may well be the major determinant for obtaining a flat, as opposed to urgency related to housing need.

As the rent differs from section to section and from HA to HA, the older and cheaper flats are in high demand. These relatively inexpensive flats are mainly small, while the newer flats are

large and expensive. In the Metropolitan area of Copenhagen, there are relatively few small HA flats.

21 Metropolitan area of Copenhagen.
HA flats. Distribution of size. 1969, 1979.



In 1969, less than 40 per cent of the HA stock in Copenhagen was 1- and 2-room flats. During the 70s, the main part of HA building was larger flats and in 1979 only 21 per cent of all approved new built HA flats had one or two rooms.

On the other hand, a recent survey of a large Copenhagen HA has revealed that 63 per cent of the HA applicants want a 1- or 2-room flat, and that 75 per cent of all applicants are single or couples without children.[132] The number of families with children applying for flats are decreasing, while the number of single applicants are steadily increasing.

In conclusion, the HAs are not able, at least in the Copenhagen area, to provide for the present demand for smaller dwellings, especially for young people. Furthermore, the economically non-actives do not constitute a significant group of HA tenants. Housing seems to be allocated on a traditional family basis; the elderly and the single will have to go elsewhere.

The demand for smaller flats is partly dictated by the fact that HA rents are relatively high, and will prevent many low-income families from applying for a large flat even though they need one. However, there is also a growing proportion of smaller households.

A declining birth rate and a general tendency of staying single have in the short term resulted in relatively fewer nuclear families with children. At the same time, the proportion of elderly people is steadily increasing, and will continue to increase during the next twenty years.

In a long-term policy for HA provision and housing production, a number of demographic factors must necessarily be included, as well as a revision of the financial and subsidy systems in HA building, including the rent system. In the context of this study, however, the main conclusion to be drawn is that at present, the HAs in the Copenhagen area are not able to provide for single households, and do not seem inclined to change their policy according to the demand for smaller dwellings.

Conclusion

In Denmark, the HAs are the main providers of social housing, but not for all groups which are vulnerable in a situation of urban renewal, like the groups of single young and old people. Considering the requirements in the context of this thesis, the HAs do have a system of tenant participation, where tenants in most HAs do not, however, participate directly in all important decisions. To fulfil these requirements may, however, be a question of a change in allocation policy and development programme, and another system of tenant participation. In general, the HAs seem to be an organisation which could offer both the central control and the resident influence required in this context, if the more detailed framework is further considered.

Owner-occupation

> 'For centuries people had known the detached garden house, but only with the middle-class suburban villa it was transformed into something special, with dreams and longings attached to it...The house in the garden, which before was an obvious form, got a special aura with the coming of capitalism'.133

For the working classes of Copenhagen, the fulfilment of this dream was embodied in the workers' terminating building societies, which were established from the middle 19th century and onwards. For middle class citizens, the demolition of the

ramparts marked the beginning of permanent building outside the city, in the form of detached houses or villas, with a smaller or larger garden according to the financial capacity of its occupant. A modern Danish expression for the more modest of these houses is 'parcelhuse', a concept referring both to house type - the detached house - and tenure - owner-occupation.

Funding for owner-occupation was raised in credit societies, co-operative groups of borrowers raising loans on their joint liablility.[134] Following the First World War, however, state subsidies were made available for owner occupiers as well as for other provider groups. Building for owner-occupation was relatively low during the 30s. However, the housing shortage following the Second World War resulted again in state subsidies to owner-occupiers in the form of state loans with a low interest rate.[135] As a result of this, a large number of small, owner-occupied 'state loan houses' were built.

In 1958, state loans were replaced by market financing by the credit societies and banks. Because of this, the interest rate for housing loans became dependant on market conditions. The owner-occupier could capitalise the increase in valuation through mortgages, thus getting a defecit and tax-relief. This was of course more profitable for the larger tax-payers.[136]

These two measures, together with high employment and a strong increase in wages (and taxes) made owner-occupation rise steadily, from 27 per cent in 1960 to 43.5 per cent in 1977.

This was a result of a general increase in living standards which was extended to housing as well. For the growing Social Democratic party, it became a political goal to give its electorate access to owner-occupied family dwellings, 'parcelhuse', even if this meant speculation in housing.

Through the 60s, the rest of the state control vanished, and the possibilities of speculation were greater than ever. The boom in land and building valuations made more lending possible, which meant higher inflation, because the interest rate went up.

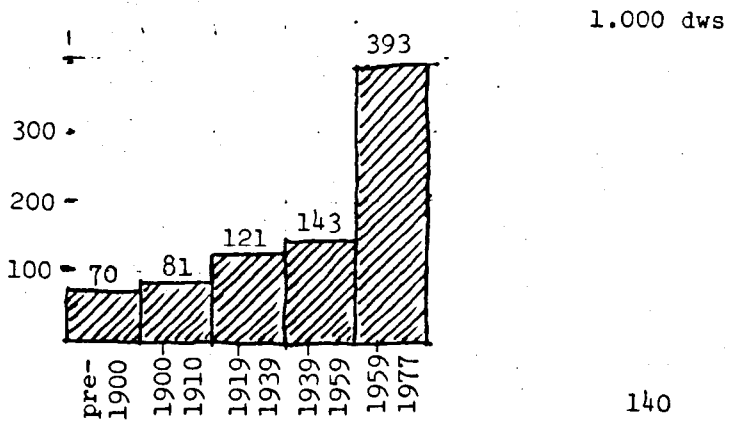
After 1966, the VAT (momsen) was applied to consumer's goods.

To encourage new building, a subsidy was given to balance the cost of the moms.137

In 1972-73, there were political negotiations to abandon this subsidy. While people were waiting for a result of these negotiations, another boom in building for owner-occupation, parcelhuse, took place. This caused in due time a record interest rate, which meant that house building was reduced by 50 per cent in1974.138

This development meant a final break of 'parcelhus'-building. Since then, the demand for parcelhuse has fallen heavily due to unemployment and a continuing high interest rate. Since 1977, the number of parcelhuse being built has fallen from 22,500 or two-thirds, to 4,200 or one-fourth of the production.139

22 Owner-occupied detached houses by age. Denmark.



140

With the majority of 'parcelhuse' being built after the Second World War, only relatively few houses would be old enough to pose any problems of housing standard and condition; even fewer of these would be in the urban area of Copenhagen. Therefore, it is the existence of owner-occupation and its role in housing provision which is of importance in this study,

especially in terms of access to the owner-occupied sector.

Access to owner-occupation

The household's ability to pay the net cost is the main determinant for access to owner-occupation. The cost of building is usually financed through loans from credit societies, partly with a 30-year and partly with a 20-year currency for the loan, and within 75 per cent of the value of the property. The remaining 25 per cent are contributed by the future owner-occupier. As these loans depend on the actual interest rate, the instalments vary according to the time of building. Bonke et al refer to a number of examples, showing the start 'rent' for a parcelhus acquired at various dates, and relate it to an average income at the time.140

23 Owner-occupation. Net cost of dwellings by income

Denmark

Year of taking up residence	1971	1973	1975	1977
	Income in D.Kr.			
Net income (wages after tax)	43,500	52,300	75,500	91,300
Net cost (of dwelling)	20,100	30,800	47,200	64,200
Net cost/net income	46.2%	58.8%	62.5%	70.3%

141

In other words, the relative proportion of the net income which is paid for housing has increased considerably, thereby leaving the average household with less money for other expenses.

Another difficulty for low-income households in the process of entering owner-occupation is the fact that the level of subsidy to owner-occupiers varies according to income. For a house of an average size among the miss of his income group, the professional/manager would receive an indirect subsidy of D.Kr. 34,000, where an unskilled worker would only receive D.Kr. 23,000 for a smaller house.142

> 'The result of this is that the 70s have shown a development where the hurdle of entering the newer part of owner-occupation has become impassable for the middle-income family - unless both husband and wife have a full-time job, and both with an income above average'.143

This high threshold of entering owner-occupation means that new households are not able to acquire an average parcelhus, whereby the pressure on the lower end of the owner-occupied market increases. Furthermore, for some families access to the owner-occupied market has depended on a stable income and capitalisation of the increased value of their parcelhus. In periods of unemployment, and a stagnating housing market, they cannot manage their mortgage obligations, and must sell the house, finding some privately rented accommodation down market, or falling back into the system of social security, if the unemployment turns out to be permanent.

Index-linked loans have recently been made available for 'parcelhuse';[144] it remains to be seen whether they will have an effect on the present stagnation in building for owner-occupation, in times of unemployment.

Condominiums

Owner-occupied flats, condominiums, is a relatively new phenomenon, dating from a political agreement between the four major parties in 1966. The principle is that a property, in most cases a tenement with twelve or 24 flats, is parcelled out and each flat sold, either to the sitting tenant or, when the flat becomes vacant, on the open market.

The access to parcel out condominiums was introduced i order to make private investment in new building more profitable and worth while, thereby reducing the need for public investment in housing provision.[145] In the parliamentary report preceding the legislation on condominiums, the effects on access to housing are clearly foreseen by all parties. As stated by the - Conservatively dominated - majority of the Commission:

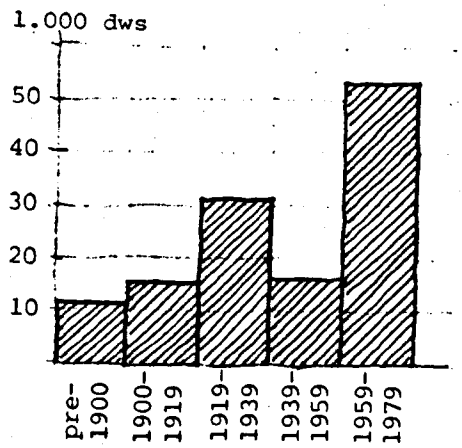
> 'There is no doubt that well-to-do residents will be better able to find a place to live than residents

> with a lower income...if the system of owner-occupied flats was to include a large majority of the present housing stock, increasing difficulties would occur in providing housing for more vulnerable citizens. With the present structure, however, of housing, the HAs especially providing for general and special needs, it will be assumed that these population groups will be able to find a flat for rent at a reasonable price'.146

In other words, the HAs are supposed to provide the unfortunate with inexpensive dwellings, which - other things being equal - seems to require a large amount of public subsidy, thereby interfering with the original intention of savings in public expenditure.

The proposal anticipated an increase in the total value of the tenement after parcelling out condominiums, and the increased cost for central and local government in acquiring properties for urban renewal was clearly predicted by the Commission majority. However, the objection was not found to be 'crucial' to the introduction of condominiums to the Danish scene.147

24 Age distribution of condominiums. Denmark



148

The access to parcel out condominiums was abandoned for older properties in 1980,[149] while new flats are increasingly built for owner-occupation. The number of condominiums has risen from 109,000 in 1970 to 148,000 in 1982.150

Access

An improved two-room flat in a fringe area of Copenhagen would typically need an initial cash payment of D.Kr. 50,000, and a monthly 'rent' of 2,500 after tax, dependant on the residents' level of income. Compared to other tenures, especially private renting, this is clearly out of the reach of most low-income groups.

The Social Democratic party supported the final legislation as a part of a larger political 'package' in the hope of increasing the general housing standard through private investment in housing improvement. The question is whether this has been the case. An indication of an answer requires a further analysis of the regulations for parcelling out condominiums for sale.

Condominiums and housing improvement

A condominium is sold on the open market, while a privately let flat is subject to rent restriction. Even though an economic rent is charged following a housing improvement in private renting, it is even more profitable to parcel out and sell, especially in areas with a high demand for dwellings, like Inner City Copenhagen. In 1975, the Danish Ministry of Housing assessed the average profit for each sold condominium to be D.Kr. 120,000 or £ 8,000.151

Concerning the cost of acquisition in a situation of urban renewal, Byggeriets Udviklingsråd, a government organisation, has attempted to calculate the increased cost for public authorities in acquiring condominiums instead of tenements in private renting. In a relatively limited area in Østerbro, the cost of compulsory purchase of ten per cent of the housing stock would cost D.Kr. 10-15 mill for private tenements, but D.Kr. 100 mill for condominiums.152

Before 1972, there were no quality restrictions on the flats that were parcelled out, and quite a lot of flats from the 19th century, in need of rehabilitation, became owner-occupied flats. After 1976, the flats could still be parcelled out, if they fulfilled a certain, very basic standard, i.e. a shower, a 'modern' heating system and double-glazed windows. This meant that quite a lot of privately

rented flats, pre-1919, were renovated, or rather smartened up to meet the rather flexible quality standards.

There seems to be no research available on the link between improvement activity and condominiums. A general impression is, however, that the policy, intending an increased private investment in urban renewal has succeeded to some extent. However, many of the flats sold between 1966, when condominiums were introduced, and 1972, when requirements for quality were applied, are still in need of rehabilitation. How many, can only be a subject of careful guesses. In a Ministry of Housing report of 1980, the total need for future investment in housing improvement in condominiums was set to D.Kr. 505 mill or five per cent of the expected investment in private renting.[153] If the number of privately rented flats is set to 220,000, this gives - housing standard in the two categories assumed to be equally distributed - 11,000 condos in need of housing improvement. This corresponds to an estimate made in 1977, where 14,000 owner-occupied flats were supposed to lack one or more basic amenities.[154]

Conclusion

In urban renewal areas, a large number of flats are sold on the private market as owner-occupied flats. Because of a general housing shortage, the cost level of these condominiums will leave the flats beyond the reach of many vulnerable population groups, and outside public control with housing improvement and allocation.

If central policy was to rely on owner-occupation in urban renewal, through a change of tenure into owner-occupation, followed by private investment in housing improvement, these dwellings would be too expensive for vulnerable groups, requiring an individual income-related subsidy to the resident.

Private co-ownerships

As opposed to other tenures, there is no separate legislation regulating the private co-ownerships, and the residents are neither tenants nor owner-occupiers, but shareholders in the co-ownership. A private co-ownership is furthermore independant economically, financially and in terms of organisation of other societies and organisations.

Like in all co-operative entreprises, all decisions are taken by simple voting, each member having one vote.[155] However, as opposed to a non-profit housing association, the housing co-ownerships are profit-sharing; any resident leaving the co-ownership may take his part of the surplus derived by the co-ownership with him.[156] In short, a co-ownership is a profit-sharing housing society with mutual ownership of dwellings, the residents being shareholders.

There are several types of co-ownership, both in older housing and in new built. The new built co-ownerships will be mentioned later, as a part of present housing policy; here, the more detailed organisation of the older co-ownerships will be outlined.

History

The first co-ownerships were in principle inspired by Ebenezer Howard and 'The garden cities of tomorrow'. His ideas of local communities organised around co-operative principles were introduced in Denmark around 1910. As a result of this, a number of garden housing associations were established in the following decades in the outskirts of Copenhagen.

The main principle for these associations was to avoid speculation. Some decades earlier, the workers' building societies were organised on similar co-operative principles; however, their activities had led to speculation. In reintroducing co-operative principles into housing, a change in the organisational structure sought to prevent this. The association owned the dwellings, and the rent paid by the shareholders was in time reduced according to the actual costs of repayment on the original loans; a tenant leaving the association was entitled to a sum equivalent to the rent paid.[157] During the 20s and 30s a number of private co-ownerships were built in and around Copenhagen. Furthermore, many of the first state-subsidised housing associations were organised around these principles,[158] later changing their statutes according to non-profit principles.

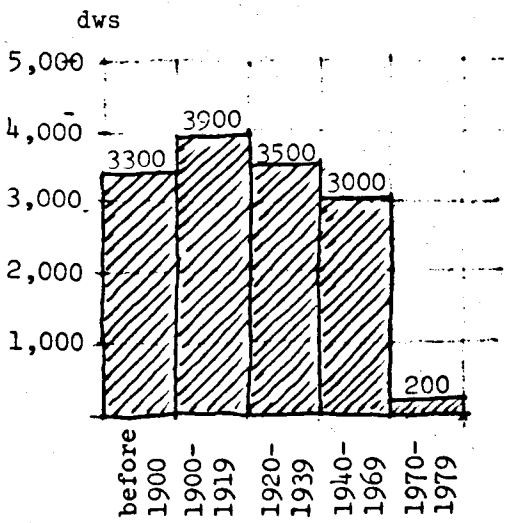
However, the private co-ownerships which have our main interest in the context of this study are those which have been established since the 1950s, especially during the last decade. These

co-ownerships have been established in older private tenements, the sitting tenants taking over from the private landlord. They were originally established on a voluntary basis, usually where the private landlord wanted to sell his property anyway.

At the beginning of the 70s, the concept of a 'free' housing market gained political interest, resulting in official encouragement for a change of tenure from private renting to owner-occupation in the form of condominiums. This strategy also resulted in a support for the establishment of private co-ownerships, giving the tenants a right to buy if the landlord wanted to sell.[159] This arrangement resulted in a steady increase in the number of co-ownerships, from 1974 to the present day. During the latest number of years, the problems of deterioration in the older urban areas have further accelerated, and the cost of rehabilitation has encouraged many landlords to dispose of their responsibilities by selling to the tenants.

Due to the relatively modest contribution of private co-ownerships to housing provision, practically no research and very little statistics are available. The total number of dwellings in private co-ownerships was about 14,000 in 1977, a figure which must be considerably larger by 1984. These co-ownerships are nearly all located in the fringe areas of Copenhagen; in Østerbro, around 25 per cent or 2,000 dwellings were in private co-ownership in 1983.161

25 Age distribution of private co-ownerships in Denmark.1977.



162

There seem to be no statistics available on the present standard and conditions of the private co-ownerships; however, it is a general impression among housing officers, politicians at large and other people working in urban renewal that flats in co-ownerships are more likely to be improved than flats in private renting inasmuch as any improvement carried out by the residents is equivalen to an increase in the value of his share in the co-ownership. In order to further pursue the inherent possibilities of co-ownerships as an alternative tenure in urban renewal areas, the more detailed organisation will be outlined in the following section.

Organisation

A co-ownership is organised according to a number of regulations laid down by the Ministry of Housing,[163] regulations with no statutory significance, however. According to these regulations, the highest authority is the annual general meeting, where the management committee is elected. The committee is responsible for the day-to-day management between resident meetings. As most co-ownerships would comprise 20-30 flats, it is common for residents to take all major decisions at resident meetings, called whenever there are major problems of management and maintenance to discuss.

Access, Allocation and Rent

In order to join a co-ownership, the applicant must join a waiting list, set up for each co-ownership. In most cases, the date of application is the main determinant. However, applicants who are relations of present residents usually hold priority over other applicants.

To become a shareholder of the co-ownership, the applicant must buy a share, which in a typical co-ownership would cost between D.Kr. 30,000 and 150,000, and paid in cash - a considerable sum of money seen from the point of view of the low-income resident. In addition to this, a 'rent' is paid to cover the actual costs of the co-ownership, typically D.Kr. 1,000 or 1,200 per month. Compared to the other tenures previously mentioned, this is a relatively low rent. 164

In addition to this arrangement, any housing improvement carried out by the shareholder corresponds to an increase in the value of his share. When the flat is sold, the co-owner is entitled to charge a higher price for his share, an increase equivalent to the cost of the improvement plus a 'reasonable' interest rate. In other words, any money spent on housing improvement returns to the co-owner, thereby making the investment worth while.

As there is little statutory or municipal control with private co-ownerships, any co-ownership may decide on its own statutes within rather wide limits, including the price at which the share is resold. However, by far the large majority of co-ownerships do not allow the shareholder to sell at market price, but at a price regulated as outlined above. Thus, it is not, strictly speaking, 'profitable' to invest in a co-owner flat compared to other investments, but it is 'worth while', and money spent on improvement is a secure investment for the co-owner.

Due to this relatively profitable arrangement, and a general lack of dwellings at the lower end of the market, these private co-ownerships in the fringe areas of Copenhagen are in high demand, and it is almost impossible to gain access to any of these co-ownerships, unless the applicant is prepared to wait for several years, or pay a large amount of money 'under the table'.

As earlier mentioned, the private landlord has a duty to report every third vacant flat to the LA in certain urban renewal areas. This duty does, however, not apply to private co-ownerships. In other words, there is no control over allocation of dwellings in co-ownerships, thereby making the allocation of dwellings as 'social' as each co-ownership sees fit.

Conclusion

In the context of this study, private co-ownerships hold some advantages compared with private renting, because of residents' control of their own dwellings, and residents co-operating as a group. However, the poorest and worst-off residents will not have access to a private co-ownership due to the small number

of these flats and the high initial payment necessary for joining the co-op. Furthermore, minority groups may be rejected due to their 'unattractiveness' as responsible shareholders in a small co-ownership. Therefore, the private co-ownerships do not in their present form constitute an alternative to the private landlord in urban renewal areas which is acceptable in the context of this thesis.

Public Housing

In considering the Danish 'public housing' - that is, dwellings owned by the State, the regional authorities and the districts - it must be realised that these providers of housing do not fulfil the same task as the public sector in Britain.

The number of dwellings owned by public authorities sere in 1980 75,800; of these 63,700 were owned by the Districts, about 19,000 by the Copenhagen District Council alone.[165] The rest of the dwellings are owned by the State and the county councils, mainly as job-tied accommodation.

Before and during the Second World War, a relatively large proportion of dwellings were built by the LA, with a total average production of 1,300 dwellings between 1937 and 1950.[166] However, during the period 1960-1975, the stock has been reduced to half presumably because of slum clearance, but also through sales.

The City Council of Copenhagen today owns about 20,000 dwellings in 400 tenements and a few terraced houses,[167] constituting 7.1 per cent of the total stock. A large part of these are flats especially allocated for OAPs, mainly built in the 40s and 50s;[168] the remaining part falls in three categories:

- a few large relatively well-equipped flats
- older flats acquired for slum clearance
- temporary accommodation for the homeless.[169]

Since 1966, no dwellings have been built by the LA;[170] the task of providing 'social' housing being left to the HAs, except for OAP flats. At present, the LA is under pressure from local Conservatives to sell off from its stock in order to avoid

a threatening defecit in the City's finances, a situation which is well-known in a Britain context.

In providing for the homeless of Copenhagen, the LA stock makes an important contribution in the provision for special needs. However, like the private co-owner-ships, LA housing does not make a major contribution to housing provision. In addition to this, there is no real tradition of LA provision for more general needs in Denmark, as in Britain. One indication of this is the fact that council housing has barely been suggested as an alternative tenure in urban renewal by any participants in the discussion. In conclusion, council housing is not considered to be of major importance in the context of this study.

5.4. Conclusion

In the older built-up areas of Copenhagen, the main tenures are private renting, private co-ownerships and owner-occupation in the form of condominiums. Of these three, the majority would be in private renting; the privately rented flats would furthermore contain the larger number of dwellings in need of rehabilitation.

The present system of housing improvement outside 'sanering' areas, carried out on an individual basis, varies from tenure to tenure. In owner-occupation, any cost of housing improvement may be financed through credit society loans, and the increase in valuation will easily surpass the actual cost of improvement in the present market situation. In co-ownerships, the improvement cannot be financed through credit society loans; however, any improvement will increase the value of the co-owner's share, thereby making it worth while to invest in improvement. In both these tenures, the 'carrot' is the expected profit or surplus at a later sale.

This is different in private renting. Any housing improvement may be financed by credit society loans, the loan being paid off by tenants through an increased rent. However, with the present system of rent regulation, the increase allowed for are not sufficient to pay for a reasonable improvement. A profit

at a later sale of the improved tenement may give the landlord a better financial position:, however, with the present restrictions in rent for tenements, and especially those in need for rehabilitation, investment in a private tenement is not very profitable, compared to other investments.

Therefore, the present system - which in private renting is established according to an encouragement strategy but with relatively modest economic incentives for improvement - results in relatively little improvement, while at the same time it is the tenure with proportionately the most pressing and the largest problems of housing improvement.

At the same time, private renting plays a residual role in housing provision of urban renewal areas. Condominiums and co-ownerships do not give access to low-income groups because of the high initial costs while it is difficult to enter a HA dwelling because of waiting lists policies and a general lack of HA dwellings in the District of Copenhagen and the Inner City in particular. Furthermore, in spite of income-related personal subsidies in HAs, the rent actually paid is still very high for low-income groups.

The choice which remains for low-income residents is private renting; and, once having obtained a flat, staying there if possible. In this situation, a resident would oppose any housing improvement which would result in an increased rent, which again results in no improvement.

In terms of state subsidy for housing improvement, the encouragement method works in the cases of the owner-occupied flats and the private co-ownerships, because market forces will provide the encouragement, thus diminishing the need for public subsidy to housing improvement. It is another case altogether with the private landlord. If market forces should provide for housing improvement, rent regulations would have to be abandoned, the rent paying for the improvement with. Private renting playing a residual role in housing provision, this would have obvious consequences for the low-income groups now living in privately rented accommodation.

A reasonable supply of dwellings at a rent that low-income groups could pay would solve the problem, but would require a large amount of public subsidy. On the other hand, giving a direct subsidy towards housing improvement in order to enable the present residents to pay a reasonable rent, would also involve a large amount of public subsidy. This could again lead to the conclusion that when the state pays a majority of the cost, why should these dwellings remain in private ownership?

Therefore, the existence of the private landlord as the main provider in housing improvement raises a number of problems in every respect. In considering a model for housing improvement which would involve the residents and at the same time benefit the vulnerable population groups in urban renewal areas, housing provision for these groups and thereby the present role of the private landlord should be restructured in a new context, with a further discussion of:

- general supply of housing
- state subsidy or encouragement
- private or public ownership
- central or decentralised control.

The important question to be derived from this discussion is, whether the private landlord could be brought to fulfil a 'social' role in urban renewal, or whether a change of tenure should be involved. Finally, this question should be seen in the context of our requirements set in in Chapter 4.

Chapter Five + References

1. Central Statistical Office. Social Trends no.13, 1983. London, HMSO, 1982. The figures date from 1981.
2. Whitaker's Almanack. London, 1980.
3. Københavns Kommune. København: Statistiske oplysninger. København, 1980. Pamphlet. Figures date from 1980.
4. Danmarks Statistik. Statistisk Årbog. København, Danmarks Statistik, 1980.
5. Statistical Office of the European Communities. Eurostat Revue 1970-1979. Luxembourg, Rassegna, 1980.
6. Statistical Office of the EEC, op.cit.
7. Københavns Kommune, op.cit.
8. DoE. English House Condition Survey 1981. Part 1. Report of the Physical Condition Survey. Housing Survey Report no.12. London, HMSO, 1982. p.14. Figures date from 1981.
9. Government Statistical Service. Scottish Housing Statistics no.16. 4th quarter 1981. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1982. p.4. Figures date from 1981.
10. Census Great Britain 1981. London, HMSO, 1981. Table 27.
11. Boligministeriet. Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1981-1982. København, Boligministeriet, 1982. p.33. Figures date from Jan.1st, 1982.
12. DoE, op.cit. p.19. The figures include 5.5% 'others'.
13. Census Scotland 1981.Small area statistics, all Scotland figures. Edinburgh, 1981?. Figures include 1.2% 'others'.
14. Danmarks Statistik. Boligopgørelsen pr. 1.jan.1982. preliminary draft report. Includes 0.8% 'others'.
15. DoE, op.cit. p.22.
16. Government Statistical Service, op.cit. p.16.
17. Danmarks Statistik, 'Boligopgørelsen...', op.cit.
18. Boligministeriet. Undersøgelse af behovet for boligforbedring og byfornyelse og skøn over investeringsbehovet til afhjælpning heraf. København, 1980. p.37.
19. Andresen, Susanne; Sloth, Lisbeth. Planlægning af offentlig service og byfornyelse. København, Planstyrelsen og Socialstyrelsen, 1982. p.7.
20. Boligministeriet, 'Undersøgelse af behovet...', op.cit. p.34.
21. DoE. National Dwelling and Housing Survey. London, HMSO, 1979. p.44.
22. General Household Survey for Scotland, given in interview no.71.
23. Boligministeriet. Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1978-79. København, 1979. p.38.
24. Statistisk tabelværk 1980. VIII. Bygningsopgørelsen pr.1.4.1977. København, Danmarks Statistik, 1980. Tabel 8.4.
25. Ibid. tabel K.14.
26. Ibid. tabel K.6.
27. Clemmensen, Jens; Larsen, Hans Jørgen; Torvits, Steffen. Byfornyelse med beboere - et byfornyelsescenter på Østerbro. København, Danske Arkitekters Landsforbund,1984.p.19.
28. DoE. English House Condition Survey 1976 .Part 1 .Report of the physical condition survey. Housing Survey Report no.10. London, HMSO, 1982. p.22.
29. General Household Survey for Scotland, op.cit.
30. Census Scotland 1981, op.cit.p.2.
31. Boligministeriet, 'Bygge- og...', op.cit. p.41.
32. Doe, 'English House Condition Survey 1976', op.cit. p.14.
33. Interview no.71.
34. -
35. Boligministeriet, 'Undersøgelse af behovet...', op,cit.
36. Ibid.
37. DoE. English House Condition Survey 1976. Part 2. Report of the social condition survey. Housing Survey Report no.11. London, HMSO, 1978. p.2.

38. Scottish Development Department. Housing Action Areas. First Report. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1980. p.9.

39. Boligministeriet, 'Bygge- og boligpolitisk...', op.cit.

40. DoE, 'English House Condition Survey 1981', op.cit. p.3.

41. Doe,'English House Condition Survey 1976', op.cit. p.14?

42. Interview no.71.

43. Hansen,Jens Scherup ; Møller, Jonas. Christianshavn - varsom byfornyelse? SBI-byplanlægning 43. SBI, Hørsholm, 1983. p.53 ff.

44. Ibid.

45. Martini, Steen. Beboerne og byfornyelsen. Socialforskningsinstituttet, publikation 117. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1983. p.37.

46. Ibid. p.38.

47. Worm, Kirsten (ed). Levevilkår i Danmark. Socialforskningsinstituttet. København, Danmarks Statistik, 1980. p.240.

48. DoE, 'English House Condition Survey 1976'. op.cit.

49. Worm, op.cit. p.323.

50. Ibid.

51. DoE, 'English House Condition Survey 1981', part 2, op.cit. p.22.

52. Census Scotland 1981, op.cit. p.2.

53. Danmarks Statistik, 'Boligopgørelsen...', op.cit.

54. Housing Policy - a Consultative Document. The Green Paper. Cmnd.6871. London, HMSO, 1977. p.14.

55. Census 1961 Scotland. Vol.4. Housing and Households. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1966.

56. DoE, 'English House Condition Survey 1981', part 1, op.cit.p.22. Includes 3.5% vacant dwellings.

57. Census 1981 Scotland, op.cit. Table 17.

58. Lothian Region. Structure Plan. 1980?

59. Census Scotland 1981, op.cit. p.2.

60. Boligministeriet, 'Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1978-79', op.cit. pp.38-39. Housing association are included in 'public housing'.

61. Danmarks Statistik, 'Boligopgørelsen...', op.cit. p.11.Includes 7.3% 'others'. Housing associations are included in 'public housing'.

62. -

63. Rasmussen, Steen Eiler. London. København, Gyldendal, 1934 (1973). p.294. Trans.

64. Christensen, Cai F; Warn, Erik. Fra beboerdemokrati til andelsboligforening. København, Samfundslitteratur, 1978. p.41.

65. Drejer, A. Axelsen.(ed). Den danske andelsbevægelse. København, Martins Forlag, 1943.p.24.

66. Christensen, op.cit. p.42.

67. Hiort, Esbjørn. Housing in Denmark since 1930. København, Gjellerup, 1952. p.9.

68. Bengtsson, Jens; Hartoft, Frederik; Petersen, Hanne; Sørensen, Mariann D. Boligforholdene i Danmark. En analyse af den retslige regulering af boligforholdene i Danmark i det 20. århundrede. Afløsningsopgave. Københavns Universitet. København, 1978. p.47.

69. Ibid.

70. Nissen, Nis. Den kroniske bolignød og fremtidens boligpolitik. København, Fremad, 1971. p.70.

71. Ibid.

72. Bengtsson et al, op.cit. p.48.

73. Hiort, op.cit.p.11.

74. Bengtsson et al, op.cit. p.48.

75. Landsorganisationen i Danmark; Boligselskabernes Landsforening; Lejernes Landsorganisation; Det Kooperative Fællesforbund; Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd. Boligpolitisk Hvidbog. The Union White Paper. Copenhagen, Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 1976. p.25.

76. Fælles organisationen af Almennyttige Danske Boligselskaber. Beboerbladet Boligen. Jubilæumsnummer maj 1969. p.7.

77. Hiort, op.cit.p.22.

78. Svendsen, Jens V. Dansk boligpolitik og krisen. Århus, Modtryk, 1977. p.35.

79. Boligministeriet, 'Bygge-og Boligpolitisk oversigt 1978-79', op.cit. -.38.

80. Ibid. p.39.

81. See 5.3 condominiums.

82. Danske Ingeniørers Efteruddannelse. Byfornyelse. Kursus 1980.

83. Statistisk Tabelværk 1980, op.cit. tabel 8.4.p.38.

84. The Union White Paper, op.cit. Table 7. Note that unemployed are included in the figure of 'not economically active'.

85. Lov om leje. Boligministeriets bekendtgørelse nr.332 af 16.juni 1982. §58.

86. NOAH. Beboeraktioner. København, NOAH, 1978. p.257.

87. -

88. See 6.7 on tenants' representations.

89. Bonke, Jens; Kvetny, Michael; Andersen, Hans Skifter. Boligpolitikken, krisen og de materielle levevilkår. Socialistiske Økonomers Småskrifter nr.5. København, Dansk Universitetspresse, 1979. p.33. Trans.

90. See 5.3 condominiums.

91. Hansen, Erik; Pihler, Mette. Lægeforeningens Boliger på Østerbro. København, Arkitektens Forlag, 1971. p.19.

92. Ibid.

93. -

94. Bredsdorff, Peter. 'Københavnske haveboligkvarterer'. I Boligkommissionen af 1918. København, 1942. p.150.

95. Fuerst, J.S. Public Housing in Europe and America. London, Croom Helm, 1974. p.89.

96. Ibid.

97. Hiort, op.cit.p.11.

98. Ibid. p.13.

99. Fuerst, op.cit. p.91.

100. Hiort, op.cit. p.25.

101. Boligen, op.cit. p.19.

102. Boligen, op.cit. p.19.

103. Danmarks Statistik, 'Boligopgørelsen pr.1.1.1982', op.cit.

104. Boligen, op.cit. p.34.

105. Interview nr.37.

106. Interview nr.72.

107. Ibid.

108. Boligselskabernes Landsforening. Statistik januar 1980. København, BL, 1980.

109. Svendsen, op.cit. p.5.

110. Interview no.68.

111. Ibid.

112. Høiland, Børge. Boligselskaber og beboerdemokrati. København, Københavns Almindelige Boligselskab, 1981. p.8.

113. Ibid.p.31.

114. Interview no.72.

115. Svendsen, op.cit.p.5. Trans.

116. -

117. Svendsen, op.cit. p.104.

118. See next subsection.

119. Hansen, Mogens Riise. Boligfinansieringsproblemer i samfundsøkonomisk belysning. SBI-rapport 108. Hørsholm, SBI, 1978. p.101.

120. Ibid.

121. Svendsen, op.cit. p.104.

122. Ibid.

123. -

124. Boligselskabernes Landsforening. Boligsikring - en hjælp til huslejen. København, BL, 1983. n.p.

125. Ibid.

126. The Union White Paper,op.cit. Table 7. Note that unemployed are included in the figure of 'economically non-active'.

127. National Dwelling and Housing Survey, op.cit. p.28. Note that unemployed are counted under their previous occupation.

128. Census Scotland 1981, op.cit. p.6. Note that unemployed are counted under their previous occupation. The SEG groups 16 & 17 are counted under 'not economically active'.

129. Interview no.68.

130. Boligen, op.cit. p.102.

131. Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 'Statistik..'. op.cit.p.13.

132. Weber, Lennart. 'Står i kø for at få små lejligheder'. Aktuelt, 16.11.83.

133. 'Enfamiliehuset - et stykke Danmarkshistorie'. Blød By. pp.15-20. Trans.

134. See 5.3 origins of Danish co-operative organisations.

135. The Union White Paper, op.cit. p.27.

136. Bonke et al, op.cit. p.10.

137. In 1966, this tax was called OMS, 'omsætningsafgift', and ran at 10 per cent. It is now called MOMS, 'meromsætningsafgift', and runs at 22 per cent.

138. Svendsen. op.cit.

139. Boligministeriet, 'Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1981-82', op.cit. pp.29-30.

140. Statistisk tabelværk 1980, op.cit. p.26.

141. Bonke et al, op.cit. p.32.

142. Ibid. p.42 ff.

143. Ibid. p.32. Trans.

144. -

145. Betænkning ang ejerlejligheder. Betænkning nr. 395/1965. Folketinget, 1965.

146. Ibid. p.131.

147. Ibid.

148. Statistisk tabelværk 1980, op.cit. Tabel 8.4A.

149. -

150. Boligministeriet,'Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1981-1982', op.cit. p.35.

151. Boligministeriet, 1975.

152. Harild, Jens; Jensen, Ole Krarup; Helweg-Larsen, Michael; Mogensen, Dan; Mølgaard, Kai; Nøhr, Ulla. Provinsbyernes fornyelse. Kommunernes Landsforenings projektgruppe om provinsbyernes byfornyelse. København, Kommunetryk, 1981. p.63.

153. Boligministeriet, 'Undersøgelse...', op.cit. p.26, 15.

154. Statistisk tabelværk 1980, op.cit.

155. Christensen et al, op.cit. p.41.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid. pp.204-205.

158. See 5.3 housing associations.

159. Christensen et al, op.cit. p.191.

160. Statistisk tabelværk, op.cit. Tabel 8.4A.

161. Clemmensen et al, op.cit. p.19.

162. Statistisk tabelværk, op.cit.Tabel 8.4A.

163. Christensen et al, op.cit. p.44.

164. -

165. Statistisk tabelværk, op.cit.

166. Hiort, op.cit. p.15.

167. Thustrup Hansen, H. 'Andelsboliger bør erstatte den kommunale udlejningsvirksomhed'. Berlingske Tidende, 31.8.83.

168. Københavns Kommune, op.cit.

169. Interview no.72.

170. Thustrup Hansen, op.cit.

Chapter Six + Framework and Procedures

6.1. Preface

Following the description of Danish urban renewal areas and their systems of housing provision, this chapter aims at providing an overview of renewal framework and procedures. In this case, the legislation and framework of Danish urban renewal is pursued in more detail, seen from the five approaches to housing improvement, as defined in Chapter 1. The purpose is to appraise the consequences of present arrangements for the residents in urban renewal areas. Furthermore, the chapter aims at providing the British reader with a background for the further analysis of organisational problems in Danish urban renewal.

The Urban Renewal Act, which became effective on the 1st of January, 1983, will in time replace the Sanering Act and the Housing Inspection Act. However, as common practice for urban renewal has not yet been established, the following mostly relate to present practice, with a mention given to the new Act where appropriate.

In order to understand the political background for this chapter, it must be seen in context with Chapter 6 about renewal policies in Copenhagen.

6.2. Improvement authorities and planning

Government agencies

The responsibility for housing and planning is divided between two Government departments, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of the Environment, each with its own Minister. The Ministry of Housing takes care of legislation, 'sanering' and urban renewal, public providers and state finance. The field of action for the Ministry of the Environment is legislation and administration of the physical environment, like planning and conservation.

A wide range of agencies within these ministries, or supported by central government, carry out the implementation of government policy.1

Planning system

Regional planning

Planning legislation was thoroughly revised from 1969 to 1975, aiming at creating a legislative framework for a comprehensive physical and economical planning of Denmark.[2] It is based on twelve regions; the Copenhagen area consists of three regions with a little more than one mill. inhabitants. A Council for the Metropolitan Area is responsible for the preparation of regional plans, based on district proposals.[3] The plans which in level are equivalent to the English Structure Plans indicate the policy for urban development, recreational areas, regional centres and communication and transport.4

District planning

A district plan is prepared for each district, of which only one out of eight has more than 25,000 inhabitants. The plan is in two parts, a structure part which specifies land use, and a framework for local planning, which also contains a - rather detailed - framevork for urban renewal. 5,6

Local planning

A local plan outlines the future use of a smaller area, a block of tenements, a village, within the district, giving guidelines for land use, new buildings, and about demolitions and preservation of existing buildings.7

In areas in need for rehabilitation, a local plan would typically include the number of buildings which were to be demolished, and the required number of amalgamations.

The content of the local plan must be in accordance with a district plan, or if a district plan has not been prepared, as in Copenhagen, with a preliminary framework, the so-called § 15-rammer.

In Denmark, there are no formalised plans or special funding for larger areas o the Inner City of Copenhagen, apart from the framework outlined in a future district plan, and the local plans/ sanering plans.8

Public participation in planning

Two of the main purposes of the Planning Act reform in the 70s were to decentralise planning and decision-making, and to involve the residents, both on a central and local level. A number of measures for public participation were included in the legislation-measures which have been repeated in the recent Urban Renewal Act. The principle is one of preparation by the LA, a period of public discussion, passing through the council, proceeding to the next level, and finally implementation.9

For a local plan, a suggestion is prepared by the LA, often initiated by a planning application for a larger site in the area. The plan is then published in a local newspaper on in a leaflet, followed by two months of public discussion. The council may then consider to include alternative proposals in the plan. After a final passing by the City Council,the plan is in operation.10

Experience with this procedure has shown that the periods of public discussion are too short for any counter-action, especially as the LA is not legally committed to public meetings etc. Furthermore, and especially in Copenhagen, residents' proposals are hardly ever included in the local plan. This is mainly due to the fact that a plan is usually fitted to an actual project, in accordance with the wishes of the client and the Council majority, but conflicting with the needs and wishes of the actual residents in the area.

The 'sanering'societies

Of particular interest in housing improvement are the three sanering societies, established ten to fifteen years ago - a type of public agency which is unknown in Britain.

The three sanering societies in operation organise nearly all state-subsidized urban renewal in Denmark. Even though only half of the dwellings in need of renovation are situated in Copenhagen, 90 per cent of the societies' activities are based here.11

The task of these societies is to plan and carry out 'sanering' and urban renewal, including:

(i) preparation of 'sanering'plans

(ii) acquisition of property in future 'sanering' areas for improvement of demolition

(iii) decanting of residents

(iv) development work - if necessary

(v) acting as agents for the LA, dealing with co-ownerships and owner-occupiers.12

Let us look at their organisation in more detail: a 'sanering' society like the Non-profit Society for Sanering and Urban Renewal, has seventeen members on its management committee, of which eleven are elected by the HA movement and its organisations.[13] The society has its field of action in the provincial towns; however, its headquarters are based in Copenhagen with a staff around sixty people, also constituting the staff of the Copenhagen Sanering Society.

In 1981, the Copenhagen Sanering Society worked on twelve sanering plans with 4,313 dwellings, only part of them, however, owned by the society. Between them, the three societies in operation own or administrate 3,000 - 4,000 dwellings all over the country.14

The political intentions embodied in the establishment of the sanering societies were characterised by efficiency and control, in gathering all expertise in central units instead of decentralising knowledge and experience to the local authorities. As a result of this, only very few LAs employ their own urban renewal staff. Therefore, urban renewal all over the country is mainly controlled from Copenhagen, a fact which is the subject of many complaints from many provincial district councils and residents in 'sanering'areas.[15] These difficulties have been recognised politically, and in the new Urban Renewal Act, the LAs are supposed to be more involved in urban renewal. According to the Act,the preparation of sanering plans may be taken over by the LA staff and their consultants/ action teams, while the sanering societies may assume a role like the British Housing Corporation, financial controller and 'policeman'.16

Central government subsidies to Copenhagen

The Copenhagen District Council obtains its income from various sources: state subsidies, land taxes and personal district income taxes which is at present, in Copenhagen, around 28 per cent of the total income.

State subsidy is given en bloc. These subsidies are not assessed objectively, after actual needs of the individual districts, but given on the base of an average level of provision of public services in an average district. But Copenhagen is far from being an average district; one-fourth of its inhabitants are OAPs, and serving as a centre for national administration and education, its level of provision has to be high.

Therefore, the District Council is perpetually engaged in negotiations with Central Government for an increase in these block grants, an increase - or redistribution - which is not likely to be given in the present situation of public expenditure cuts.

The defecit in Copenhagen's budget was in 1982 around D.Kr. 750 mill., which was covered through lending, and through an increase in the level of income taxes to the district. In the LA budget for 1982, the general subsidies received from the State was about one-third of the budget. 17

The main expenditure heads within which the LA supports housing are:

(i) housing association, new build

(ii) sanering. If the cash limit for central government is D.Kr. 120 mill.

(iii) backyard clearance. Usually D.Kr. 7 - 10 mill.

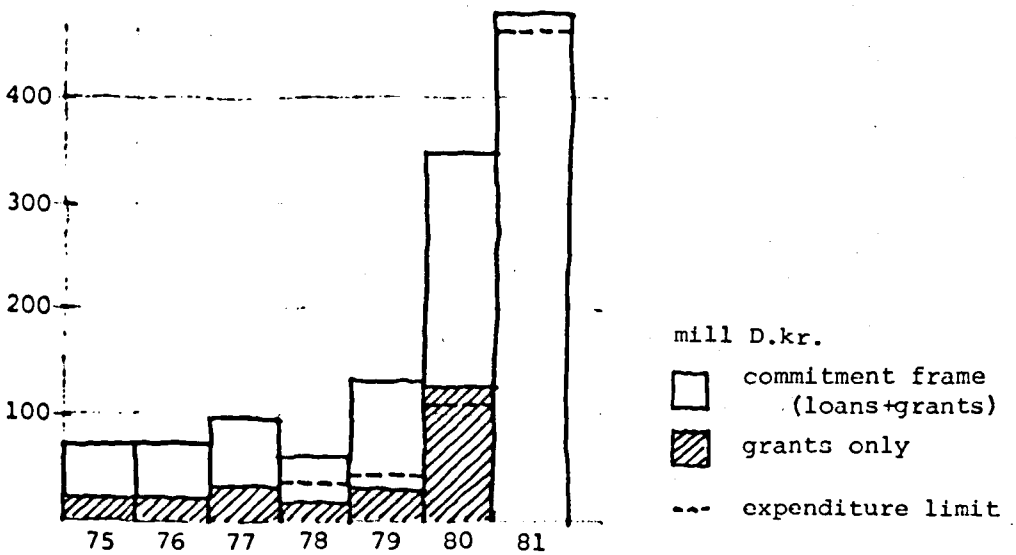
Furthermore, the council contributes towards establishment of private co-ownerships, the municipal Conservation Fund, rent allowance and upkeep of the council's own properties.18

Opposite to overall council funding, Central Government subsidy to sanering has been given to actual projects, as a subsidy to cover 50 per cent of the sanering shortfall. The sanering

subsidies are allocated on a national basis according to the nature of the project and its number in the queue.[19] With Copenhagen having the most pressing needs for housing improvement, 80 per cent of the subsidies went to Copenhagen in 1981.[20] The Ministry of Housing assesses the annual expenditure and allocates a certain amount to this expenditure limit, at present D.Kr. 120 mill. per year.

The commitment frame of subsidies to sanering has been heavily raised during the last two years.

26 Subsidies allocated to sanering. Denmark. 1975-1981



21

In a report prepared by the Ministry of Housing in 1980, the future need for investment in sanering and urban renewal was assessed to a total sum of D.Kr. 30,000 mill. Of this investment, 65 per cent are needed in the privately rented sector, and 45 per cent in the Copenhagen area.22

According to present sanering legislation, the expenses connected with sanering have in each case been allocated on a detailed budget, approved for each property by the Ministry of Housing. In the Urban Renewal Act, the district councils are given a higher degree of control over urban renewal, inasmuch as central government subsidy is given as a block grant on the basis of four-year budgets for urban renewal. These grants will be allocated on the basis of 'objective criteria', possibly according to need.23

In being allocated a block grant, each district council will be able to follow its own strategy for urban renewal, the consequences for overall investment being rather unpredictable.

Concluding remarks

The revision of the planning system aimed at a decentralisation of planning and decision-making to the local authorities. These intentions have been followed in the Urban Renewal Act, leaving the districts with the main responsibility for carrying through urban renewal. It remains to be seen whether the districts will organise these activities without the assistance of a sanering society, and how.

6.3. Sanitary positions

History and legislation

The first Sanering Act dates from 1939:

> 'With the intention of improving housing conditions, this aims to:
>
> 1) remove or improve dwellings in need of rehabilitation and dwellings which constitute a health risk.
> 2) promote the renewal of urban areas in need of rehabilitation
> 3) assist households in finding rehousing appropriate for their needs.
> 4) provide the necessary and economic base for an increased sanering activity'.24

The intentions of the introduction of sanering was three-fold: to raise employment, to increase the demand for new-build flats - of which there was a surplus in 1939 - and to dissolve the often large communities in areas of urban deprivation.[25]

Central Government made a subsidy available of 50 per cent of the sanering shortfall, while the rest of the expense was financed through state loans.

However, through the 40s and 50s the small amount of house building eventually created a housing need; this is why the 1959 Act sought to preserve instead of demolish.[26] In this act, the districts were required to prepare sanering plans, and rules on decanting were introduced.

During the following ten years, sanering did not make very much progress, mainly due to the general economic growth and dispersal of the population to new-built 'parcelhuse' in the suburbs, and only about 5,000 dwellings were subject to sanering between 1959 and 1969.

In the 60s, 'sanering' meant slum clearance. Of the 22 sanering plans approved by the Ministry of Housing, prior to 1976, only two were mainly concerned with rehabilitation.27

In 1969, the Act was reorganised and certain effective changes made. Dwelling surveys were introduced. State subsidy to sanering was increased, and tenants who were rehoused were given a rent allowance. Finally, the sanering societies were introduced as agents for the LA in matters of administration and finance.28

Between 1972 and 1977, the average number of dwellings subject to sanering was around 2,500 each year. Rules for public participation were included in 1973. Landlords and tenants had to be informed before the sanering plan passed the district council, with no obligation for the council, however, to include any objections in the plan.29

Some major improvements were included in the Sanering Act (1980):

- the State brings down interest rates on the credit society loans by subsidizing the difference between the actual interest rate and a rate of 6 per cent per annum

- dwellings which have been comprehensively developed and improved can be sold as co-ownerships.
- rules are laid down about reclaim of subsidy if an improved flat is parcelled out as condominiums and sold
- co-ownerships are eligible for sanering subsidy.30

Extensive rules about private landlords' compulsory involvement in decanting, were furthermore included in the Act.

The recent Urban Renewal Act (1982) unites the legislation on urban renewal, with the intention of:

'1) implementing urban renewal in areas in need of rehabilitation
2) carrying through improvements in sub-standard dwellings and dwellings in need of rehabilitation
3) remove unhealthy conditions and fire risks in all buildings
4) involving landlords, owner-occupiers and tenants in planning and implementation of housing improvement and urban renewal'.31

The responsibility for the implementation of these demands rests firmly with the district councils.

Compared to former legislation, the intentions expressed include sanitary as well as social approaches to urban renewal, inasmuch as landlords and residents are now statutorily involved in the procedure of housing improvement.

Assessment of dwellings

The Housing Inspection Act of 1974 provides the criteria against which the standard and condition of dwellings are assessed.[32] The actual inspection is carried out by the Secretariat of the Housing Commission, which may be established in each district by the City Council, in Copenhagen with two representatives from tenants' and landlords' organisation, and five other members who are politically appointed.

The standard which dwellings have to fulfil are:

'a. Sufficient protection against damp, cold and heat
b. Satisfactory natural daylight
c. Satisfactory possibility for ventilation
d. Possibility for sufficient heating

e. Access to drinking water

f. Sufficient drainage for waste water

g. Sufficient access to WC...'.33

As in Britain, the assessment is fairly individual, and varies from district to district. The emphasis on certain criteria are different in the two countries: in Denmark, external waste pipes are not considered to be 'sufficient' in most Danish districts, which is certainly not the case in Britain.34

If a dwelling does not fulfil these requirements, the owner of the property is given a time limit during which to correct the matter. If not, the property may be condemned which means that it cannot be inhabited after the termination of another time limit set by the Commission. This limit varies between two years (outside toilet) and fifteen years (i.e. daylight problems).35

Furthermore, all districts above 25,000 inhabitants have to collect their assessment in a comprehensive Dwelling Survey[36] on the basis of this survey a Sanering Chronology is prepared. This plan states the sequence of sanering plans, and the overall demand for decanting. The Dwelling Surveys concentrate on technical aspects of urban deprivation with the result that the Sanering Chronology which sets out the sequence of sanering declarations is purely based on technical assessments as well.

The Housing Commission furthermore controls fire security through the Fire Security Act 1976.[37] This act applies certain requirements to all pre-1900 dwellings, in Copenhagen mostly 5-storey tenement-blocks. The act aims at diminishing the fire risks and improving fire escapes, and eventually demolishing the worst 'fire traps'.

The requirements of the act include safety openings, sufficient access for the fire engines in back yards and fire insulation within the closes and inside the flats. Note that these requirements are applied to all buildings, even if thery were perfectly legal at the time of construction.

Framework

The LA can intervene outside a sanering area, to a limited

extent. A single property may be condemned, thereby starting a process of improvement; or in a single property, condemned or not, the landlord or the tenants may want improvement. However, no direct state subsidy is given towards this, and improvement works are financed through raised rent, cost rent.

According to the Urban Renewal Act, the improvement of a single property may be given direct subsidy, if the requirements for an improvement of surrounding areas have been met, and if the landlord and more than 50 per cent of the tenants are in favour of the improvement.[38] It will be interesting to see what impact this paragraph will have on improvement of scattered property, and how the assessment of the area 'standard' will be defined.

An owner-occupier in a similar position is given no grants towards improving his flat; however, the credit societies may lend him money because of the increased value of the flat.

The main sanitary legislation of housing improvement is concerned with declaration of sanering areas, and improvement of the standard and condition of dwellings within these areas. In the sanering plan, the sanering area is defined, and demands to existing buildings and improvement of amenity areas outlined, together with a list of properties which the LA finds it necessary to acquire, for demolition or in order to carry through housing improvement.39

The size of a sanering area varies. In Copenhagen, it may be a block or two, with flats. In 1981, the average number of dwellings in one sanering area was 360 dwellings (before sanering).[40] The Helhedsplan for Nørrebro consisted of 48 blocks with 11,500 dwellings.[41] In a provincial town, a sanering plan could include a block of 50 - 100 dwellings, as in the provincial town of Nyborg, where a comprehensive sanering plan for the town centre includes 1,000 dwellings.42

A sanering plan is prepared by:

- a sanering society, or
- a district council, or
- a group of owners, representing more than 50 per cent of the property value in the area.

Usually one of the sanering societies prepares the sanering plan on the request of the LA. A group of owners or tenants may prepare a survey and a plan; however, only the LA or the sanering society have the power to proceed with its implementation.[43]

After having prepared a sanering plan, the residents and the landlords must be informed, with options for decanting and subsidies to carry through the improvements. After a period of six weeks, in which the parties involved may submit alternative proposals, the sanering society or the LA may pass the plan, and afterwards submit it to a final sanction by the Ministry of Housing.[44] The alternative proposals from residents have to be submitted with it, to the Minister. If there is no local plan for the area, the LA must prepare one and submit it together with the sanering plan. The relationship between the two plan types is not clear. According to the Urban Renewal Act, a local plan must be submitted and passed through the council, prior to the submission of a sanering plan; however, the two planning systems should be further co-ordinated.[45]

When the Minister of Housing has approved of the sanering plan, it is circulated to the involved owners, and its proposals are imposed as a legal restriction on the property. Time limits within which the owners are requested to prepare a project and carry out the improvements, are set out.[46]

An owner may require the LA/sanering society to take over the property if he cannot carry through the improvements.

The LA may implement the requirements at the owner's expense.

Funding

A financial plan for the sanering is submitted to the Minister of Housing together with the sanering plan. At present, Central Government finances sanering through:

(i) subsidies to cover 50 or 75 per cent of the sanering shortfall

(ii) preliminary loans at low rate to the District

(iii) subsidy to bring down interest rates from the actual interest rate of e.g. 20 per cent to an approved rate of 5 per cent p.a.

The rest is financed through:

(iv) credit society loans.47,48

The sanering shortfall is the difference between the cost of the renovation, and the revenue the buildings may fetch after renovation - very much like the English Housing Association Grant system. 50 per cent of this shortfall is paid by Central government and 50 per cent by the district. If the buildings in the area have aesthetical or historical qualities, the state may cover 75 per cent of the shortfall. The houses do not have to be listed to qualify.

As an average, the sanering shortfall (1981) is about D.Kr. 3,000 per square meter, while the cost price per square meter for an average renovation is D.Kr. 6,000 and 9,000 to 10,000 for special renovations with Conservation interests.49

When the sanering is finished, the accounts are settled, the sanering shortfall subsidy given, and the loans converted to credit society loans, Central Government then pays the difference between the actual credit society rate and the guaranteed six per cent rate for four years. After the four years, the subsidy is phased down over a number of years, subsequently raising the (cost) rents.50

In the Urban Renewal Act, a new system of finance, based on index-linked loans, has been introduced.[51] This gives the LAs an increased financial responsibility in sanering. The principle is still state subsidy of 50 per cent of the shortfall. However, the LA has to provide the money, and is furthermore fully responsible for environmental improvement, and improvement of the physical and social infrastructure.52

Procedure

In most cases, a sanering plan is administered by a sanering society. In a few districts with sanering problems of a certain size and character, i.e. conservation interests involved, the LA has chosen to carry out sanering themselves, for example Helsingør, Haderslev and Odense.

In the Urban Renewal Act, however, the main tendency is for the

districts and not the sanering societies to be used as the 'main driver' of housing improvement and urban renewal.[53] It is their task to plan, to manage and to carry out sanering, even though there is very little tradition of this; a number of organisational models have been suggested, but none chosen.

Decanting is the formal responsibility of the LA, which in most cases passes it on to a sanering society.[54] The small number of accessible flats for decanting has for many years made the decanting procedure the reason for the slow progress of sanering.
However, in the last few years, the Copenhagen Sanering Society's office for decanting - managing all decanting in the Copenhagen area - has had a sufficient number of flats,[55] probably due to more efficient allocation and less activity.

In the Urban Renewal Act, some provisions have been made for decanting in the actual renewal areas. Of all the privately let flats which become vacant in the area, the LA will have at their disposal every third for rehousing and for decanting. This goes for HAs as well, while every second flat in council ownership is to be used for this purpose.

After the council has passed the final sanering plan, the private landlord within the sanering area must offer all vacant flats for decanting.56

Tenants who are rehoused according to the Act, have a right to an extra allowance, which amounts to the difference between the old and the new rent, phased down over five years. If the new rent is more than 25 per cent of the household income, the special rent allowance is phased down over ten years.57

Also co-ownership tenants in a sanering area are now entitled to a rent allowance to cover the increase of 'rent' in their flat due to compulsory improvement. This is 75 per cent of the 'rent' increase the first year and a 20 per cent reduction over the next five years.58

Concluding remarks

In sanering, the main purpose was to remove or improve dwellings

which constituted a health risk. This has mainly been interpreted as a question of housing standard and number of basic amenities, and sufficient daylight and fresh air. Because of these traditions for sanitary improvement, many politicians and officers of the sanering 'establishment' still hold a strictly sanitary view to housing improvement. A former chairman of the sanering society management committee has interpreted the main task of the society as 'providing basis amenities like toilet and bath indoors for the population'.59

These aims have been achieved to some extent inasmuch as the housing standard on a national average has been raised during the last 20 - 30 years; there are, e.g., very few dwellings left with an internal WC.

However, with the change of policies from new built to rehabilitation, there are some inherent problems in applying a (still higher) housing standard, because of the physical restrictions of the older building stock; a preference will therefore have to be taken, between one objective and the other.

6.4. Environmental provisions

Background

The predominant housing type in Danish urban areas is a flat in a tenement where the traditional dream of a garden can only be fulfilled with difficulty. In many working-class areas, the residents have compensated through acquiring a 'kolonihave', an allotment garden, a small piece of land with a shed or summerhouse on the outskirts of the larger towns and cities.

Like in other countries, fresh air, open spaces and lots of daylight were specifically pursued in the 20s and 30s; therefore, many of the tenements built in inter-war years were large blocks of five-storey tenements with no side- or back buildings. Here, the large garden - or backyard depending on the space available - were supposed to fulfil the residents' need for amenity areas.

When state-subsidized housing improvement started to become an

issue in the 60s, the first number of sanerings, in Copenhagen, continued this environmental tradition. Projects for tenement schemes cleared all side- and back buildings while leaving the front houses, towards the street. A garden - or a backyard - or a car park - was then established for an environmental as well as for sanitary reasons. However, as daylight conditions are often poor, upkeep and maintenance of these gardens are difficult, and in many projects the backspace is turned into a new if larger backyard, empty spaces with no point for identification.

However, during the last ten years, Copenhagen policy on backyard clearance has changed, and schemes of often reasonable quality have emerged from the sanering machine. Furthermore, the Copenhagen City Council has formed an office for backyard clearance which - independantly from housing rehabilitation - supervises and subsidizes programmes for backyard improvement in the Inner City.

Backyard clearance

This is a method applied to the amenity areas within the backyards of 19th century five-storey blocks of tenements, mainly in Copenhagen.

These amenity areas are usually cluttered up with fences, bicycle sheds, old toilets, former coal sheds, wash-houses, in some cases smaller workshops or blocks of dwellings. There are approximately 240,000 flats in blocks of this condition. Of these, around 150,000 mainly contain fences and small sheds which are easy and inexpensive to clear.60

There are three legislative frameworks for backyard clearance:

a. Voluntary clearance

This implies that all tenants have agreed to pay their part of the cost - an agreement difficult to obtain, especially in blocks of mixed ownership. It is financed through ordinary credit society loans and paid over and above the rent.

b. District clearance

If the LA considers the sheds etc. in the backyard to constitute a health risk, a clearance is implemented. The LA pays a subsidy to bring down interest rates on a credit society loan to 6½ per cent. Instalment and the reduced interests rates are then paid by the tenants through their cost rent.

c. Sanering clearance

Backyard clearance may be done with reference to the Sanering Act:

- in single blocks, demolishing industrial buildings and workshops within a block, after having removed the industries
- in a future sanering area, demolishing buildings which constitute an immediate fire and health risk to the residents. In both cases, clearance is financed like sanering.

These schemes have an important impact for the residents of inner city areas, especially in Copenhagen. They provide pleasant and undisturbed amenity areas, with space for common activities and play areas for smaller children. In addition to this experiments are being made with streets being included in amenity areas by road closures and street furnishing.

However, even very inventive schemes for backyard clearance cannot disguise the fact that in many smaller blocks, it is not possible to establish sufficient amenity areas in the existing backyards, especially not for families with children.

'Area' improvement

Providing larger recreational areas is difficult within the City limits, without demolishing whole blocks. Decisions of this character may be taken in district plans; however, the provision of more recreational facilities through demolition of whole blocks of flats is in most districts, and esepcially in Copenhagen,

considered to be inappropriate. As a result of this policy, the residents in the Inner Areas of Copenhagen cannot obtain sufficient recreational facilities. However, 'area' improvement is both environmental improvement like trees, play spaces and road closures, but also improvement in social infrastructure, provision of public and private service. The need for amenity areas is not merely a sanitary requirement to be fulfilled, and cannot be separated from the more overall aspects of urban renewal.

In present planning legislation, there is no statutory funding for either improvement or amenity areas or increased investment for improving the infrastructure. This is supposed to be included in the LA's sector planning. One exception is sanering plans where a small amount is allowed for improvement of amenity areas.

The Urban Renewal Act increases the responsibility of the local authority for providing environmental improvements. According to the Act, 'area improvement' must be implemented prior to any subsidized housing improvement. But Central Government funding will mainly be allocated to districts with housing problems, leaving the LAs to bear the full cost of area improvement.[61] As there is no Central Government funding for this purpose, the intentions and ambitions for area improvement may be difficult to fulfil, thereby - again - concentrating the activities in improvement of housing.

6.5. Conservation provisions

Legislation

Buildings are protected through the Preservation of Buildings Act, with the aim of keeping certain qualities intact, and of subordinating the remaining parts of the building to the enchancement of these qualities.

Before 1918, there were no real protection for buildings of historical importance. It felt like a blow for Copenhagen when a number of the City's most distinguished buildings in the beginning of this century were demolished and banks and stores built instead; a loss felt to such an extent that it initiated

a protective act, the Building Preservation Act of 1918.62

The act included an age criteria for listing buildings, to be 'normally more than a hundred years of age' - a principle that is still in use. Thus the act is a part of the antiquarian legislation.

Assessment

A government agency, The National Agency for the Protection of Nature, Monuments and Sites, and within this The Historic Buildings Council, 'Det særlige Bygningssyn' (DsB) is the Central Government authority for conservation. The ten members of the DsB are appointed by the Minister of the Environment after recommendation of a number of conservation organisations, both public and private. Two members are politically appointed. The DsB co-operates closely with The Government Conservation of Buildings Fund, which contributes financially to special projects on listing and conservation, also to non-listed buildings.63

Buildings with a special architectural or cultural-historical importance, older than one hundred years can be listed. The age criteria 'may be abandoned if it is motivated in the 'exquisite qualities' of the object or other very special circumstances.[64] However, this rarely happens.

Both buildings, part of buildings (e.g. balustrades) and other architectural objects may be included in the list. If the immediate environment of a listed building 'is part of a comprehensive design worthy of protection' (like courtyards, squares, pavements, gardens, parks) they can be listed too.65

By January 1, 1980 there were 2,844 listed buildings in Denmark. This is proportionally much less than the number of listed buildings in England. In 1978, 633 or 30 per cent had an outstanding status, of these 40 per cent in the Metropolitan area of Copenhagen.66

Anybody may suggest a building to be listed, by sending a report to the DsB. When the Minister of the Environment has confirmed this listing, the building is included in the Register. As the criteria of age has not changed, only very few buildings

are listed each year.[67]

The Council cannot issue a preservation notice - only when the case has worked its way through the system to the Minister is the building protected against demolition. Note that the districts are not actually involved in the listing process, as in Britain.

In addition to listed buildings of special interest, also more modest buildings are assessed from a conservation point of view through the Conservation Surveys. These surveys have been carried out by the National Museum (in co-operation with the DsB) since the middle 60s.[68] In addition to this, private foundations and district councils have, with the help of consultants, in several cases prepared their own survey reports.

A survey report would typically include a town center or a small area, with from 150 to 800 properties. The buildings are assessed for their historical and archaeological value, and after this assessment labelled 'worthy for conservation' and 'others'.

These museum surveys are typically rather superficial; they had, however, a certain importance for the Conservation Movement in the 60s and 70s, especially in the provincial towns. As the reports are area-based, this is similar to the English Conservation areas. But still, the implementation of any recommendations in the report is entirely a decision of the District Council. Therefore, the impact on conservation of these Conservation Surveys depends on local initiative and the persistance of the local conservation lobby.

Framework and procedure

According to the traditional Danish conservation legislation, central and local government do not organise conservation projects, but fund and control private activity.

The owner or resident of a listed building is obliged to keep the building wind- and weatherproof, or 'water tight in roof and walls'.[69] With a listed building, all internal and external changes, and housing improvement, will require Listed Building Consent. External changes on buildings within 'conservation areas' require special LA permission, while internal improvements in

these areas must be 'in accordance' with building regulations.70

Demolition of a listed building requires a permission from the DsB. If an application is turned down, the owner may demand the building to be acquired by compulsory purchase, in return for providing documentation for loss of money with the demolition, compared with other non-listed buildings of similar location and use. This is a relatively new paragraph which in practice will make it very difficult to demolish a listed building.

Buildings which have received DsB funding for restoration cannot be demolished.

For buildings which are considered to be 'worthy of conservation', the LA may grant a permission for demolition. The preservation of this category of buildings is therefore entirely up to the LA and the persistence of the local conservation lobby.

Funding

The DsB gives grants to cover part of the expenses on restoration. The grant is only given to listed buildings, and usually to conservation works which will preserve and enchance its qualities. Thus, the grant is not given to improvement works like installing a new bathroom. The level of grants given is considerably lower than in Britain. The amount given depends on the DsB's assessment of the quality of the building, and the owner's financial capacity. The grant usually covers 20 per cent of the eligible restoration works. The owner may get additional support through allocation of building materials, i.e. old roof tiles, or bricks of special dimensions.

Funding has increased during the last years, from D.Kr. 2,5 mill. in 1979 to D.Kr. 10 mill. in 1981 and 1982.[71] Additional funding for restoration work and acquisition of listed buildings is provided through the Government Conservation of Buildings Fund.[72] These subsidies which are given as low-interest loans add a further D.Kr. 5 mill. to conservation subsidies (1980). But still, grants of this size are inadequate, especially after the introduction of VAT (at present 22 per cent) to restoration works. An average grant from the DsB is thus £ 250 per listed building, considerably less than in England. With the relatively high level of grants in England, the English owner of a listed building is

in a far better position than his Danish equivalent, with a consequently higher quality of maintenance and restoration work.

Conclusion

Through these statutory provisions, a large part of the oldest building stock is now safely protected against demolition. However, separating older buildings into a category which is protected and a category which is not will obviously lead to the conclusion that the latter is not worthy of preservation.

The criteria for listing and for conservation surveys which are mainly historically architecturally, and archaelogically based, have thus led to destruction of buildings with other, more modest qualities and values, like environmental qualities or local importance.

Restoration seems to be well controlled, but far from adequately funded. The Danish system is an encouragement system, liberal, with very little direct central or local government subsidy. The conservation therefore depends very much on the indirect subsidies, improvement paid by the tenants in a cost rent, and expectations of a later profit by selling the property.

6.6. Economic consideration

Arguments for rehabilitation

In a report from Byggeriets Udviklingsråd, a government commission, the political preference for rehabilitation instead of new build is being based in the following economic argument:

- employment; the employment effect of urban renewal is higher than new build
- resources; rehabilitation will utilise the resources bound in older housing and the present infra-structure
- balance of payments; rehabilitation will reduce the need for expensive and energy consuming building materials, thereby reducing the need for import with a positive result for the balance of payments.73

Concerning the effect of employment of rehabilitation, a calculation has been attempted by the Danish Institute of Building Research, on the additional number of jobs for each

D.Kr. 1,000 mill. invested:

27 Sanering subsidies. Employment effect. Denmark

	Number of additional people employed		
	in the building sector	in connected trades	in all
Repairs and maintenance	8,000	1,500	9,000
New building	3,700	3,000	6,700

74

The total number of skilled workers in the building sector being about 18,000 (1980), a priority for rehabilitation would reduce unemployment considerably.75

In terms of balance of payments, the Danish Workmens' Council has assessed the economic effect on import of new built as opposed to rehabilitation. This analysis reveals that for the same investment, new built requires 75 per cent higher imports than rehabilitation.76

Therefore, a policy of rehabilitation holds a high priority in economic as well as in other contexts, for both the former and the present government. Erling Olsen, a former Minister of Housing, has expressed these preferences thus:

> 'It must be the right way for Central Government to promote renovation in the older housing stock, and its amenity areas,...This gives a better use of existing systems, installations and investment, and this will contribute to solve problems of unemployment without straining the balance of payments...'77

In the effort to fulfil these aims, there are, however, a number of economic determintants against the retention of the existing building stock, determinants which may influence local policies in particular:

- the present structure of the building sector is geared towards industrialisation, and organised as mass-production of identical units by both skilled and unskilled labour. Rehabilitation requires individual solutions and relatively specialised craftmanship. The systems of organising and

administrating building works cannot be transferred directly to rehabilitation, and the skills and training required differs from new built to rehabilitation. Therefore, the present capacity of the industrialised housing machine cannot be fully utilised in rehabilitation

- for the building sector as a whole, there are relatively more unemployed among the unskilled than the skilled workers and craftsmen. Therefore, the employment effect of rehabilitation will not benefit those groups which are most in need of jobs and employment
- in terms of housing standard and condition, it is generally assumed that older buildings can never reach the high level of housing standard and technical durability of a new house. Comparing rehabilitation and new built it is furthermore assumed that the state will get 'more' in terms of housing standard and condition for its subsidy in new built as compared to renovation.

These conflicting interests in urban renewal are well illustrated in the Copenhagen context, and will be described later.

Economic control through cost limits

Central Government controls the level of rehabilitation costs by setting a cost limit beyond which a building is considered to be too expensive to rehabilitate and should be replaced with new built. In the circular detailing the provisions of the Urban Renewal Act, the cost limit was set to D.Kr. 4,000 - 4,500 per square meter corresponding to 75 per cent of the yardstick for new built.[78]

Recently, it has been discussed in the Ministry of Housing whether the cost limit should equal the yardstick for new HA building. A result of this increase would be retention of a larger part of the sub-standard building stock, more rehabilitation and therefore better chances for the present residents to stay. In the context of this thesis, this development therefore has a number of advantages.

However, the question is whether a fixed cost limit is a regulator which is sophisticated enough when concerning urban renewal and the many different building types involved. In terms of building costs rehabilitation is often more expensive than new built; a recent restoration project in Copenhagen cost nearly three times as much as this.79

A method of analysis which involves wider approaches and costs has not been developed in a Danish context.

Methods for housing improvement

Central Government has for a number of reasons - social, economic, historico-cultural and environmental-decided to follow a policy of rehabilitation instead of new built. The point of departure for urban renewal is thus a low-standard building stock, inhabited by a conglomerate of residents, the building stock being rehabilitated to a certain standard with the present residents staying in their flats or in the area, and in a way which makes the best use of public and especially LA subsidy.

In other words, the question is not whether but how these dwellings should be improved. Which housing standard and condition should be aimed at? And which standard will give the best value for money? In this area as well, only few analyses of a more comprehensive character have been carried out.

In a recent report from the SBI on housing improvement and local authority expenditure, by Jeppe Koefoed Als, two alternative projects for the same estate are analysed.[80] One project is of a basic standard, the other of a standard close to new built. The costs of both projects are analysed, in terms of LA subsidy, including personal subsidies to individual tenants.[81] The result is that the LA's share of the total costs will increase with increasing standards of rehabilitation. Therefore, Als concludes that for each D.Kr. invested in housing improvement, the LA will get more urban renewal activity and employment in carrying out limited improvements in a large number, instead of comprehensive improvements in a smaller number of dwellings.[82] In other words: economic arguments will in the short term speak for a limited effort in urban renewal.

Conclusion

Any renovation will consist of two elements: a general repair, and a housing improvement, resulting in a higher housing standard than before. Repairs are necessary in all circumstances, even though the methods may vary. Concerning housing improvement, both level of improvement and method may vary, being a subject of political decisions. In terms of public expenditure, a high standard of housing improvement is equivalent to less housing improvement within the limited resources available. This is partly due to the fact that the investment per dwelling is higher, but also that the subsidy will increase with a higher standard of improvement. A political priority must then be chosen between a policy which in short terms results in as many improved dwellings as possible, and a longer-term policy where the improved dwellings are expected to fulfil a high standard for a number of years to come.

In terms of economy, there are clear advantages for rehabilitation instead of new built. However, a number of economic determinants do not favour rehabilitation: the structure of the building sector, the skills of the unemployed and the technical quality of housing improvement. Therefore, a continuing overall preference for rehabilitation will in the long term call for a costly restruction of the building sector.

6.7. Social provisions

Preface

In Chapter 1, the social approach and its application to urban renewal was defined as the efforts to introduce a procedure which will preserve and strengthen the present community, at a scale agreed with the present residents. In the context of this chapter, the provisions for resident influence during a process of housing improvement will be accounted for, by the individual tenant and for the residents as a group. Furthermore, the present arrangements for decanting and their consequences for the residents in Danish urban renewal areas will be discussed.

Legislation and framework

The framework of present legislation gives a number of opportunities for the individual tenant to express himself. There are different rules for private tenants and for owner-occupiers, inside and outside a sanering area. The following section concentrates on the private tenants and their statutory rights of participation.

Outside a sanering area, the tenant is not really involved. The landlord may decide on improvements up to a certain cost limit, without the consent of the tenant.[83] Above that limit, the tenant must be offered rehousing, of the 'same standard and condition' as the present dwelling, and to a 'reasonable' rent. Giving considerable scope for interpretation, this does, however, offer a relative security for the single tenant.

There are different rules for private tenants inside and outside a sanering area against eviction, but no right of participation. If a tenement contains more than twelve dwellings (two closes), tenants may decide to establish a tenants' representation. This gives the tenants a right to more information, but still no real influence.[84] However, the arrangement tends to bring tenants closer together, because they have an opportunity for speaking to eachother.

In many cases, especially in the fringe areas of Copenhagen, the landlords have forced improvements on the tenants, who in their turn may take action against this. In Godsbanegade on Vesterbro, the tenants established a successful blockade to prevent craftsmen from entering the close.[85] Even though blockades are traditional working class tactics, this blockade was criminalised in court, and the involved tenants and activists were fined.

The private tenant in a sanering area has with the present rules even less control over what is happening in his flat. However, the options of a veto within the Urban Renewal Act gives the individual tenant and the tenants in a close some control over housing improvement.[86] If a majority of the tenants in a close oppose housing improvement, only basic improvements may be carried through: installation of central heating, pipes and

sewage for later installation of bath, fire security measures, and relief of unhealthy conditions.

The individual tenant/co-owner/owner-occupier who does not want the dwelling improved, may veto the decisions as well, and the improvements which go beyond the above mentioned criteria, is thus postponed until the tenant moves.[87] This allows the tenant to stay in the flat, but when the tenant moves the flat will be improved.

Unlike the British HAA tenant, the tenant who is decanted, cannot return to his flat. The rules for rent allowance only allow for one straight move; till recently, the option of returning to one's former flat has not been open to the tenant, only in exceptional circumstances. Like many other traditional approaches, this does, however, change gradually:

In the most recent Sanering Act, and the Urban Renewal Act new rules for tenant return apply to those tenements which have been taken over by the Sanering Society as part of a renovation.[88] After rehabilitation, these properties must be offered as a private co-ownership to previous tenants, on fixed terms, and with an income-related subsidy scaling down over a number of years.

This is extended in the Urban Renewal Act. The property will - after renovation, not before - be offered to the former tenants as either a private co-ownership or a non-profit co-operative.[89]

If the residents decide to form a private co-ownership, they will have to deposit around D.Kr. 20,000 and pay a considerable rent after that - but they will be able to get their deposit back, regulated for inflation etc., when they move, as well as the value of the improvements carried through during their tenure.

The private co-ownerships see a traditional tenure in urban renewal areas; in Chapter 5, the organisation of this tenure and the consequences for present tenants are outlined.[90] In the new type of private co-ownerships referred to above, the requirements for funding which the residents have to meet are even higher than in other private co-ownerships, with the result that even fewer of the present residents will be able to gain access to these co-ownerships.

The arrangements laid out for non-profit co-operatives seem relatively more managable for former low-income tenants. A small deposit is paid, but a relatively high rent which is, however, brought down by income-related subsidies to the individual tenant. As opposed to co-ownerships, non-profit co-operatives are a new tenure with no traditions in older buildings. It remains to be seen how the more detailed provisions for its establishment may enchance present residents' influence on urban renewal.

Residents as a group in sanering areas do not have any right to be consulted even though the Sanering Act of 1973 speaks of co-operation between three parties, including the residents.[91] Accordingly, the Urban Renewal Act contains few provisions for community participation. The veto rights are firmly placed at the end of the scale, being a right of the individual tenant.

However, in § 9 of the Act, an option for a higher degree of residents' involvement is mentioned.[92] The paragraph imposes a duty for the Council to publish a statement for a larger area, prior to any housing action. This statement describes the overall characteristica for the area and the local problems of planning and urban renewal, the principles for rehousing, the extent of demolitions and retention of buildings, housing improvement, and guidelines for area improvement.

The paragraph specifically mentions the involvement of landlords, owner-occupiers and landlords in the procedure; as yet, only a few projects have analysed the way in which these groups could be involved. An SBI project in Ringsted, a large provincial town, has been carried through analysing the system of participation within the present legislative framework.[93] Furthermore, the Danish Federation of Architects has carried out a research project in Østerbro in which this author has participated. The project sought to explore how the tenants may be involved on a community level in preliminary discussions and community action prior to any specific housing action. The results of these projects will probably contribute considerably to the development of a Danish practice for residents' involvement in urban renewal.[94]

The community and decanting

Another aspect of 'social' provisions in sanering is concerned with decanting. In sanering areas, tenants who have to be decanted may express their needs and wishes to a decanting flat for the area as well as for which type of accommodation they want. According to an SBI report, about one-third of the residents generally want to be rehoused in the 'area', but only one-fifth obtain this.[95] A further analysis of present experience with decanting is given by Plovsing in an analysis of the Black Quadrangle which will be referred to in detail in Chapter 7.

The SBI report concludes:

> 'Single and low-income groups are especially interested in local rehousing, and it is a problem for elderly people in particular to move from an area where they have lived for a long time'.96

This is new ground for Danish housing providers. With the slum clearance policy, no effort was made to preserve any communities, and the tenants did not get any real choice of staying in their area. However, a beginning has been made in the Urban Renewal Act, giving a possibility of retention of communities. Here, 'local' residents who have to be rehoused are entitled to a flat in the 'area' - and if they are rehoused somewhere else, have a right to return to 'their area'.97

Even though these concepts are not further defined, the inclusion of these provisions gives an opportunity for an arrangement which would preserve the community.

Conclusion

Rent and sanering legislation together give a relative protection for the individual tenant against eviction, and provides the tenant with another flat of a 'reasonable' rent in the case of major rebuilding. There are furthermore a right for private tenants to be consulted in case of maintenance or rehabilitation work.

The Urban Renewal Act offers a further resident influence in the form of a right of veto, for the single tenant as well as for the majority of tenants in a close, against certain improvements. Thus,

the tenant is secured a number of rights, but does, however, have little active influence on administration, maintenance and improvement in the tenement where he lives. According to sanering provisions, residents have no special rights of returning to their former flat. The Urban Renewal Act, however, gives a chance for returning by offering some (improved) flats to former tenants on a co-ownership basis or as a non-profit co-operative. The financial arrangements for co-ownerships give little opportunity for low-income tenants to manage; however, it remains to be seen whether the arrangements for non-profit co-operatives in reality will allow the former tenants to return.

6.8. Conclusion

In this section, the legislation and framework of Danish urban renewal have been outlined, as a result of five different approaches to housing improvement. For each approach, the results according to the original intention have been accounted for, as well as problems in the achievment of those goals.

In terms of policy, each approach has been given a different priority, according to changes in overall policy, the political climates and economic and practical conditions. The main priority for housing improvement has during the last decades been placed on sanitary principles. The aim being to remove unhealthy conditions. For the sanering societies, the task has been to 'provide basic amenities like toilet and bath indoors for the population'. In reality, however, this is not what happened. In Copenhagen in particular, the buildings have been provided with basic amenities or demolished, and, as demonstrated by Plovsing, the inhabitants have been moved elsewhere.98

During these decades, the housing standard has on a national average been raised considerably. As a result of this, the 'classical' diseases normally connected with housing conditions like tuberculosis have become much less frequent or totally disappeared. However, these diseases have been replaced with other, more 'modern' housing diseases like allergy and irritation of muscous membranes. There are furthermore, in many recently-built housing estates with all sanitary facilities, serious problems of

a social nature. Therefore, state subsidized sanering has in the Urban Renewal Act been expanded from mainly concerning housing improvement to a wider range of measures, including both the physical and social environment.

The 'social' face of conservation is demonstrated often enough. Internationally, conflicts between residents and local authorities are concentrated in the problem of demolition or preservation of well-known buildings, landmarks for the local community, with residents in favour of preservation. This has led to an increasing understanding for the social importance of the urban built environment for its residents.

In carrying through these intentions, there are, however, a number of conflicting measures. In some areas, a priority therefore has to be given between two conflicting aims.

In a sanitary approach, the aim is to obtain a housing standard and condition which is equivalent to the standard in new-built housing. This is difficult to obtain in older housing, because of technical restrictions. Therefore, the fulfilment of this aim will generally require a major rebuilding. However, major changes in a flat cannot be carried out with the tenant in residence, and he will have to be decanted, permanently or for a shorter period of time. Furthermore, it is administratively complicated to give the tenant a broader influence on the actual rehabilitation project, which is, however, not necessary if the residents are moved permanently. Seen from the sanitary approach, it is therefore preferred to rehouse the tenant permanently.

This is in conflict with the social approach and the interests of the present residents. According to their interests, the procedure introduced for housing improvement should be implemented on a scale agreed with the present residents. This is equivalent to an influence for the single tenant in the improvements carried out and the possibility of staying in an unimproved flat, if he so wishes.

According to the social approach, urban renewal should furthermore aim at preserving and strengthening the present community. However, decanting according to present Danish practice will

disperse the community and force the resident to leave neighbours and well-known local surroundings.

Funding for sanering leaves much of the payment to the residents themselves, through the cost rent. The application of high housing standards in rehabilitation is equivalent to a high rent. Even if the practical difficulties of temporary decanting were resolved, the present arrangement with a cost rent system would prevent many low-income residents from returning.

The present system of sanering funding is in its nature an encouragement system; only when it is not economically feasible to carry out rehabilitation, the authorities will intervene and acquire the property. Therefore, the largest part of housing improvement will be carried out with private funding, mostly supplemented with public subsidy to cover a possible defecit between the renovation costs and the future return on the property.

In Copenhagen, and in many larger provincial towns as well, dwellings with an inner city location are in high demand. Furthermore, rehabilitated flats in 18th and early 19th century inner urban areas in picturesque surroundings hold a special attraction. These areas enjoy a profitable market situation, thereby attracting middle and higher income groups. As a result of this unofficial 'sanering' the present lower income groups will be replaced with other, more affluent citizen groups; one example is the Copenhagen inner city area of Christianshavn. Here, a large number of dwellings have been rehabilitated with great respect towards the historical and aesthetical qualities. However, this has been met with resistance from the residents many of whom have been forced to move from the area.[99] Here, conservation subsidized through encouragement resulted in gentrification; however, this does not indicate that the conservation approach and its resulting policy is incompatible with a social approach. On the contrary; it is the strategy for obtaining these aims which in this case works against the existing residents, not conservation as such.

Chapter Six + References

1. Miljøministeriet. Kommuneplanloven. Sådan virker den. København, 1977. Leaflet.
2. Koester, Veit. Bygningsbevaring.København, Statens Bygningsfredningsfond, 1978.p.40.
3. Miljøministeriet. 'Lands- og regionplanlovene'. Nyt fra Planstyrelsen nr.5, maj 1978. København, Miljøministeriet, 1978. q.9.
4. Ibid.
5. Miljøministeriet, 'Kommuneplanloven', op.cit. p.8.
6. -
7. Miljøministeriet. Danmark ændrer sig. Planstyrelsen. København, 1979. n.p.
8. See Miscellaneous for a definition of 'sanering'.
9. Miljøministeriet, 'Danmark...', op.cit.
10. Ibid.
11. Møller, Jonas. Byfornyelse i 70erne. Saneringslovgivningen og nogle forskningserfaringer. SBI-byplanlægning 37. Hørsholm, SBI, 1980. p.15.
12. Ibid.
13. Interview no.12.
14. Ibid.
15. Besøg i Kolding november 1983.
16. Lov om byfornyelse og boligforbedring. Lov nr.300 af 9.juni 1982. The Urban Renewal Act. København, 1982.
17. Interview. no.10.
18. Interview nr. 12.
19. Interview nr. 10.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Boligministeriet. Undersøgelse af behovet for boligforbedring og byfornyelse samt skøn over investeringsbehovet til afhjælning heraf.
23. Bjarke Petersen, Boligministeriet. Foredrag i Foreningen af Byplanlæggere.12.4.1983.
24. Lov om sanering og byfornyelse. Lovbekendtgørelse af 24.feb.1981 §7. Trans.
25. Plovsing, Jan. Sanering på Nørrebro. Publikation 65, Socialforskningsinstituttet. København, Teknisk Forslg, 1975. p.56.
26. Møller, op.cit. p.8.
27. Harild, Jens; Jensen, Ole Krarup; Helweg-Larsen, Michael; Mogensen, D ; Mølgaard, Kai; Nøhr, Ulla. Provinsbyernes fornyelse. Kommunernes Landsforenings projektgruppe om byfornyelse. København, Kommunetryk, 1981. Not published? p.15.
28. Møller, op.cit. p.7.
29. Boligministeriet, Udviklingen i boligsektoren. Købehhavn, 1978. p.26.
30. Lov om sanering, op.cit.
31. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §1. Trans.
32. Lov om boligtilsyn. Lovbekendtgørelse nr.362 af 3.juli 1974.
33. Foerlev, Bendt; Fokdal, Jørgen Erik. Modernisering - notat om eksisterende planlægningsmodeller ved sanering og byfornyelse. Draft report. Hørsholm, SBI, 1979. Trans.
34. Interview nr.15.
35. Ibid.
36. Lov om boligtilsyn, op.cit.
37. Boligministeriet. Brandsikring af ældre ejendomme. København, 1976. Leaflet.
38. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §§ 32 & 33.
39. Møller, op.cit.p.11.
40. Interview no.10.
41. Kooperativ Byggeindustri. Helhedsplan 1979. Indre Nørrebro.København, KBI, 1979. p.19.
42. Ibid.p.24.
43. Koester, op.cit. p.36.
44. Møller, op.cit. p.12.
45. -
46. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §22.
47. Møller, op.cit. p.12.

48. Lov om sanering, op.cit. § 32.

49. Det Københavnske Saneringsselskab. Oversigt over vedtagne planer. København, 1981. Internal document.

50. See 5.3 private landlords, rent

51. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §58.

52. Ibid. §§ 57 & 58.

53. Ibid.

54. Interview nr. 12.

55. Ibid.

56. Lov om sanering, op.cit. § 55.

57. Ibid. § 64.

58. Ibid. § 64b.

59. Hansen, Else Steen. 'Debatbogen vakte debat'. Aktuelt 11.8.1981. Trans.

60. Foerlev, Bent. Friarealer og byfornyelse. SBI-rapport nr.139. Hørsholm, SBI, 1983.p.43.

61. Bjarke Petersen, op.cit.

62. Hansen, Per; Koester, Veit; Nielsen, Viggo. Bygningsfredningsloven og dens revision. Status og perspektiver. København, Miljøministeriet, 1975. p.27.

63. Ibid. p.121.

64. Ibid. pp.42-43.

65. Ibid. p.21.

66. Ibid.

67. Miljøministeriet. Fredede bygninger 1978. København, 1978.

68. Koester, op.cit. p.83.

69. Miljøministeriet . Vejledning. Bygningsfredningslovens bestemmelser om fredede bygninger. København, 1980? p.22.

70. Ibid.

71. Koester, Veit. 'Bygningsfredningsloven af 1979'. Byggeforum, juni ? 1980. p.19.

72. Interview nr.34.

73. Byggeriets Udviklingsråd (BUR). Byfornyelse - et debatoplæg. København, BUR, 1977. p. b.

74. Boligministeriet. Kommentarer til Boligministeriets lovudkast om boligforbedring og byfornyelse af juli 1979. København, 1980. p.15.

75. Boligministeriet. Bygge- og boligpolitisk oversigt 1981-1982. København, 1982. p.15.

76. Håndværksrådet. B90. Håndværksrådets prognose for dansk byggeri frem til 1990. København, Håndværksrådets forlag, 1979. p.44.

77. Boligministeriet, 'Kommentarer...', op.cit. p,12. Trans.

78. Cirkulære om byfornyelsesbeslutningers indhold. Udkast 22.12.82. København, 1982.

79. Fredericiagade-saneringen, by Architect Møllers Office.

80. Als, Jeppe Koefoed. Byfornyelsen og den kommunale økonomi. SBI-rapport 160. Hørsholm, SBI, 1984.

81. Ibid. p.83.

82. Ibid.

83. Lov om midlertidig regulering af boligforholdene. Lovbekendtgørelse nr.46 af 28.1.1983. §7.

84. Lov om leje. Lovbekendtgørelse af 16.juni 1982. §64.

85. Hansen, Helle. Godsbanegade - ét stop for ejerlejligheder. København, Beboertryk, 1978?.

86. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §19 stk.5.

87. Ibid. §19 stk.4.

88. Bjarne Lundt, Grundejernes Saneringsselskab, maj 1983.

89. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §14.

90. See 5.3 providers of housing, private co-ownerships.

91. -

92. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. §9.

93. Møller, op.cit. pp.33-34.

94. Clemmensen, Jens; Larsen, Hans Jørgen; Torvits, Steffen. Byfornyelse med beboere - et byfornyelsescenter på Østerbro. København, Danske Arkitekters Landsforbund, 1984.

95. Møller, op.cit. p.57.

96. Ibid. p.55.

97. The Urban Renewal Act, op.cit. p.38.

98. Plovsing, op.cit. p.227.

99. Hansen, Jens Schjerup; Møller, Jonas. Christianshavn - varsom byfornyelse? SBI-byplanlægning 43. Hørsholm, SBI, 1983.

Chapter Seven + Policies and Urban Renewal

7.1. Preface

An outline of present Danish framework and procedures in urban renewal was given in Chapter 6. Here, the policies of urban renewal in relation to housing provision will be pursued. Furthermore, the special policies and problems in the Copenhagen scene will be outlined and analysed through an account of a major sanering project, the Black Quadrangle in the Nørrebro area of Copenhagen. Lessons for a future renewal policy are drawn up, and the problems further specified in relation to organisational models for housing improvement. The potential for solving these problems within the Urban Renewal Act is finally assessed and compared to the overall aims in the context of this study. Eventually, a demand for further research will be specified, thereby determining the future course of investigation.

7.2. Party politics and urban renewal

Danish coalition governments

For a British reader it is essential to understand the pattern of political power in the Danish 'Folketing', Parliament. Denmark is a country of many political parties, no party having the absolute majority. The Social Democrats, which is a centre party, is the largest with 26 - 42 per cent of the members in parliament during the past seventeen years. Since 1973, a range of different parties to the right of the SD have emerged beside the 'old' parties. In the present parliament there are eleven parties.1

The Social Democrats (SDs) are usually in charge of government, supported by small centre and right wing parties. However, since October 1982 a right wing coalition government has been in power, headed by a Conservative Prime Minister. The partners in this coalition government are Venstre, which was traditionally a farmers' party and two small centre-left parties, Centrum-demokraterne and the Christian Folk Party. The balance in the Folketinget in favour of this government is held by the small Radical Party, which is an equivalent to the British Liberals. This party has its background in the traditional Danish co-operative movement.

The passing of the Urban Renewal Act was supported by all parties in Folketinget; however, the detailed practice for its implementation and the funding available for urban renewal are determined by present and future governments. Therefore, the present political balance, the parties in power and their approaches to housing provision and urban renewal is essential for an understanding of the framework resulting from their political considerations.

Party policies and housing provision

A government operating within a multi-party system, in coalition with other parties of a different ideology, will necessarily be tied to tactical manouvres and political agreement within the parties participating in government. Correspondingly, a change of government from the SD to a Conservative government like the present does not usually herald a new policy or a change of direction, at least not in the short term. In housing, however, there are some ideological differences of opinion, on housing provision in particular, which must necessarily influence urban renewal.

In Chapter 5, the generally acknowledged problems of preserving the private landlord as the main provider of housing in urban renewal areas were accounted for. Even though most parties agree on public support for urban renewal, there are, however, differing views on the alternative to the private landlord in urban renewal areas.

For the Conservative party and for Venstre, housing provision in urban renewal areas should go towards a 'free' housing market with an increasing dominance of housing market over housing need criteria. In other words, access to and allocation of dwellings should be determined by the market situation. This approach has resulted in a general support to private tenants taking over their tenement on a co-ownership basis,[2] and for the re-introduction of the access to parcel out condominiums for older flats in private renting.3

The argument for this is - again - that condominiums will channel more private investment into urban renewal. According to Venstre,

this would solve the problem of the 'maladjusted' distribution of population, in the larger cities and especially in Copenhagen, bringing in more affluent groups, thereby solving the financial problems of the city.[4]

For the Radical party, the ideological background is different. With its origins in the traditional Danish co-operative movement, the party has mainly supported the development of private co-ownerships, in the older housing stock as well as in new built. Due to this general political agreement the arrangements for establishing private co-ownerships have been given momentum since the late 70s; private co-ownerships furthermore play a role in the provisions of the Urban Renewal Act, which will be described in more detail later.

In terms of housing provision, the smaller left wing parties would support HAs and private co-ownerships, and not owner-occupation. However, ideological differences between these parties have resulted in various policies, the Communist party opting for slum clearance and new built for HAs, and other parties wavering between a policy of housing improvement and private co-ownerships or HAs on a local basis.

For the Social Democratic Party (SD), having one-third of the vote, the situation is not uncomplicated. The party supports owner-occupation in general; however, in urban renewal, the socially disastrous consequences of introducing owner-occupation in the form of condominiums have been recognised.

The SD is (now) against 'privatisation' in social housing;[5] therefore, private co-ownerships are not supported in urban renewal, and an alternative replacement for the private landlord must be found.

As described in Chapter 5, the SD party is firmly linked to the trade unions, parts of the co-operative movement and especially to social housing in the form of HAs. Therefore, the most obvious alternative is to introduce the HAs into urban renewal. However, the 'production line' and organisation of the HAs have for a number of years been geared towards slum clearance and new built. In the present economic situation favouring rehabilitation instead of new built, the present HAs are not suited - and not inclined - to take over from the private landlord. If the SD were to find an acceptable and efficient provider in urban renewal, a development

of HA organisation towards a model suitable for housing improvement would be ideologically and organisationally acceptable for large parts of the working class movement.

Before these main strategies for housing provision in urban renewal can be compared to the implementation of policies, an overview of Danish housing authorities and the planning system will be given, as well as an outline of the legislative framework in which they operate.

7.3. Copenhagen policies and problems

The Copenhagen scene

The need for housing improvement in Copenhagen is clearly concentrated in the privately rented sector and in flats from before 1919. The stock for private renting has decreased during the last fifteen - twenty years mainly due to the sale of a considerable number of flats into owner-occupation, slum clearance and, most recently, the sale of tenements for private renting into private co-ownerships, the latter being a growing trend in Copenhagen urban renewal areas.

With no increase in population, demands on Inner City housing are nevertheless high within the district, partly due to a demand for an Inner City location, partly due to owner-occupiers going down market to find a less ecpensive dwelling, and partly due to rehoused tenants trying to get back into town.

Even if population increase may continue to run at its present low level, the demand for housing in the Inner City of Copenhagen will presumably continue because of the present policy of retaining the Inner City as the administrative centre of the country.

Local government trends

Søren Villadsen, the Danish social scientist, has in a recent report made a number of obeservations on the general deterioration of the relationship between district councils and their electorate, in the larger cities and in Copenhagen in particular.

The local parties have during the last decade lost a considerable number of members,[6] and participation in local elections is declining. 85 per cent vote in parliamentary elections generally,

while only 50 per cent vote in local elections, a proportion which is still declining. According to Villadsen, the parties have had difficulty in relating to problems of urban policy, probably because they mostly relate to national problems. The activity of urban policy thus follows non-party political lines.[7] Half of the participants in Villadsen's analysis consider the district council to pay too little regard to the electorate, and one-fourth generally accept extra-parliamentary actions to press the local authorities. Accordingly, at the local level, there is relatively high and increasing degree of participation in local organisations.[8] While only twelve per cent of the electorate are members of a political party, more than 30 per cent in Villadsen's sample were members of a local organisation with questions of housing or health on their programmes.9

These figures clearly demonstrate the degree to which the confidence of the electorate in their elected councillors has declined, corresponding to a general change of the character of local policies. Where the local party organisations previously were the natural fora for political discussions, the political scene has in Copenhagen moved to the City Chambers and the council. During the last ten years, the constituency wards have gradually lost their importance, e.g. in appointing candidates for their parties, leaving, according to Villadsen, to the local organisations the role of recruiting members during elections while 'policy happens in other places'.10

As a result, urban renewal is mainly debated in the council and not at public meetings within the communities, and these council discussions are more connected with overall policies than with community issues.

In Copenhagen, councillors are elected according to proportional representation, with no special attachment to or obligations towards a particular ward or community. Informal relationships may emerge between the councillor and a group of residents; however, this is not common, or expected by the electorate. The existing system of local government in Copenhagen is clearly seen as undemocratic. Furthermore, the councillors have a hard work load, and are not able to take decisions on a qualified foundation of knowledge.

The relative success of issue-orientated organisations and the corresponding marginalisation of local party organisations has, together with other factors, led to a general discussion of decentralisation of executive power to the local Copenhagen communities. However, if a system of devolved local government is going to be developed, it will probably take its time, while the problem of housing improvement and urban renewal will have to be tackled in the next ten to fifteen years. A possible connection of such community councils and urban renewal was discussed in Chapter 3.11

Through a number of years, the Social Democratic Party has controlled the Copenhagen City council, at present without an absolute majority. Together with the Conservatives, alternatively the Communist Party, they hold a council majority for their housing policy, headed by the charismatic Lord Mayor, Egon Weidekamp. Weidekamp is responsible for district planning, while a similarly popular mayor from an opposition left-wing party Venstresocialisterne, Villo Sigurdsson, is responsible for building control and local planning. Presumably, it is easy for the foreign reader to imagine how this shared responsibility has resulted in extraordinary conflicts of a political and administrative character. However, in the context of this thesis, this cannot be explored in any detail, except for pointing out that Weidekamp and his party support a sanitary policy of housing improvement, while Sigurdsson and his party stand for a social approach to urban renewal, for and with the present residents of Copenhagen.

In the following, recent building policies of Copenhagen will be analysed in more detail.

Rehabilitation versus new built in Copenhagen

The majority in the Copenhagen City Council has a declared policy of preserving and increasing - if possible - the number of dwellings within the City limits. This is in contradiction with the fact that Copenhagen is already fully expanded, with a relatively low level of public service and few recreational facilities for Inner City inhabitants. The council majority

furthermore wants to bring families back into town, in order to get better tax payers, and to establish a 'normal' distribution of population. The implementation of this policy would mean amalgamation of a large number of flats, or demolition and new build, and is therefore strongly opposed by the present residents who would be replaced.

Most new built within the city limits have been provided by the large housing associations which in their turn 'grew up' with the Labour movements and the Social Democratic Party.12

The third partner is the contractor who handles the large majority of all new building in Copenhagen, i.e. the Black Quadrangle, Kooperativ Byggeindustri (KBI). This is a large construction and project management firm which was established in the middle 60s to build a large LA housing estate on the island of Amager. KBI is highly specialised in new building, in effective management of the building process and a highly industrial method of production, the latter requiring a continuing activity to function economically. This 'iron triangle'[13] has during the 70s and 80s planned and carried through a large part of new building in the Copenhagen area.

When it comes to renovation, the fourth partner is the Copenhagen Sanering and Urban Renewal Society, whose managing director is the former SD minister of housing, Helge Nielsen. The role of the sanering societies has been described in an earlier context.14

In a situation where Central Government favours rehabilitation, it is difficult for these four partners to adjust their united organisations accordingly, as their present management systems and methods of production are not directly transferable to rehabilitation. Housing improvement is different from new built inasmusch as a number of variour local situations are dealt with, while in new built, the task is to accomplish a large number of standard operations. These two factors, the difficulty of an industrial procedure and the wide variation in the nature of the problem, have made it difficult for this triangle to cope with the problem.15

A number of projects have been experimenting with industrialised or rather systemized renovation, apparently without much success, though this has resulted in a general support for new built instead of renovation in the Copenhagen context.

When the District Council started planning for a larger area in central Copenhagen, the Black Quadrangle, a yardstick for demolition was set in the form of a cost limit for rehabilitation, beyond which a building was too expensive to rehabilitate, and would be demolished.

In an implementation of policies for new built, the City Council set its cost limit low, as compared to new built, at about 40 per cent of the cost of new built at the time.[16] According to an SBI report, the application if this cost limit would imply the demolition of up to 30,000 dwellings,[17] or in some areas one-third of all buildings.

In applying this limit as a criterion for demolition, the Copenhagen District Council obtains two things:

- to demolish a considerable proportion of the stock on the fringe of the Inner City, to make way for industrialised new building
- to make the sanering shortfall - and district expenditure on sanering - close to nil.

However, other consequences of a slum clearance policy would imply an increased expenditure as well, as expressed by Foerlev et al:

> 'the removal of the population will increase...It will both change/the existing physical environment, and change the distribution of population, and with it the social and cultural pattern of the community'.18

Accordingly, there were strong Central Government reactions to the application of this low cost limit because of its social consequences. However, the shift of power through the 70s from the central to the district level has made it increasingly difficult for central government to influence policies in the District of Copenhagen.

The Black Quadrangle

The Black Quadrangle in Nørrebro is an area with 20 blocks of tenements, on the fringe of the Inner City of Copenhagen. It was originally a relatively homogeneous working-class area, with a clear segregation to other areas of Copenhagen.[19] The area has suring the 70s been subject to urban renewal, partly as slum clearance and new built for HAs, partly as rehabilitation. The area contained in 1965 8,000 flats with 16,000 inhabitants; eventually, the same area will contain 4,000 flats, of which 1,500 are new built, with 8,000 inhabitants.20

As there are no precedents nor legal background in Denmark for partnership arrangements or the like, the City Council decided in 1977 to make its own inner city programme. A private firm, KBI, was chosen by the Lord Mayor to plan and carry through this programme, which involved demolition of most housing and new build to a relatively high density. This plan, which has no legal status and therefore does not need the approval of the Minister of the Environment, has been criticised heavily from the public and from central authorities.

From the beginning, the new dwellings were anticipated to attract 'another clientele than the present', and were therefore met with resistance from the residents. The project involved the demolition of two-thirds of the dwellings in the area, which were, however, in many cases 'fire traps' and in a very bad condition.

A number of clashes between residents and the police have taken place, increasingly violent. One example is 'Byggeren' which was an unofficial adventure playground, set up by the residents. When building works were due to start on the site, a continuing sit-down was arranged on the playground, which was in the end cleared by the police with methods which had not been in use since the large demonstrations of the late 60s.

These clashes between residents and police in the Nørrebro area have continued, involving other population groups raising a public conscience on the social face of urban renewal.

In order to illustrate the socio-economic changes which have taken

place in the Black Quadrangle during the process of urban renewal, Jan Plovsing from the Danish Institute of Social Research has carried out a series of investigations. His decanting analysis is of major interest for a future urban renewal policy, and will therefore be referred to in detail in the following:

Decanting in the Black Quadrangle

Distribution of tenure was in 1965 and 1977 respectively:

28 Ownership before and after urban renewal.

The Black Quadrangle, Copenhagen. 1965, 1977.

	1965	1977
Private renting	75%	34%
Condominiums	?	5
Companies etc.+	20	20
LA and sanering society	5	37++

21

\+ presumably incl. private co-ownerships

++ a very large number, possibly all, these dws will go into HA ownership.

It is typical for urban renewal in the area that the proportion of dwellings in public ownership has increased. In 1977, only few of the new-built blocks had been erected. These are nearly all built for HAs; therefore, the present proportion of dwellings in public ownership may be as high as 60 per cent.22

In its original plans for the area, a certain degree of replacement of the original residents by 'another clientele' was anticipated by the LA due to the much higher rent level in the rehabilitated and new built dwellings.23

And indeed, this has been the case. Plovsing has investigated into socio-economic groups before and after sanering. In overall terms, the population has changed:

29 Socio-economic groups before and after sanering
The Black Quadrangle, Copenhagen.

	% within each group	
	Before	After
managers, employers, other non-manual	16%	51%
manual	31	18
unemployed, OAPs, housewives	51	31

24

Obviously, the area has changed from a working- to a middle-class area. The replacement of residents is furthermore emphasized by the fact that the number of residents before was 16,000 and after 8,000.

Plovsing has analysed a number of characteristics of two population groups, the 'stayers' who have stayed in their flats since 1973, and the 'immigrants', who have moved into new-built dwellings in 1978, with the following result:

The immigrants were mainly persons below 40 years of age. Of the residents over 60, there were 20 per cent stayers against seven per cent immigrants.[25] Among the stayers, 51 per cent of the households consisted of one person, against 37 per cent of the immigrants.[26] More children have moved into the area: 28 per cent of the stayers had children, against 38 per cent of the immigrants.[27] Immigrant households had a clearly higher educational status and average income than the stayers.

The main result of slum clearance in the Black Quadrangle has lead to a considerable replacement of residents.

Were these replaced tenants then rehoused, according to their wishes? In quoting the Copenhagen Sanering Society, the vast majority of residents who were rehoused were well satisfied with their new accommodation; and furthermore, one-third were rehoused in 'the area'.28

One-third of the tenants were indeed rehoused in the same 'area', but only ten per cent in the Black Quadrangle itself.[29] The term

'area' here needs a definition of size.

73 - 80 per cent were satisfied with their new accommodation, of these had, however, one-third experienced some problems of adaptation.[30] 'Satisfaction' with present accommodation should be seen in the light of the circumstances under which these dwellings are offered, and in context with the actual transformation of the area. When tenants are actually offered rehousing, they have suffered months of anxiety, their community dissolving around them, and the physical frame being destroyed. Under these circumstances, the tenants are in no situation for protest, and will be 'satisfied' with what is offered. The question of whether people had wanted to stay if they had had the opportunity, has not been pursued.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that even though a considerable number of flats have been preserved, about 2,500, a similarly large number are new built, about 1,500. Furthermore, that even though practically all new built have been built for HAs with principles of social allocation, the distribution of socio-economic groups have changed considerably. Some of the reasons for this change have been discussed in Chapter 5, in the section on HAs. In the context of this chapter, the main conclusion is that 3,000 or maybe 4,000 of the original inhabitants still live in the Black Quadrangle while 12,000 have been forced to move. Even though there is a turn-over rate of 20 - 25 per cent each year in any neighbourhood, there are no indications of whether those 12,000 who have moved out of the area were the ones which would have moved away - on the contrary.

Squatting and the BZs

The Danish squatters ('slumstormere') started in the late 60s, in Copenhagen; their activities must be seen in connection with the urban development, change in inner city areas and the establishment of new suburbs of parcelhuse.[31] Apart from the 60s boom, three social processes were important for this development:

(i) a relatively large number of young people ready to enter employment and education. It was easy to get a job, but difficult to get somewhere to live

(ii) the working classes from the Inner City area emigrated to the suburbs

(iii) slum clearance started on a large scale.

In this situation, young students, apprentices and workers saw a unique chance for conquering a cheap place to live.[32] Accordingly tenements in the Inner City were squatted and (sometimes violently) emptied by the police.

The group of slumstormere was very homogeneous, socially and politically, and the various actions gathered much public sympathy, supported by public indignation against empty houses awaiting demolition in a time of housing need.

When shorthold tenure for empty dwellings (without any rehousing rights) was introduced in 1971, the movement slowed down.[33] However, the squatting movement developed again as a result of the Copenhagen housing and planning policy, and has as such survived in a number of niches.

The most famous squat was on a large deserted military area in the centre of Copenhagen, Christiania. Here, 500 - 1,000 people have lived since 1973. A strong alternative community was built up; it still exists as a squatter community because of positive public attention, in spite of several official attacks.

In the middle 70s, the 'slumstormer'-movement developed into strong local housing action groups. Squatting was then used as a weapon against some private landlords who saw their chance in the then recent legislation allowing to deduct a profit from lack of maintenance, and improvements and sale for owner-occupation.

The struggle between police and activists over the adventure playground in Nørrebro is the most recent manifestation of the 60s squatter movement.[34]

However, during these last three years, another squatting movement, the BZs have emerged. (BZ= besæt, means squat, conquer, take over). While the squatters had their background in the prosperous 60s, the BZs emerge from a society in crisis. The squatters had a political left-wing base from which to act; the BZs have not. They want to change society through action, squatting, deciding their own environment and thereby their own future. They are very young, the 'no fun no future' generation,

with no prospects for jobs - and no place to live on their own conditions.

Due to this 'all or nothing'-approach, and the changed situation in general, the BZs do not have the same public goodwill as the squatters had. Therefore, fights between police and the BZs have been very violent indeed, especially on the side of the police - which is also a different police force than the one ten years ago. The clashes have in some cases developed into street riots involving many people, which is rare in Copenhagen. This demonstrates clearly the underlying structural causes for the formation of the BZ-brigade. This is not just a question of getting a place to live, but the first serious symptoms of an anti-social policy.

Lessons for a future policy

When considering the future urban renewal, a number of lessons have been learned, especially from the example of the Black Quadrangle:

- by demolishing a large number of small inexpensive dwellings, the Council has created a growing need for this type of dwelling. The need may be met either by improving these dwellings at a price and rent that the original residents can pay, or to change the rent system, or to provide for new similar dwellings at a reasonable rent
- by building mainly new, family-size flats, the council has excluded the original residents from returning. On the other hand, these large flats have not motivated a considerably larger number of families to return to the Inner City, because the rent is too high compared to owner-occupation, and because there is still a need for 'area' improvements because of the lack of open space and especially the level of public and private service. If the Council therefore wants to attract middle-income households with children, then these conditions should be improved as well, if possible

- by building new, larger flats, the Council has failed to respond to the need for dwellings, which will in the short term concentrate around smaller dwellings at a reasonable rent, for the elderly in particular. Therefore, a future policy - based on either new-built or rehabilitation - should respond to that need by providing smaller flats of various types, and by introducing a rent system which reduces the rent for the low-income tenant.
- the sanering in the Black Quadrangle has meant a replacement of the original working-class population with relatively higher income groups. This is the more remarkable because HAs with a - presumably - social allocation policy have been involved. This effect must be seen, however, on the background of a number of economic determinants, as referred to above. If the Council wants to provide for the original population groups, then the allocation of dwellings and the decanting procedure should be considered in the light of this objective, as well as the system of rent and rent allowances
- in the implementation of a process 'from above' according to a non-statutory master plan, and carried out without the consent or co-operation of the residents, resident protest have been broad-based and strong. If these reactions are to be avoided, both the individual resident and the residents as a group are to be involved.

The change of policy which is embodied in the Urban Renewal Act is mainly a result of this experience. In addition to a sanitary approach - provision of basic amenities for the population - the legislators have placed an increased emphasis on the present residents and their role in the procedure. What remains to be discussed is how the provisions of the Act may respond to the overall requirements in the context of this study.

7.4. Requirements to a future model of housing improvement

Preface

In the former chapters, the present framework for housing

improvement has been outlined, as well as policies behind the statutory framework. Effects of the present arrangements have been described, as well as policies in the Copenhagen context. What remains to be analysed is the relationship between political priorities and a model for housing improvement which would involve the residents and at the same time benefit vulnerable population groups in urban renewal areas. If increased housing opportunities are to be channelled to these groups, either housing shortage is to be eliminated, or the housing market changed in order to give advantages for the vulnerable groups which are in need of benefit.

Housing provision in urban renewal areas- a discussion

If there were a sufficient supply of dwellings at a price which ordinary people were able to pay and with a size and location corresponding to need, the problem would not arise. However, this is not the case. In Denmark, house building has virtually stopped while the number of homeless people and people on the HA waiting lists has grown.

Over a longer period of time, housing needs may be eliminated by building a sufficient number of dwellings. In the shorter term, however, there is an immediate need for small and inexpensive dwellings within a central location. With the present system of ownership and housing finance, the present dwellings should therefore be retained, if at all reasonable, and used in the best possible way.

In Chapter 5, it was found that a discussion of political priorities and a model for housing improvement implied a choice between a number of policy alternatives:

- state subsidy or encouragement
- private or public ownership
- central or decentralised control.

These alternatives will be discussed in the following sections.

In an earlier chapter, it was claimed that direct public intervention is the main strategy for benefiting the more

vulnerable groups in urban renewal, through public control and social allocation of housing. This claim was discussed in Chapter 5, and will be further analysed in an urban renewal context.

Instead of the private landlord, a new provider is needed in urban renewal areas, a choice with a link to housing strategy. According to our requirements in Chapter 4, a system of housing provision in urban renewal should include:

- a high degree of resident control with management and maintenance
- allocation on social grounds, also including those who do not constitute a family
- allocation on local grounds, giving priority to residents from the local area
- income-related rent
- no initial payment
- best public use of public subsidy in order to benefit vulnerable groups.

These requirements should be considered in the context of strategies for housing improvement. In the Danish context, a priority for an encouragement strategy would result in a support for condominiums and private co-ownerships while a policy of state intervention would result in support for an alternative provider in the form of a state-controlled non-profit agency. Both these strategies will be analysed in the following section.

The encouragement strategy

A policy of encouragement would rely on the generation of market forces, supported by subsidy to landlords and owner-occupiers. This subsidy may be given towards housing improvement as both:

- direct subsidy; grants to cover a proportion of the renovation costs
- indirect subsidy; expectations of increased return by later sale of improved property, and tax deductions.

In an earlier section, the system of state subsidies has been outlined. In sanering, the subsidies are both direct and indirect. In covering the sanering shortfall, the State gives a direct subsidy towards housing improvement. In a tenement in private renting, a profit may be gained at a later sale, because the value of the property will increase due to the improvement. However, the market value of a tenement in private renting depends on the rent income and the profit deducted from the sale. In a private tenement, the improvement is thus paid for but there is no real encouragement in the form of a surplus for the landlord.

This is different in properties which have been parcelled out as condominiums. Here, there are no restrictions on the price when selling. For a condominium in an attractive area, any housing improvement is a worthwhile investment.

With the present arrangements, a policy of encouragement would therefor only work if the flats were parcelled out as condominiums, thereby investing private capital in housing and improvement. However, in Danish political tradition, an encouragement approach in the form of a direct subsidy with a considerable profit to the owner is not acceptable. On the other hand, a direct subsidy without a profit does not further housing improvement.

Turning to condominiums, it has been discussed whether the very large profits to private owners correspond to a similarly large increase in housing improvement.

In an earlier section, the impact on housing improvement of condos has been questioned; but there are no detailed surveys or cost-benefit analyses to illustrate the relation between condominiums, housing standard, public subsidy and capitalisation of subsidy. However, Danish mainstream policy on housing improvement still follows the established policy of state intervention.

In the context of this stury, the objections against relying on a strategy of condominiums in urban renewal areas are mainly based on its social consequences. According to an investigation

by the District of Copenhagen households buying condominiums are generally young, mobile and with relatively high incomes.[36] The number of dwellings of a reasonable quality for people with low incomes are thus reduced, and in an inner city market situation, it is not possible for lower-income households to acquire a condominium, especially because there are no LA subsidies to cover the 'rent'.

In a consideration of strategies for housing improvement for vulnerable population groups, condominiums have therefore been abandoned in the context of this study, and will not be further pursued.

Even though private co-ownerships do hold some advantages to other tenures in urban renewal, because of tenants' control with their own dwelling and tenants co-operating as a group, the poorest and worst-off tenants will not have access to a private co-ownership due to lack of funding and the relatively high rent in these co-ownerships. Furthermore, there will be no obligation for private co-ownerships to allocate for tenants from the more vulnerable groups, nor to provide dwellings for decanting purposes. These tenants will therefore be forced to another area with low-cost, low-quality housing.

A change of tenure from private renting to private co-ownerships is an advantage for the present tenants, but wil exclude future low-income tenants from access because of a high initial payment, and the relative small number of these flats. The number of private co-ownerships in urban renewal areas could be expanded considerably, and a subsidy given to low-income households in order to cover the entry fee. However, the allocation of flats would inevitably be in the hands of each individual co-ownership, an arrangement which would no secure an allocation with a positive discrimination for vulnerable population groups.

In urban renewal, a mixed strategy is called for, in order to provide for all groups of the population; it seems, however, as if an encouragement strategy is not likely or able to provide also for lower-income groups in the present situation.

The strategy of direct state intervention

Having abandoned the encouragement strategy, the strategy of direct state intervention should be analysed. In search for an alternative provider, the Danish housing associations would be an obvious choice, with their non-profit organisation and their tradition for resident involvement. Furthermore, this new landlord would find a strong support in the centre- and left-wing parties. However, the present Copenhagen HAs would in their present shape hardly fulfil all the above mentioned requirements, as discussed in a previous section. We must therefore look for alternative organisations, operating on a non-profit basis, to take over from the private landlords.

In the Urban Renewal Act, the concept of non-profit co-operatives as an alternative to private renting is mentioned but not further defined. As opposed to co-ownerships, non-profit co-operatives is a new tenure with no traditions in the older housing stock. Having been introduced in the Act, the further arrangements for establishing this tenure have not been discussed in policy terms. One of the reasons for this may be found in the fact that the idea of non-profit co-operations in the older housing stock has found no support from the HA establishment nor from the large national residents' organisations. On a grassroot level, and in some left-wing parties, however, the idea has been supported, without much energy, though. There has been no experience to draw from, and no analyses of the financial consequences.

In order to further a revitalisation of the traditional HA idea in urban renewal areas, the concept of non-profit housing co-operatives embodied in the Urban Renewal Act will in the following be further explored.

Requirements to organisation and resident involvement

In Chapter 4 it was settled that a non-profit housing co-operative may fulfil the requirements in the context of this study. This co-operative should work for housing improvement at a local level, and have the ownership and control over housing improvement and allocation of flats in their area, with sufficient administrative staff and funding to carry through housing

improvement. The co-operative should be headed by a management committee with some or all members elected by residents in the area, and the system of representation should enable all residents, regardless of skills, to participate. One of the main tasks is to further the possibility for social contacts between stable and vulnerable population groups. The aim is to create an organisation which involves all residents in a local area, but gives special opportunities for housing to weaker groups of the population.

In order to set up this non-profit housing co-operative according to the requirements, a number of more specific questions need to be further clarified, the main question being:

- to which degree should the residents control the co-op?

In Chapter 4, it was required that residents should be active in the political process, with the individual requiring a stake in decisions influencing his home environment. However, residents are also required to participate directly in decisions as members of a group. This involvement should take the form of a working partnership with the LA or self-government within limits, the concepts being described in Chapter 4, and originating from Colin Ward's 'Tenants take over'. Ward operates with an even higher degree of resident influence, the full- co-operative, where the ownership is shared and all decisions taken within the co-op. As discussed in an earlier section, this can, however, hardly be acceptable in the context of this study, where a certain control with allocation of dwellings, housing improvement and financial conditions is required.

In order to detail, however, which type of decisions should be taken by the resident, alternatively taken by LA or co-op staff, it is necessary to consider the full organisational pattern for the co-operative. Furthermore, the level of decision requires a consideration of the local area which is covered by the co-op. In other words, the size of local areas should be compared with the organisation implied and the type of decisions which are taken by residents.

A number of European countries have experimented with resident involvement in urban renewal in locally-based organisations. Turning to Britain, the attention will be focussed on these efforts which will be further analysed in the following chapters.

1. Interview nr.14.
2. Thustrup Hansen, H. 'Andelsboliger bør erstatte den kommunale udlejlingsvirksomhed'. Berlingske Tidende, 31.8.83.
3. Albinus, Stig. 'Venstre ønsker ejerlejligheder som led i byfornyelsen'. Information, 10.9.1984.
4. Ibid.
5. -
6. Villadsen, Søren. Bypolitik. København, Paludans Forlag, 1984. p.156.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. pp.142-154.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. p.195.
11. See 3.3 devolution of local government.
12. See 5.3 providers og housing, housing associations.
13. See 3.2 state intervention in housing.
14. See 6.2 improvement authorities and planning.
15. Duclaud-Williams, Roger H. The Politics of Housing in Britain and France. London, Heinemann, 1978. p.210.
16. Foerlev, Bent. Fokdal, Jørgen Erik. Modernisering-sanering og byfornyelse. Notat om eksisterende planlægningsmodeller, Draft report. Hørsholm, SBI, 1979. p.125.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid. Trans.
19. Plovsing, Jan; Jørgensen, Winnie. Byfornyelse på Nørrebro. Socialforskningsinstituttet, publikation 90. København, Teknisk Forlag, 1979. p.27.
20. Ibid. p.33.
21. Ibid. p.24.
22. Ibid.
23. Direktoratet for Københavns Kommunes Generalplandirektorat, quoted in ibid. p.27.
24. Almennyttigt Saneringsselskab; Det Københavnske Saneringsselskab; Boligselskabernes Landsforening. Sanering og byfornyelse. København, BL, 1980. p.12.
25. Plovsing et al, op.cit. p.48.
26. Ibid. p.51.
27. Ibid. p.52.
28. Almennyttigt Saneringsselskab et al, op.cit. p.12.
29. Ibid. p.12.
30. Plovsing et al, op.cit. p.20.
31. Schultz, Karen Ingrid. Krisen og beboerbevægelserne. København, Aurora, 1977. p.47.
32. Thomesen, Leif. Den autoritære by. Kultursociologiske skrifter nr.16. København, Akademisk Forlag, 1981.
33. Schultz, op.cit. p.47.
34. See 7.3 The Black Quadrangle.